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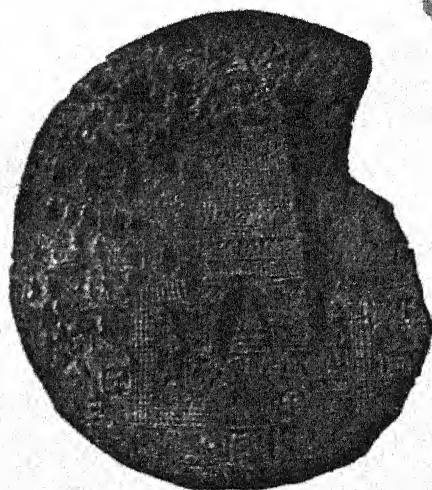
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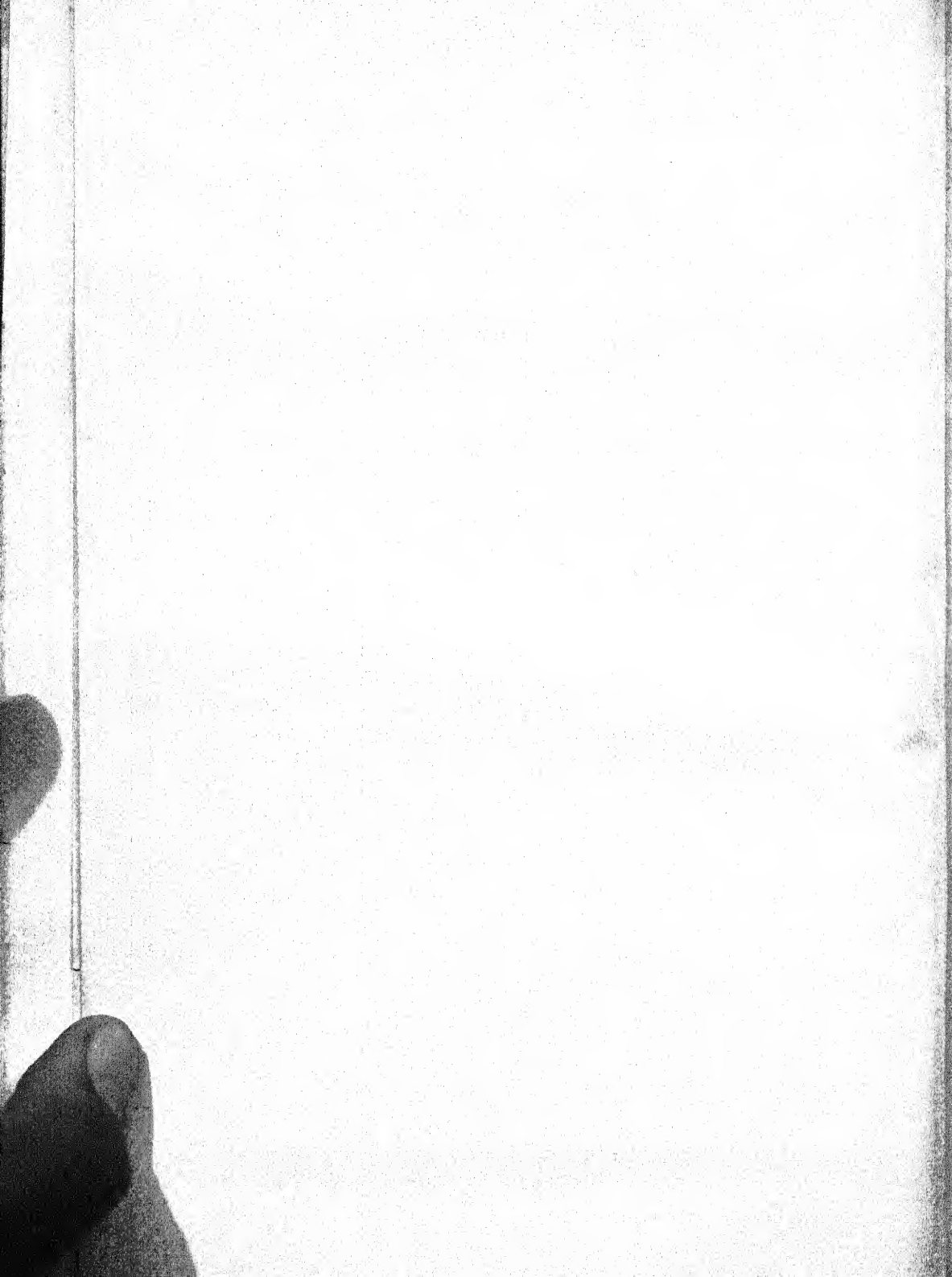
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[PART I

Leading Articles

DANTAPURA AND PĀLŪRU IN NORTHERN. GANJĀM

By C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I.

Mr. Jayaswal has published, at pp. 137-38 above (Vol. XXI, Pt. III), a translation by the late Professor Sylvain Lévi of a passage from Anquetil Duperron's description of his adventurous journey from Bengal to Pondicherry in 1757, in which he mentions an *aldée* (Port. *aldeia*, a 'village') named "Paloor" between the Chilka lake and Ganjām. This is the existing village of Pālūru at the northern extremity of the Ganjām district, about 6 miles N.E. of Ganjām town.

When Professor Lévi wrote his note on "Paloura-Dantapura" in *J. A.*, tome CCVI (Jan.-March 1925¹)

¹ Translated by S. M. Edwardes in *I. A.* LV (1926), pp. 94-99.

he had possibly not seen Henry Yule's notes at p. 23 of Dr. Smith's *Atlas of Ancient Geography*¹ on the "sources and authorities" for the map of Ancient India prepared by him for that Atlas, in which he had, more than fifty years earlier, already indicated that Ptolemy's "Paloura" (Bk. I., Chap. I) probably represented this very site. Yule also pointed out that the site had been referred to by de Barros in his *Decada I* (first published in 1552) and by Linschoten (whose material was collected prior to 1592).

Unfortunately most of the towns and rivers between the Kāvērī and the Ganges named by Ptolemy have not yet been satisfactorily identified, due to some extent to a reluctance to accept Lassen's conclusion that the Manada, Mandas or Manda of Ptolemy was the Mahānadi; but there can be little or no doubt that his Paloura was close to the modern Ganjām, where the village of Pālūru still lies. The site was known to most of the old European cartographers, and figures as "Palhor," or in some similar form, in the maps, for instance, of Ortelius, Hondius, Speed, Cluverius, Mariette, Dudley (*Arcano della Mare*), Blaeu, Sanson, and Vignola, to mention only a few of those published in the 16th and 17th centuries.

As Linschoten's reference to the place is the most useful in some ways, I give below a translation of the relevant passage from the French edition of his *Grand Routier de Mer*, which was published at Amsterdam in 1638².

¹ *An Atlas of Ancient Geography*, ed. by William Smith, London, 1874.

² *Le Grand Routier de Mer de Jean Hugues de Linschot Hollandois traduit de Flameng en Francois*. Amsterdam, 1638.

Describing the sea route from Trincomalee northwards to Orissa, Linschoten refers to Godāvarī Point and then to the 'Puacota' river (the modern Bāruva at the mouth of which Duperron found a small port, which he transcribes as Baroüa). The name Puacota appears on many of the old maps of the 17th and 18th centuries, but it is not found on modern maps. Along this coast, Linschoten writes, the land is "high and hilly (the Eastern Ghāṭs) and easily seen from a distance. From the Puacota river as far as another river, known as Paluor, or Palura, (i.e., the Rushikulyā) twelve leagues distant (about 40 English miles) one sails along the coast E. to S.W. (a slip for S.W. to N.E). Beyond this river (Rushikulyā) there is to be seen a high hill called *A Serra de Palura* ('the Palura range'), which is the highest hill on the coast. This river lies in (north latitude) 19°-30'. From the said river onwards to a point called *A derradeira terra alta*, that is to say, the last high-land, the coast follows the same direction as before, and the distance is seven leagues (about 24 miles). This point lies in (north latitude) 19°-40'. Here the high mountainous country ends, and thereafter the land is all low and the shore sandy as far as the place called *As Palmeiras*, that is to say, the Palms (Palmyras Point)."

The above account of Linschoten is corroborated by the information given by the Turkish admiral, Sioli Ali Shelebi, in his famous work, the *Muhîṭ*, and by that furnished by the early Portuguese charts and maps. The *Muhîṭ*¹ indicates at this site a hill named

¹ *Die Topographischen Capitel des Indischen Seespiegels Muhîṭ*. Trans. & ed. by M. Bittner and W. Tomaschek. Vienna, 1897.

Jebel Falūr, and the Portuguese maps a hill called *Serra de Paluro*, or *Palor*, both of which titles mean "the hill of Palura." A reference to the Survey of

India sheet 74 $\frac{E}{3}$ shows that the modern village of

Pālūru lies at the northern foot of Pālūru Pahār, which rises to a height of 580 ft. above s.l. within half a mile of the shore of the Bay of Bengal. Close by, within half a mile or so, to the N.W. by W. of Pālūru is a second hill marked 712 ft., and beyond this to the West are even higher spurs from the northern outliers of the Eastern Ghāṭs.

Though the name Ganjām itself is of undetermined derivation, and is possibly of comparatively modern origin, we have reason to believe that the area about the lower course of the Rushikulyā, perhaps included in the Koṅgoḍa country visited by Hsüan Tsang in the early part of the 7th century, was an important one, containing as it did the old fort of Jaugaḍa, once the site of what seems to have been a walled town of sufficient note to merit the record of Aśoka's edicts, besides other sites where inscriptions have been found, but which do not seem, to judge from the exiguous accounts in the published records, to have been fully explored as yet.

Whether the equation of Dantapura with Pālūru should be accepted, is another matter. Hsüan Tsang does not make any direct reference to the "tooth town" in his record; but the fact that he tells us that from Charitrapura (could this possibly be the modern Chatrapur? Probably not, as the local name appears

to have been Sītārāmpalle,¹) "On calm nights one could see the brilliant light from the pearl on the top of the tope over the Buddha's tooth-relic in Ceylon" is suggestive. Personally I incline to the view held by so many scholars that we must look for Dantapura somewhere near the embouchure of the Vamśadhara, either at or near the ancient Simhapura. The town was undoubtedly in ancient Kaliṅga, and the most reliable evidence points to the original Kaliṅga being distinct from Odra and Koṅgoḍa, and as situated to the south thereof. The very name Kaliṅgapatam by the mouth of the Vamśadhara is self-explanatory. Moreover, wherever Ptolemy's *Aphetērion eis Chrusēn Chersonēson* may have been, admittedly the only safe, sheltered port on the east coast between Coringa in the estuary of the Godāvārī and Orissa proper was Kaliṅgapatam. The ancient port was therefore probably in this locality. But we must perhaps await the thorough exploration by trained archaeologists of these areas, as well as of the Mukhaliṅgam-Nagarakaṭakam vicinity.²

On the other hand, we may have to revise the current conception of the *Kung-yü-t'o* country visited by Hsüan Tsang from Orissa. It should be noted that from the *Wu-t'u*, or *U-t'u* country he travelled over 1200 *li* "through forest... The people were tall

¹ *Ganjām District Manual*. Re-issue, 1918, p. 38.

² There are some sites to the NE. of the fort at Ganjām and across the river to the south, near Nalinaugum, besides the Jaugaḍa and Kallikota areas that might repay exploration. I mention Kallikota because this apparently represents a name that appears on many of the oldest maps of this coast, and so it was probably a place of note in olden days.

and valorous and of a black complexion..."; and again, from the *Kung-yü-t'o* country he travelled 1400 or 1500 *li* "through jungle and forest with huge trees" to *Ka-leng-ka*. Now, had he gone from Jājpur or some other centre in the Odra country to Ganjām, and from Ganjām on to Kalinga proper by the obvious and customary route, he would not have had to travel such long distances, nor pass through forest country for great part of the way, as we may understand his description to mean. Though *Kung-yü-t'o* extended down to the coast—"bordering on a bay of the sea" (evidently what is now the Chilka lake), it was a "hilly country," and of comparatively small extent. Who were these "tall and valorous" people "of black complexion" (Watters), "brave and impulsive," "tall of stature and black complexioned and dirty" (Beal)? Is it possible that they were the Kandhs or Kondhs, the 'people of the hills'? Risley tells us that the Kandhs are supposed to have entered the Kandhmāls from the south; he also refers to their fine physique. If Hsüan Tsang had visited or passed through the Kandh country, he would have had to pass through forest country, both in going there and in journeying on thence to Kalinga, as he describes; and the lengths of his journeys could be better understood. Moreover, his account of the "large dark-coloured elephants" would also apply to that area. Could the name Koṅgoḍa be connected with these people and their hill forts (*guda*)? The question of the capital town remains: this may have been in what is now one of the Feudatory States. The people had access to the sea, possibly through places on the

shore of the Chilka, or in the estuary of the Rushikulyā, the head streams of which emerge from the hill country to the north and north-west. The north-western parts of the country would border on Southern Kosala, and this may explain why it became at one time a *maṇḍala*, or 'Division,' as we might call it, of that kingdom. These observations must be regarded merely as suggestions arising from a study of the *Si-yü-ki* and Hwui Li's *Life*.

Duperron's narrative is interesting also from other points of view. It recalls to us the fact that in former times the highway from Puri to Madras followed the coast line as far as Ganjām, not, as now, passing round the north of the Chilka lake. The old road, which is clearly shown on the road maps published by G. Herklots in 1828¹ and by J. B. Tassin in 1836², ran from Puri W. by S. for about 9 miles to Narsingapatam, a place now of no importance, but shown on the old maps and sailing charts: this is the *caukī* ("Tchoki") which Duperron mentions as being 3 kos from Jagrenat (Puri). There he struck a river, which he calls the "Tchilka," by the side of which his road continued as far as Manikpatam, where this river "discharged into the sea." This was the Harchandi of modern maps, which, according to the latest edition of the *District Gazetteer*, flows "through sand and

¹ *Illustrations of the Roads throughout Bengal, including those to Madras and Bombay* (maps drawn by G. Herklots). Calcutta, 1828.

² *Map of the Post Office Stations and Post and Bangy Routes throughout British India*, by J. B. Tassin, from materials collected and arranged by Captain T. J. Taylor, Secretary to the Committee for Revision of Customs and Post Office Departments in India. Calcutta, 1838.

consequently it has become much silted up and is very shallow." Beyond Manikpatam, Duperron crossed "the Chilka" where it was very broad—and here he seems to mean the outlet from the lake into the sea—half way by a ford and the remaining part on a kind of ferry craft common enough in former days, but apparently unknown to Prof. Lévi, to judge by his translation. Duperron's description should be translated thus :—

"Half of this river was fordable: I crossed the remaining part in a craft made by joining two *balāum* together."

Indian readers will at once recognise the nature of the ferry boat. Duperron himself describes its character when relating his crossing of "the river of Balasore" (Buṛhābalang) as being "constructed of two hollowed-out tree trunks secured together by bamboo planks laid crosswise over them." As far as I know, the name *balāum* has not found currency in Bihār, but it is used on the coasts of India and Malaya. It occurs as *balão* in Portuguese, and is used in this and similar forms by many of the early Portuguese historians, and in the forms 'baloon,' 'balaum,' 'bal-long,' etc., by old English travellers in India, Burma, Ceylon and Malaya. The derivation is obscure, but there is a Malay word *balang*; and Molesworth in his *Marathi Dictionary* gives *balyāñv* as meaning 'a small kind of boat.' On the Chittagong side it is called *balāum*. The only illustration of a *balāum* that I know of is that given by B. Solvyns in Vol. III, Section 9, Plate 14 of his "*Collection of Coloured Etchings descriptive*

of the Manners, Customs, of the Hindus¹. In his *Catalogue*² of letterpress explaining the drawings he writes: "A Chittagong Balaum, built on a Scringee (i.e., *sarangī*) having the planks sewn together with Cane or Hemp"; and a Scringee he explains as "being an Ek-gachee (what is called a *ḍorīgā* in Bihār) with the addition of some Planks on each side."

At Manikpatam Duperron saw neither houses nor trees. The site, which is marked on nearly all the old maps and navigation charts from the *Muḥīt* onwards, had evidently lost its importance as a harbour or point of call, perhaps temporarily, as it is marked on Rennell's *Map of Hindoostan* (1782), Herklots' Road Map (1828) and Allen's *Map of India* (1846). Whether there is a village there now seems doubtful, as it is not marked on the 1 mile to the inch Survey sheet 741^E, or the 4 miles to the inch sheet 74E, though it is shown on the smaller scale sheet (about 16 mi. = 1 in.) 74 ! and from the map in the *Dist. Gazetteer* there would appear to be a Post Office there. I may also note here perhaps that Samuel Dunn, in his *New Directory for the East Indies* (London, 1780) records that "Manikpatam is known by a little pagoda, encompassed with houses and other buildings, with some large trees."

Having crossed this channel at Manikpatam, it is evident from his account that Duperron on his journey (June, 1757) met with no further breaches of this nature up to 'Maloud' and onwards to Ganjām.

¹ Original edition in 4 vols. folio, hand drawn and coloured, Calcutta, 1799.

² *Catalogue of 250 Coloured Etchings*..... 8vo, Calcutta, 1799.

This state of things would seem to have prevailed from the beginning of the century at any rate. In 1708 Alexander Hamilton travelled by land from Ganjām to Puri by the same route as Duperron, but in the opposite direction. After passing Pālūru (which by some clerical error has been printed "Illure" in his book) he "came to Manikpatam, where there is a great Inlet from the Sea..... The Mogul had an officer there, who examined whence we came, and whither we were bound."¹ His record suggests that this was the only channel at the time between the Chilka lake and the sea; it also indicates that this coast road was then a highway, as an official of the Mughal Government was stationed there (probably a *faujdar*, as in Duperron's day) to keep an eye on travellers. The same or similar conditions seem to have continued up to about the middle of the last century, as the maps of Herklots (1828), Tassin (1838) and Allen (1846) all show the gap in the coast line near Manikpatam, while from that site onwards the road is drawn as running uninterruptly as far as Ganjām. On the other hand, the latest large scale Survey sheets (1 in. = 1 mi.) show that the sandy stretch between Manikpatam and Pālūru has become so cut up by water channels that the old coast road has practically disappeared. When Colonel Harcourt, in command of a British force, marched from Ganjām to Puri and Cuttack in Sept.-Oct., 1803, he passed "along the strip of coast between the sea and the

¹ *A New Account of the East Indies, being the Observations and Remarks of Capt. Alexander Hamilton.* Edinburgh, 1727, vol. I, p. 380.

Chilka lake..... it took two days to cross the dangerous channel at Manikpatam through which the Chilka lake communicates with the sea.”¹ Toynbee, in his *Sketch of the History of Orissa*, also states that at that time (1803) the traffic from the south passed along the eastern shore of the Chilka lake, between it and the sea, to Puri.¹ Is the sea tending to reassert its old supremacy? Relevant to such an inquiry is the question of the small temple, “resembling a pine-apple from a distance,” which Duperron saw standing solitarily amidst the sand about six miles before reaching Pālūru, that is to say, about mid-way between Mālud and Pālūru. I cannot find any temple marked at this site on the Survey sheets; but on Thornton’s “New Chart of Orixa and Galconda”² a “pagode on a sand-hill” is marked between Mālud and Manikpatam; and we have noticed above the “little pagoda” at (or near?) Manikpatam mentioned by Dunn.³ Thus the available evidence would seem to show that the sea and sand have been encroaching within the past few centuries.

The word “Cari” used frequently by Duperron appears to me to represent the Hindī word *khārī*, meaning ‘brackish,’ ‘saline,’ cf. *khārī mittī*, ‘saline earth.’ By it he refers to a salt-pan (*uppalamu* in Telugu), many of which he passed on his way south.

The “Pagoda of Tirvikarey” was probably the

¹ *Puri Gazetteer* (ed. of 1929), pp. 47, 215.

² *The English Pilot*, by Samuel Thornton (edition of 1716 by Sayer and Bennett.)

³ Alexander Hamilton also saw near Manikpatam “a pagode on a little hill built of iron-coloured stone” (*ibid.*, p. 380-381).

well-known Candramaulīśvara temple at Tiruvakkarai in the S. Arcot district.

The *kos* measure adopted by Duperron works out at about 3 miles, which is also the length calculated by John Marshall (1670)¹ for the *kos* in Orissa, which is longer than the Bihār *kos*. Taking this equivalent, the distances noted by Duperron are remarkably accurate on the whole.

¹ *John Marshall in India*, ed. by S. A. Khan, 1927, pp. 64, 86, n. 24.

AN APPROACH TO THE SĪRAT-I-FĪROZ SHĀHĪ

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Among the original and authentic sources of the reign of Firoz Shāh, the third Tughluq Sultan of Delhi, Zia-ud-dīn Barni and Afif are most common and frequently consulted. The works of both the authors are named alike and called Tārikh-i-Fīroz Shāhī. Barni incorporates in his work whatever events he has seen during the six years of the reign of the Sultan, but Afif's work is devoted exclusively to the reign of the Sultan, and therefore, has a better right to the title than Barni's work.

The third authority of the period is Fatuhāt-i-Fīroz Shāhī, a work which gives a short summary of the victories of Fīroz Shāh. This work is supposed to be the production of the Sultan himself.

Besides the three sources alluded to above, there is another, called Sīrat-i-Fīroz Shāhī. It also embodies an account of Fīroz Shāh. The writer's weight of testimony is unquestionable, for, he was living at the time when the events described by him took place. Composed in 772 H. or 1370 A. D. the Sīrat-i-Fīroz Shāhī is devoted to the narration of events during the reign of Sultan Fīroz, beginning with his accession to the throne (1351 A. D.) and ending with the expedition that he undertook against Thatha or Guzarat some twenty years later.

The work is now almost extinct. Its only copy, so far as is at present known, is to be found, in the form of manuscript, in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, that is so rich in valuable and rare collection of oriental lore. The transcription of the work referred to, as seen from its epilogue, was completed in *Rabi-us-Sanee* 1002 H. (Dec. 1593-Jan. 1594). It bears the imperial seals of the Mughal Emperors Shāh Jehan and Aurangzeb, thereby proving that, it once belonged to the royal possession or to the family library of the imperial household. The work contains 182 folios, with seventeen lines in a page, and in size it is $9\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$.

Thickly set with fulsome flattery of and glowing tribute to the Sultan, the book only breaks the spell of monotony and releases the readers from the dulness that is so natural in a work of this type, by a refreshing variety of interests. The first of the four chapters in which the work has been divided, gives a historic survey of the reign of Fīroz Shāh from his investiture to the conquest of Guzarat. The second gives an account of his acts of justice, charitable deeds, benevolence, suppression of evil and murder and so forth: the description of the birds and animals and their mode of living etc. The third deals with an account of canals and edifices constructed during the reign, and of the cultivation of crop in the country. The last chapter is concerned with astronomy, description of observatories erected by the Sultan and of instruments of war.

Its unapproachable standard of rhetorical excellence and of historic art give to the work a high

position in Persian literature. In ornateness of diction the work has hardly any equal, every page being embellished with the choicest flowers that the tropical gardens of Arabic and Persian languages could provide. Eloquent in style, sweet in diction, vocabulary copious, analogies apt, rhymes soothing, metaphors beautiful, with a fine flow of rhetoric and ingenious flourishes, the work gives the impress of a scholarly, masterful and accomplished hand in its composition. It has been suggested that the work, excepting the preface that was added by some one else, was dictated by Fīroz Shāh himself, and such being the case the credit of being its author goes to him.

We have undertaken the translation and editing of the whole work, and in the following pages a translation of the prologue and the epilogue has been attempted. Owing to the incorrectness of the text due to the negligence or ignorance of the transcriber who has indulged in many sins of omission and commission, a correct reading of the text and its translation are by no means a simple and easy task. An attempt, however, has been made, as far as practicable, to make a correct reading and a close and true rendering of the text.

PROLOGUE

With the name of Allah, the Merciful and the
Compassionate !

VERSE

The work, Sīrat-i- Fīroz Shāhī,
With Divine aid compiled.

Whatever respiration is made by an animate
being,

Thanksgiving to God is it, and nothing else !
Coins of His ordinance beyond alteration,
Area of His dominion beyond conception.
Eternal is He, the creator of the world,
A tiding of joy to the living, whom He imparts
life;

It's He, the creator of Life and Death ;
How can Death overcome Him ?
Its He who decorated each of the Heavens,

* * * * *

He, who is generous in favours, may His benefactions be upon all! has made thanksgiving to be the cause of greater benefits from Him, but, as felicity is allotted and decreed, and there are human beings of different nature, proper expression of gratitude is beyond the scope of every individual. It is therefore, that, at the outset, the favours and graces, the honours and gifts that by the kindness and grace of God The Most High, were conferred on His Majesty, the protector of Sovereigns, and the shadow of God, Abu Muzaffar Fīroz Shāh, the Sultan, may God his kingdom perpetuate, have been mentioned.

VERSE

That majestic Haider², whose Zulfaqr³.
Left scar on the head of enemies;
On every matter he conferred repose,

¹ The last line is found wanting.

² Name of 'Alī, son-in-law of Muhammad.

³ The name of the famous two-edged sword of 'Alī.

Every country on him bestowed;
Ashamed was the ocean envious of his respect,
Him she produced royal pearls !

It is admitted and acknowledged by the public that, many times and oft, crusades and expeditions being undertaken by the Sultan personally against the infidels and rebels, ended, with the help of God, in victory and in the acquisition of superiority in the holy wars.

VERSE

God his friend, His orders an escort, grace a
companion,
Prosperity a fellow-traveller, victory a close
friend, felicity a boon companion !
At all events, the possession of big pearls comes
to him who dives deep into the ocean of grave risks.

VERSE

On his lap put the Sultan, the country—a bride !
And gave he kisses on her sharp lips.
The throne of the country God presented him
with,
Whatever bestows He, in apple-pie-order re-
mains !

One of those laudable virtues and commendable talents of the Emperor is that, at the time of his coronation and in the age of confirmation of his mandate upon the country and individuals, beginning with the expansion of the rose of fortune in the garden of sovereignty, and the establishment of the rules of kingdom, the principles of suzerainty and the

foundation of an edifice of a praiseworthy empire was laid: the rules of government obtained stability by the world-diffusing lustre of the imperial firman: the report of the Sultan's accession to the throne was carried to distant places, to the plebeian and the noble, the obedient and the rebel alike. The armies from different quarters of the globe made haste to effect a conjunction with His Majesty. The age sang in praise of His Excellency.

VERSE

His name near the oppressed,
Is like tidings of victory.
The movement of his benevolence round the
world,
Like the Moon round the earth day and night !
The dust of his court at his noble orders,
Shine like the crown of many a king.
At places where his cavalcade encamp,
Fortune serves him like a slave.

THE EPILOGUE

By the bounteous favour of God,
The morals of Fīroz Shāh delineated.
The object in narrating the qualities of the
Emperor,
That thou derivest skill and fulfilleth thy
desires.
It's the book, by which people is benefited;
From it they receive advice and with its help
they are freed from ruin,
From it they learn all about etiquette, qualities,
commentaries and wisdom,

Which, according to the Wise, every man
should possess,

In manner specially as laid down in the Faith,
Of which there is testimony.

Of sunnat¹ and manner in assembly, people should know,

Of freedom from vice and escape from perdition,

How to lean for support on Ahādīs²,

And of imperatives and prohibitions.

Of the history of Khelafat, which at first,

With the four friends³ of the Prophet took
pride :

Then the House of 'Abbās⁴ conferred further
glory,

It freed the religion from garb sombre.

At the dictation of the Emperor the book is written,

For enlightening the people on the manners of the Emperors and royal conducts,

For transmitting mandates religious and prudent,

For informing them on the increase of wealth
and dignity,

On the tranquillity of subjects and merchants,

¹ The traditions of Muhammad, supplementing the Qur'ān and held in nearly equal authority.

² Sayings and traditions of Muhammad handed down by Musulmān doctors.

³ Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usmān and Alī.

⁴ Name of Muhammad's uncle, and ancestor of the Abbasside caliphs who reigned from A. D. 749 till the extinction of the caliphate in 1258 A. D.

May he be associated with the perpetuity of the
universe !

The transcription of the book was completed on
Saturday, Rabi-us-Sanee 1002 H.

—(Dec. 1593—Jan. 1594).

Reviews and Notices of Books

ICONS, MŪRA-DEVAS AND YAKṢAS

The Transformation of Nature in Art. By Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 1-245.

Rājadharmakaustubha of Anantadeva. Edited by the Late Mahāmahopādhyāya Kamala Kṛṣṇa Smṛtī-tīrtha. Oriental Institute, Baroda. Gackwad's Oriental Series, Volume No. LXXII, 1935. 9½" × 6". Pp. 1-504.

In giving valuable information regarding religious and historical art in India, these two books are complementary. Anantadeva gives details, Coomaraswamy investigates their genesis. The *Rājadharmakaustubha* states the realised facts, Coomaraswamy traces them to anterior intimate tendencies.

The books are useful and timely specially in view of the wealth of artistic specimens unearthed within the last few years. These finds have shown how little we really knew about their origin and growth. Thus the pride of place in those two books is naturally given to the images : Anantadeva, pp. 35-101; Coomaraswamy, Chap. VII, *The Origin and Use of Images in India*, pp. 153-169. So far our information on this topic has been disappointingly indefinite and inadequate.

In the J. R. A. S., 1915, (pp. 413-415), Spooner drew attention to the connection between the Mauryas and Icons, and pointed out the unsatisfactory nature of the explanation generally offered on Patañjali's comment *Mauryair hiranyārthibhir arcāḥ prakalpitāḥ*** on Pāṇini, V, 3, 99—*Jīvikārthe cāpānye*.

In *Bhāratīya Anuśilana*,¹ 1935, (pp. 59-66), Keith sums up the differences in matters of religion between the Aryans and the Indus Valley civilisation as follows—"The *Ṛgvedic* religion is certainly aniconic in principle; the fact that fetishes might exist does not destroy this fundamental feature of the organised cult. On the other hand iconism seems to permeate the Indus valley civilisation, proving a very different outlook."

Between 1915 and 1935, new sources have come to light, and new light has come from old sources. It may be profitable to review the whole position of iconography in India with special reference to the following points :—

- (i) Were the *Ṛgvedic* Āryas devoted to icons?
- (ii) To whom did the icons referred to belong?
- (iii) Relation in time and space between Mūradeva, Yakṣas, Mauryas and Mūrtis?

(i) Keith is probably right about *Ṛgvedic* aniconism. An image, idol or icon may possibly be meant in *ṚV.* 4, 24, where the poet asks, 'Who will buy this my Indra for ten cows? When he has slain

¹ Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaurisankar Hirachand Ojha Commemoration Volume. Hindi-Sāhitya-Sammelan, Prayāga, 1990.

his foes he may give him back to me.¹ But in most cases, the material objects, are obviously symbols. Bollensen's reference to idols of Agni in RV. I, 145 4.5, is inconclusive. But that images were not unknown to the R̥gveda is clear. As Bollensen says²—“From the common appellation of the gods as *divenaras*, ‘men of the sky’, or simply *naras* ‘men,’ and from the epithet *nr̥peśas*, ‘having the form of men,’ RV. III, 4, 5, one may conclude that representations in human form was also done. The question is: by whom? Later additions to the Brāhmaṇas, e.g., the Adbhuta-Brāhmaṇa, the last of the six chapters of the Śaṅkara-Brāhmaṇa a supplement to the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, and the Sūtras refer to idols, but by that time the assimilation of diverse viewpoints in a synthetic outlook had admittedly reached an advanced stage. Books like Gopinath Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography* draw upon the extant Purāṇas which in their present form presume this synthesis.³ The various sources are practically undistinguishable in time and locality—but are utilised *ad hoc* as in *Rājadharmakaustubha*⁴ of Anantadeva (end of the 17th century). This failure to distinguish the initial sources has introduced an element of inconsistency between the subjective and objective evidence, a lack of *entente* between literature and archaeology in the earliest period. The R̥gvedic Aryas could not pos-

¹ Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 1897, p. 155.

² Bollensen, ZDMG. 47, 586 ff.

³ cf. also Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Iconography*, for a similar treatment from eclectic Tantra descriptions.

⁴ Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Vol. LXXII. 1935, pp. 17-101. Temples and Icons.

sibly avoid referring to many things they did not approve of but found in vogue among their contemporaries and co-inhabitants of India.¹ Icons were among these. Yāska, Pāṇini and Patañjali do not even support Sāyaṇa's interpretation of *Tīrtha* as a shrine, but explain it simply as a ford.

(ii) Who then used these icons?

The story of icons in India is linked with *Yoga* and *Dharaṇī*.

In his *Yogasūtras*, Patañjali defines *dharaṇa* as "the process of fixing the mind on some object well-defined in space." The Buddhist *dharaṇīs* are based on pre-Buddhistic Tantras founded on Yoga. It is significant that in his references to Mauryan images, Patañjali mentions the images of Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, Skanda and Viśākha. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, VI. 3, 1—"Śiva and others". What is the historical significance of this peculiar juxtaposition of ideas in Patañjali? Is it a pure coincidence to connect Śiva, image and Mauryas?

Mahenjo-Daro² has shown that Yoga, Śiva and icons go back to the 4th millennium B. C. in India.

Scholars, however, are not agreed to whom this civilisation belonged. It is time to revise this negative attitude. It is admitted that the Vedic Āryas found at least two other peoples—one sufficiently civilised but not their kith and kin,—"*Pūrum mṛḍbravācam*, described as Asuras in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa; the other

¹ cf. *śiśnadevāḥ*, RV, 7, 25; 10, 99. "phallic worship which was known in the earliest Vedic period." Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.* p. 155. This, however, is baetylic as opposed to iconic proper.

² Marshall, *Mahenjo-Daro*, Vol. I, pp. vii, 52-59.

uncivilised,—stigmatized as *dāsa*. But what were their names? Surely they could not have designated themselves as *anāryas*, in view of the fact that they must have proceeded the Aryas and must have had names of their own. In my *Asura India*, I suggested the two terms *Asura* and *Niṣāda*. Oppert¹ has called the latter (the autochthonous people) the Bharatas, the Pañca-Janāḥ. There is a fourth term in the R̥gveda—Mūradeva. The icons of *mahāyogī* Śiva and of animals, specially the bull Nandivardhana, and of birds, specially the peacock, might belong to these Mūra-devas—worshippers of *mūras* or icons.

(iii) Who were those Mūra-devas?

Vigrīvāso Mūradevā rdantu, RV. 7, 104, 24.

A jibvayā Mūradevān rabhasva, RV. 10, 87, 2, 14.

(*gewisser Unholde*—Böhtlingk und Roth².)

As in the case of the term *Ārya*, *Mūradeva* may be a general designation, covering ethnic entities that have persisted through the ages, connoting specific groups though hardly ever denoting the same group or individuals at two different epochs, the similarity of name notwithstanding. This aspect of the generic and specific value of names has not been adequately appreciated in recent discussions. A few instances may be cited.

In *Indian Culture*, (October 1935) Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 189 ff. Sten Konow replies to Bhandarkar's interpretation of the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini II, iv, 10, regarding the date of the Śakas. Bhandarkar holds

¹ Oppert, *The Original Inhabitants of India*, pp. 1-2.

² *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, 1868, Part V, p. 851.

that the Śakas were in India in the 2nd century B. C. Konow quotes Ts'ien Han-shu and reiterates his opinion that the Śakas entered India after Patañjali, in the first century B. C. But neither seems to realise that different groups may be meant. As a matter of fact, Śakas are mentioned in the Purāṇas.¹ If the Purāṇas are suspect, they are also mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Sabhā, 78, 99; Bhī. 9, 45.

In the J. R. A. S., 1915, Spooner assumed that Patañjali was referring to the royal Mauryas when he was describing the habit of the Mauryas selling their images. There is not a trace of evidence to this effect. The word *Maurya* is formed by adding *śyañ* to *Mūra*, Mahābhāṣya, VIII. 2, 1. They were a tribe of long standing. The Mahāvamśa Ṭīkā (pp. 119-121) says that some Śakiyas being oppressed by King Viḍuḍabha fled to the Himalayas where they built Moriyanagara. Chandagutta might have belonged to the Moriya clan settled at Pipphalivana.

In his *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, pp. 18, 19, 24, Jayaswal² attempts to equate Buddhapakṣa and Gambhīra of the Yakṣa dynasty with Kadphises I and II. Coomaraswamy in his *Yakṣas*, Part II, Washington, D. C. 1930, has pointed out the manifold ramifications of the Yakṣas from pre-Vedic days. He has adduced literary and archaeological evidence regarding the general character of the Yakṣa type. There were Yakṣas long before Gautama Buddha, and their descendants continued to hold sway long after the Śuṅgas. In *Le*

¹ Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 206-7, 256, 267.

² Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, 1934, pp. 18-9.

Catalogue Géographique Des Yakṣa Dans La Mahāmāyūrī, 1915, Sylvain Lévi¹ has traced the Yakṣa belt and the kingdom of the *Yue-tche*, and the country of Varṇu noted in Pāṇini. A comparison of *Mañjuśrī*, Coomaraswamy's *Yakṣas* and Lévi's *Mahāmāyūrī* is instructive. The following premises emerge.

- (a) The geographical distribution of Yakṣa history and Yakṣa sculptures agree.
- (b) Special sites of Yakṣa cover the Indus Valley, the North-West and the Himalayan regions spreading from the west to the east. (i) Thus Varṇu² (30, 4. *Mahāmāyūrī*) is mentioned by Pāṇini, 4, 2, 103 along with Suvastu, Sindhu and Gandhāra. (ii) Nandivardhana (35, 3) associated with Vaiśālī, Puṣkalāvati and Taksaśilā (B. E. F. E. O., 1905, p. 230).
- (c) Jayaswal's *Gambhīrayakṣa* (Imp. Hist. Ind., p. 19; *Mañjuśrī*, G. 621 should be compared with *Mahāmāyūrī*, 101 *Kumbhīro yakṣo Rājagṛhe vipulē'smin niveśikāḥ*.³
- (d) Intimate association of Yakṣas with *Mayūra* in literature, and of the Mauryas with *Mayūra* in archaeology (J. R. A. S. 1935, p. 413); cf. also Mahenjo-Daro, vol. I, p. 349—“We have a bird with a very long, broad tail, which may possibly be a peacock.”
- (e) The similarity in technique between Yakṣa and Maurya sculptures has been pointed out

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, Janvier-Fevrier 1915, pp. 55-6.

² Przyluski, *Journ. As.*, 1914. II, 513.

³ Lévi, *Journ. As.*, *op. cit.* 1935, p. 41.

by Bachhofer in his *Indian Sculptures* under the Śaiśunāka statues in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and the Didarganj image in the Patna Museum.

- (f) The name of Nandi, the bull in place names, and its representations in icons and plaques.

I will merely indicate the direction of the conclusion, leaving it to shape gradually with the progress of further research. May it not be suggested tentatively that *mūrti* is a derivative from *Mūra*, worshipped by the earliest pre-Vedic people the Mūradevas, to whom may be affiliated the Yakṣas and the Mauryas?

Besides the manufacture and installation of images and shrines, the *Rājadharmakaustubha* describes various other social, political, executive and judicial functions of the king. The *pratyaḍhidevatāsthānam* (pp. 280-292) may be read profitably along with Chap. V (Parokṣa, pp. 121-152) of Coomaraswamy.

The get-up of both the books is excellent. The editor of the *Rājadharmakaustubha* is a legist, and as such has missed a number of significant details which an artist and historian would have noted.

Both Coomaraswamy and the Oriental Institute of Baroda have done useful work in collecting and interpreting systematised material which would help in reconstructing Indian history on sound lines.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

Mauryan Public Finance. By M. H. GOPAL, M.A., PH.D.
(London) Assistant Professor of Economics,
University of Mysore, George Allen & Unwin
Ltd., London, 1935. 8½" × 5½", pp. 1-237.

The author seeks to interpret texts on his own responsibility (Preface) but he fails to inspire confidence about his competence. His poor knowledge of Sanskrit, and in spite of his claim of access to a long series of authorities ("Sources"; pp. 207-212) his ignorance of those authorities are apparent. There is no Sanskrit author as *Chandisvara* (p. 208) but he is *Chandeśvara*. His description of the *Rājanīti-Ratnākara* shows that he has not seen the book. Similarly his description of Jolly's Brihaspati (SBE) as being the translation of "*Brihaspati-Smṛiti*" published by the *Ānandāśrama Series*, Poona, proves that he is not aware of the fact made clear by Jolly himself that the translator collected fragments from *Nibandhas* (Digests). It is doubtful whether the author has seen any of the two works, either Jolly's or the alleged *Ānandāśrama* publication. Similarly he mentions Naug's "*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*" (209). Here 'Naug' may be taken as a misprint for Haug, but that he has not seen the Sanskrit Text is proved by the spelling *Aitareya* which is also found throughout (p. 118). Cowell did not edit (*Divyāvadāna* but *Divyāvadāna*). It is a libel on Manu (VIII. 308) to say that he wrote "*bhāgahārīṇam*" (117). The "*Pratipadapañchikā*, by

Bhaṭṭasvāmi (sic., read *Bhaṭṭasvāmin*) has, according to Dr. Gopala, incorrect readings," (p. 207) but not a single one has been pointed in his book of 206 pages.

The author has failed to realize the scope of Public Finance.

Dr. Gopal introduces his book with the observations of a finance minister of modern India, James Wilson :— "Finance is not arithmetic; finance is a great policy."

At the last session of the Legislative Assembly, Sir James Grigg, the finance minister of to-day, pointed out that such high finance without arithmetic soon led the financier to an enforced cessation of further activity within four walls. A greater teacher than either Wilson or Grigg, Plato laid down in his *Laws*¹, that a true statesman must begin his education with 'geometry' as his work will require him to be a realist, in the best sense of the word, and not a romantic or sentimentalist, much less the complacent tool of a policy. If the author had paid greater regard to the dry facts of Arithmetic, more attention to accuracy of details, the book would have been less useless to serious students of Mauryan finance.

Besides his misuse of Bhaṭṭasvāmin, the author collects and repeats discredited theories with less than

¹ *The Laws of Plato*, Book VII. Cf. "Such ignorance seemed to me more worthy of a stupid beast like the hog than of a human being, and I blushed not for myself alone, but for our whole Hellenic world." Some of Dr. Gopal's interpretations of Sanskrit passages have reminded me of **bibbety-alpa-srutād Vedaḥ mām-ayaṁ prabariṣyati*. A knowledge of Sanskrit is necessary to construe a Sanskrit passage, and a familiarity with the milieu is essential to interpret it.

their originators' acumen. The dissertation is helpful in indicating the root-cause of the failure of most modern research, viz., a lack of background. Specialization is not broad-based on original, allied and ancillary literature. Hence the most preposterous interpretations are often advanced with a naiveté that is the despair of those who know what precedes. Take a few samples.

In pp. 51-62, the author discusses the question of the ownership of land in India. Dr. Barnett 'has kindly supplied' Dr. Gopal with an English translation of *Strabe*, xv, 1, 40: "they work it for hire, at the rate of fourth (part) of the produce." (p. 53) Armed with this authority, Dr. Gopal considers the view of Jayaswal based on *Manu*, viii, 39, and Bhāṭṭasvāmī—*Rājā bhūmeḥ* etc., as 'incorrect'. (p. 62) Apart from qualified state-landlordism advocated by Thomas, Macdonell and Smith, Dr. Gopal betrays the besetting sin of researchers of his type by his statement—"the difference between the two interpretations of the *śloka* is *** whether in the fourth quarter the word is *sāmyam* or *svāmyam*." (p. 57) Dr. Gopal does not realise that a fundamental political, social and economic problem like this has to be examined in the light of the whole trend of Hindu jurisprudence, the *Mīmāṃsā*, and not to be disposed of on the strength of an uncertain word in an obscure ms. of unknown date. Jayaswal's opinion is based on the *Mīmāṃsā*. The *Arthaśāstra* assumes acquaintance with the *Mīmāṃsā*. So does Bhāṭṭasvāmī. Dr. Gopal exhibits Hamlet with the Prince of Denmark left out. The view he represents may be compared to Hotman's

interpretation of the right *hereditates capiendi* mentioned in Cicero's orations.¹ Cicero refers the right to the capability of being appointed heir in a testament: Hotman refers it to the right of entering upon the inheritance. This entrance, he says, was a solemn act, to wit, a *cessio in jure*. Now since, as he himself adds, it was requisite to every *cessio in jure* that there should not only be a person to acquire the thing ceded, but also a person to cede it, one must assume that the deceased got up out of his grave in order to assist at the performance of the ceremony. This is incomprehensible. Jolly quotes Manu, viii, 39—"The king is the owner of the soil." One must assume then that the king must always have been there to assist at the conferring of lands. What becomes of those aspects of Hindu polity that recognise no crown? What becomes of Manu, ix, 44—"The land belongs to him who cleared it." What becomes of the age old custom still obtaining among the Oraons and Mundas of Chotanagpore to clear jungles and call the lands thus reclaimed their own? Even the bearing of the problem is beyond the competence of Dr. Gopal.

In pp. 15, 102, the author refers to the tax on prostitutes and professes to note a remarkable parallel in Athens. He quotes Boeckh—"According to a passage of Suidas and Zonaras, the *agaronomi* designated the price which each prostitute should take. "Dr. Gopal's supposed parallelism is due to a lack of perspective, a superficial piecing together of undigested opinions. On this topic, the viewpoint of

¹ *On the Jus Latti*. See Niebuhr, Roman Hist. Vol. I, p. 566.

India essentially differs from that of Athens. Plato wrote his *Laws* about 350 B.C., Kautilya his *Arthasāstra* about 320 B.C. By Plato and all serious Greek statesmen, the physical conjunction itself was looked on wholly unsentimentally as a merely animal function in which a man temporarily abdicates his personal dignity and becomes grossly ridiculous, though in practice, in view of the insistence of the appetite, such self-forgetting received an easy indulgence.¹ The attitude of Rabelais towards such things is more in keeping with Hellenic feeling than the demand Kautilya² makes for continence in his—*Kṛtsnam hi sāmānyam-idam-indriyajah*. The political and economic exploitation of prostitutes in the *Arthasāstra* is adjusted to this socio-religious background in the form of a department by itself.

In p. 190, discussing expenditure on the military, justice and police, the author says, "Even in British India, where there is little likelihood of internal disturbance and not much chance of external trouble, a large army is maintained." The single word 'even' shows how inadequately equipped the author is for his task. The writer has no conception of the influence of military preparedness on sound finance. He ignores the Hindu ideology of *Danda-nīti* in the scheme of practical politics and economics. Behind both British and Mauryan finance lives the spirit of ancient India's *Mayūra-dharma*. Dr. Gopal should study Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity* and Schack's *Armament and*

¹ E. R. Bevan, *Christianity*, (Home University Library), p. 53 ff.

² Kautilya, *Arthasāstra*, section III.

Finance in Germany (1935).

Thus both from its manner and matter, Dr. Gopal's *Mauryan Finance* is the work of an amateur who contributes nothing new or useful to an already abundant literature on the subject.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

REVIEW

By Dr. J. Misra, Ph.D.

Dholā-Mārūr-ā Dūbhā. A mediaeval folk-song of Rajputānā in Rājasthānī dialect of Hindī. Edited by Messrs. Rām Singh, M.A., Viśārada, Sūrya Karaṇa Parīka, M.A., Viśārada, and Narottama Dāsa Svāmī, M.A., Viśārada; and published by the Nagarī Pracārīnī Sabhā, Kāśī. Saṃvat 1991, pp. 213 + 664, price Rs. 4.

Not long ago the attention of Hindī scholars was drawn towards the folk-poems. Since then many admirable works and articles on the subject have been published from time to time and the present work is an addition to the previous publications.

The work has been divided into three sections; the Introduction, the Text and the Paṛiśiṣṭa.

In the first part of the Introduction the editors deal with the historical and literary aspect of the subject matter. They have come to the conclusion that the hero of the poem is a historical person of the 10th century A. C. The data advanced by them being insufficient, it is not free from risk to identify the hero of a popular ballad with the prince of the same name and of a particular period. Like the folk-songs of Sāraṅgā-Sadābrja, Rājā Bhartharī etc., the song of Dholā and Mārūr is current in the villages of Bihār also. In the circumstance one feels tempted to presume that the story may belong to a period when

Magadha and Ujjayinī were more closely connected than they were in the 10th century A. C. or later. It would be interesting if a scholar would take the trouble of compiling the poem, as it is prevalent in Bihār.

In discussing the literary merit of the work the editors have entered into unnecessary details. It may serve the purpose of a text book for a beginner, but, for the average reader it becomes a tedious reading. The editors might have done well if they might not have attempted to take upon themselves the entire burden of thinking for the readers. This portion being unnecessarily long many commonplace things have been given in great detail¹ and the same thing has been repeated here and there².

In the second part of the Introduction the editors, have dealt with the language of the work and they have used a peculiar expression "Bihārī Language," which is occasionally used by some Hindī philologists. We ourselves in Bihār do not understand the expression. To us Bihār is a Hindī province where dialects of Hindī exist in different parts of it.

The editors have laboured hard to prove that the language of Kavīr is Rājasthānī. But the students of Hindī will not find it easy to favour the theory. It is an instance of local patriotism, which is at the root of many misleading linguistic theories.

The grammar of Rājasthānī dialect added here is a useful contribution.

¹ Description of love sentiment and its divisions and subdivisions etc.

² Use of riddles in folk-songs. See pp. 52 and 128.

The story of the poem is that Dholā or Sālha Kumāra was the son of Nala, the King of Naravara. Once there was a famine and Piṅgala, the King of Pūgala, with his daughter Māravaṇī (abbreviated into Mārū) and his queen went to the court of Nala. The queen liked the prince Dholā and the princess Māravaṇī was married to him. At that time the prince was three years old and the princess a year and a half. As the princess was a little child, she was brought back to Pūgala by her parents. In course of time prince Dholā grew up and was married to Mālavaṇī, the princess of Mālva, and Māravaṇī, being at a great distance, was almost forgotten. In order to keep her position safe, Mālavaṇī appointed men, so that, nobody might approach the palace with the news of Māravaṇī.

One day young Māravaṇī saw the prince in dream and his separation made her restless. Her parents sent messengers to the prince Dholā, but they were killed by the men of Mālavaṇī. One day a merchant came to Pūgala and related to the king all about Mālavaṇī, her men and the fate of his messengers. So it was decided to send some minstrels, disguised as beggars, to Pūgala. These minstrels escaped the notice of the men of Mālavaṇī and delivered the message to the prince. In spite of all the remonstrances of and obstacles put by Mālavaṇī, the prince went to Naravara, brought back Māravaṇī and lived happily with his two wives.

The text consists of 674 Dūhās,¹ translated into

¹ Dūhā is a metre of two lines and is very widely used in Rājputāna. It is just like the Hīndī Dohā.

modern High Hindī. The language of the poem is musical and sweet and the plot has been executed with graceful simplicity. Charming are the descriptions of the things with local interest in Rājputānā, such as, the seasons, birds, beasts—specially camels, mountains, lakes, flowers, shrubs etc. Human emotions have been dealt with in the simplest form and they enter the heart directly. The elements of Indian folk-song e.g. *pi pi* (= *priya*—beloved) note of the *papihā* bird, message through traders and travellers are present as usual. The onrush of love, the chief sentiment of the poems is unchecked from beginning to end. Want of technical refinement gives it the appearance of a rustic poem, but the natural and unobstructed flow of human emotions makes it highly artistic. There is no doubt that the poem is a first class piece of ballad poetry.

The third section is *Pariśiṣṭa* and consists of different readings in 17 manuscripts, annotations on peculiar words and expressions, and a glossary. It has been prepared carefully and is very useful.

The work, as a whole, is a beautiful gem of Hindī Literature and the editors are to be congratulated for the pains they have taken.

Notes of the Quarter

Proceedings of an Ordinary Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on February 20, 1936.

A meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society was held in the B. A. lecture theatre of Patna College at 6-30 p. m. on February 20, 1936. Dr. Stella Kramrisch delivered a much appreciated lecture on "Some exhibits of interest in the Patna Museum," and illustrated her address with specimens of terra-cottas and bronzes.

February 25, 1936

J. L. HILL
Honorary General Secretary

*Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar
and Orissa Research Society held on Sunday, March
15, 1936.*

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James
(Vice-President in the chair)

Mr. G. E. Fawcus

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal

Mr. Shyam Bahadur

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh

Mr. J. L. Hill

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting held on December 15, 1935.
2. Passed the accounts for the months of December, 1935, and January and February, 1936.
3. Elected the following gentlemen members of the Society :—
 1. Mr. S. M. Moinul Haq, M.A., Principal, B. N. College, Patna.
 2. Mr. Jayantilal M. Baxi, Honorary Secretary, Watson Museum.
 3. Mr. Srinath Shah, Durga Kund, Benares.
4. Considered the request of the Editors of "The Dacca University Studies" that their journal should be placed on the Society's exchange list.

Resolved that the Editors be requested to submit another application in a year's time.

5. Read a letter dated January 8, 1936, from the General Secretary of the 10^e Congrès International de Linguistes.

Resolved that Dr. Sten Konow be requested to represent the Society at the Congress to be held in Copenhagen in August, 1936.

6. Read a letter dated December 17, 1935, from the Vice-Chancellor University of London.

Resolved that Sir Edward Gait and Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham be requested to represent the Society at the 4th Anglo American Conference of Historians to be held in London in July, 1936.

7. Considered two applications of the Office Pandit.

Resolved that the Pandit be granted 3 months leave on average pay with effect from April 14, 1936; and that to be permitted to prefix Good Friday and the Easter holidays to this leave.

Resolved that the Pandit be permitted to withdraw Rs. 225 from his Provident fund for use in connexion with his daughter's marriage; and that this sum be repaid in 23 instalments (22 instalments of Rs. 10 a month and the 23rd instalment of Rs. 5).

8. Considered arrangements for the Annual General Meeting of the Society to be held on

March 25 at 6-30 p. m. in the University Library hall.

9. Passed the Agenda paper of the Annual General Meeting.

AGENDA

1. The President, His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., to declare the meeting open.
2. His Excellency, the President, to move that the Society expresses its sorrow at the death of His late Majesty, the King-Emperor, George V, and tenders its loyal and respectful sympathy with His Majesty King Edward VIII, with Queen Mary and with the other members of the Royal Family.
3. His Excellency, the President, to move that the Society expresses its sorrow at the death of Professor Sylvain Levi, an honorary member of the Society, and desires that its sympathy be conveyed to the members of the bereaved family.
4. The Vice-President to propose that the following gentlemen be elected honorary members of the Society.

Professor C. R. Lanman, LL.D.

The Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana.

Sir Richard Burn, C.S.I.

Dr. A. Coomaraswami, D.Sc.

5. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazal Ali to propose that the following members be elect-

ed office bearers and members of the Council of the Society for the year 1936-37 :—

President—His Excellency Sir James David Sifton,
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W.
James, M.A., I.C.S., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

Secretary—Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A., (Oxon.)

Joint Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer—Mr. Sham Bahadur.

Librarian—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board—Mr. K. P. Jayswal, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W.

James, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members)—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James,
M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D.LITT.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazal Ali.

6. The Honorary Secretary to present the Annual Report.
7. The Honorary Treasurer to present the Annual Statement of Accounts.

8. The Vice-President to review the year's work of the Society.
9. The President to introduce Mr. P. C. Manuk.
10. A lecture by Mr. Manuk on "The fascination of Hieroglyphics."
11. The President to propose a vote of thanks to the lecturer.
12. Mr. Jayaswal to propose a vote of thanks to the chair.
13. The President to declare the meeting closed.
14. Read a letter dated March 7 from Mr. L. K. Jha.
Resolved that Mr. Jha should be requested first to pay the arrears due to the Society, and that subsequently, if he so wishes, he can become a life member on payment of the necessary sum (Rs. 180).
15. Removed from the Society's membership register the names of the following members, who have not paid their arrears :—
 1. Mr. Paul Roland Carr, Long Island.
 2. Mr. Ram Kumar Chaube, Benares.
 3. Mr. G. K. Chaudhuri, Ballipur.
 4. Rai Sahib G. K. Despande, Poona.
 5. Raja Bahadur G. N. Harichandan, Tekkali.
 6. Mr. Rameswar Prasad Jaruhar, Patna.
 7. Mr. V. L. Khanna, Calcutta.
 8. Mr. R. Kimura, Japan.
 9. Mr. Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, Agra.
 10. Rai Sahib Pandit Balgobind Malaviya, Patna.

11. Sir F. D. Miller, London.
12. Mr. Sri Nivas Rao Pantulu Garu.
13. Mr. Krishnadeva Prasad, Langartoli,
Patna.
14. Mr. S. Narasingh Rao, Madras.
15. Mr. E. H. L. Seppings, Rangoon.
16. Mr. Paramanad Shaw, Dinapore.

J. L. HILL

March 16, 1936

Honorary General Secretary

Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held in the reading room of the University Library at 6-30 p. m. on March 25, 1936.

1. The President, His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., declared the meeting open.
2. His Excellency, the President, moved that the Society expresses its sorrow at the death of His late Majesty, the King Emperor George V. The motion was carried, all present standing.
3. His Excellency, the President, moved that the Society expresses its sorrow at the death of Professor Sylvain Lévi, an honorary member of the Society. The motion was carried, all standing.
4. The following gentlemen were elected honorary members of the Society on a motion of the Vice-President :

Professor C. R. Lanman, LL.D.

The Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana.

Sir Richard Burn, C.S.I.

Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.

5. The following members were elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for 1936-37 on a motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali :

<i>President</i>	.. His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S.
<i>Vice-President</i>	The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.
<i>Secretary</i>	.. Mr. J. L. Hill, M.A., (Oxon.).
<i>Joint Secretary</i>	Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.
<i>Treasurer</i>	Mr. Sham Bahadur.
<i>Librarian</i>	Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.
<i>Editorial Board</i>	Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law. Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, D. LITT.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

Mr. H. R. Batheja, M.A.

Mr. D. N. Sen, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Saiyid Fazl Ali.

6. The Honorary Secretary presented the Annual Report.
7. The Honorary Treasurer presented the Annual Statement of Accounts.

8. The Vice-President reviewed the year's work of the Society.
9. Mr. P. C. Manuk delivered a popular and interesting lecture on "The fascination of Hieroglyphics."
10. The President proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.
11. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.
12. The President declared the meeting closed.

J. L. HILL

April 17, 1936

Honorary General Secretary

Annual Report for 1935-36

I—MEMBERSHIP

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Society's Journal on the 31st December, 1935, was 152. This represents a decrease of five from the corresponding figure at the end of 1934, the Society losing six of its ordinary members by resignation, and the Journal three of its subscribers, while four new members were enrolled. With the 12 honorary and 13 life-members, the total membership of the Society stands at 177.

II—MEETINGS

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 29th March, 1935, in the Physics Lecture Theatre of the Science College, Patna, His Excellency Sir James David Sifton, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., I. C. S., President of the Society, presiding. After the transaction of formal business, the Vice-President reviewed the work of the Society during the past year. The meeting was followed by a most interesting lecture on the "Expansion of Buddhism in Afghanistan" delivered by Professor H. Heras, M. A.

Two ordinary meetings were held this year. One was held on September 19, 1935 at which Mr. O. C. Ganguly, Editor of "Rupam", gave an illustrated lecture on "Moghul Painting," and the other on February 20, 1936, at which Dr. Stella Kramrisch gave a

lecture on "Some exhibits of interest in the Patna Museum," and illustrated her lecture with specimens of bronzes, and with *terra-cottas* recently discovered in Patna.

Meetings of the Council were held on 4th August and 15th December, 1935, and on March 15, 1936.

III—JOURNAL

During the period under review parts 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Volume XXI of the Society's Journal, containing 552 pages and three plates, have been published. The Editorial Board is the same as that of the year 1935.

The printing of Buchanan's "Accounts of the District of Bihar and of the City of Patna" is nearing completion.

The Archæological Department, Cochin State, and the Muslim University Journal, Aligarh, have been put on our Journal's exchange list.

IV —LIBRARY

During the year 237 books (343 volumes), of which 25 were Sanskrit, 2 Pali, 9 Hindi, 3 Persian, and 1 each in Mundarica, Gujarati, and Santali, were added to the Library. Of this total 68 were presented, while 126 were obtained by exchange and 43 by purchase. On the 31st December, 1935, the Library contained 6984 volumes as compared with 6641 volumes at the end of the previous year. Khan Bahadur Syed Md. Ismail gave a donation of Rs. 50 last year, with which books on Islamic culture have been purchased.

Babu K. K. Datta of Patna College has been engaged in examining manuscripts of historical importance in the Record Room of the District Judge, Patna. 41 of these have already been received for storage in the Society's Library.

V—SEARCH FOR MANUSCRIPTS

The search for manuscripts proceeded under the supervision of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri. The Mithila Pandit noticed 1143 manuscripts from April, 1935 to February, 1936.

Vol. III of the Catalogue of manuscripts on Jyotisha is in the press.

VI—ACCOUNTS

The Annual Statement of Accounts is being presented by the Honorary Treasurer and will be printed separately.

J. L. HILL

March 15, 1935

Honorary General Secretary

*Statement of Accounts from 1st April, 1935
to 29th February, 1936*

A. The actuals for 1934-35 showed a closing balance of Rs. 2,054-5-11 with the amount transferred to fixed deposit, *viz.*, Rs. 4,372-7-9, the total balance to the credit of the Society was Rs. 6,426-13-8 at the end of 1934-35.

B. As regards the actuals up to the 29th February, 1936 the current account closing balance was Rs. 1,916-15-1. To this must be added the amount on fixed deposit, *viz.*, Rs. 4,491-11-6 which gives a total of Rs. 6,408-10-7.

C. The chief sources of income are the Government grant, subscriptions, sale-proceeds of the Society's Journal and interest on fixed deposits. The subscriptions realized up to the 29th February, 1936 amounted to Rs. 1,687-2-0, up to the 28th February, 1935 the realized amount was Rs. 1,123-8-0. The estimate for the whole financial year was Rs. 1,300.

Our realization from the sale-proceeds of published literature amounted to Rs. 484-4-0 up to the end of February, 1936. For the same period last year, the amount was Rs. 249-9-0.

The interest on fixed deposits amounted to Rs. 119-3-9 up to the 29th February, 1936.

S. BAHADUR

Honorary Treasurer

March 15, 1936

Actuals up to February 29, 1936

INCOME

	Actuals.			Revised Budget.		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Subscriptions	1,687	2	0	1,300	0	0
Sale of Journal	454	12	0	200	0	0
Miscellaneous (a)	53	7	0	..		
Postage Recovered	7	13	0	10	0	0
Sale of Catalogue of Mithila Manuscripts	29	8	0	..		
Government grant	5,445	0	0	5,445	0	0
Library unspent Balance .. ..	..			234	4	1
Opening Balance—						
Hathwa Fund	2,323	4	9	2,365	4	9
Darbhanga Fund	2,293	13	0	2,341	13	0
Mayurbhanj Fund	861	11	1½	881	11	1½
General Balance	948	0	9½	948	0	9½
Interest on F. D.	119	3	9	..		
GRAND TOTAL	14,223	11	5	13,726	1	9

(a) This includes Rs. 18 refund from Telephone.

March 15, 1936

S. BAHADUR
Honorary Treasurer

Actuals up to February 29, 1936

EXPENDITURE

	Actuals			Revised Budget		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Establishment	1,172	14	6	1,276	0	0
Mithila Pandit	1,424	4	2	1,546	0	0
Telephone	246	0	0	228	0	0
Printing Charges	2,623	14	6	2,825	0	0
Postage	331	2	0	260	0	0
Stationery	82	3	0	60	0	0
Library	414	11	11	584	4	1
Electrical Charges	73	0	0	90	0	0
Out of Hathwa Fund ..	1,240	4	3	2,365	4	9
Out of Darbhanga Fund ..	..	..	..	1,752	0	0
Out of Mayurbhanj Fund ..	..	..	..	881	11	1½
Miscellaneous	205	10	6	300	0	0
TOTAL	7,815	0	10	12,168	3	11½
CLOSING BALANCE ..	6,408	10	7	1,557	13	9½
GRAND TOTAL ..	14,223	11	5	13,726	1	9

Details of closing Balance on 29th February, 1936 :—

	C/A			F/D			Total		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Hathwa Fund	99	8	6	1,025	0	0	1,124	8	6
Darbhangā „	332	2	3	2,050	14	3	2,383	0	6
Mayurbhunj „	180	6	1½	698	5	3	878	11	4½
General Balance	1,304	14	2½	717	8	0	2,022	6	2½
TOTAL ..	1,916	15	1	4,491	11	6	6,408	10	7

March 15, 1936

S. BAHADUR
Honorary Treasurer

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY
*His Excellency the President in inviting Mr. P. C.
Manuk, lecturer of the evening, said :*

Ladies and Gentlemen,

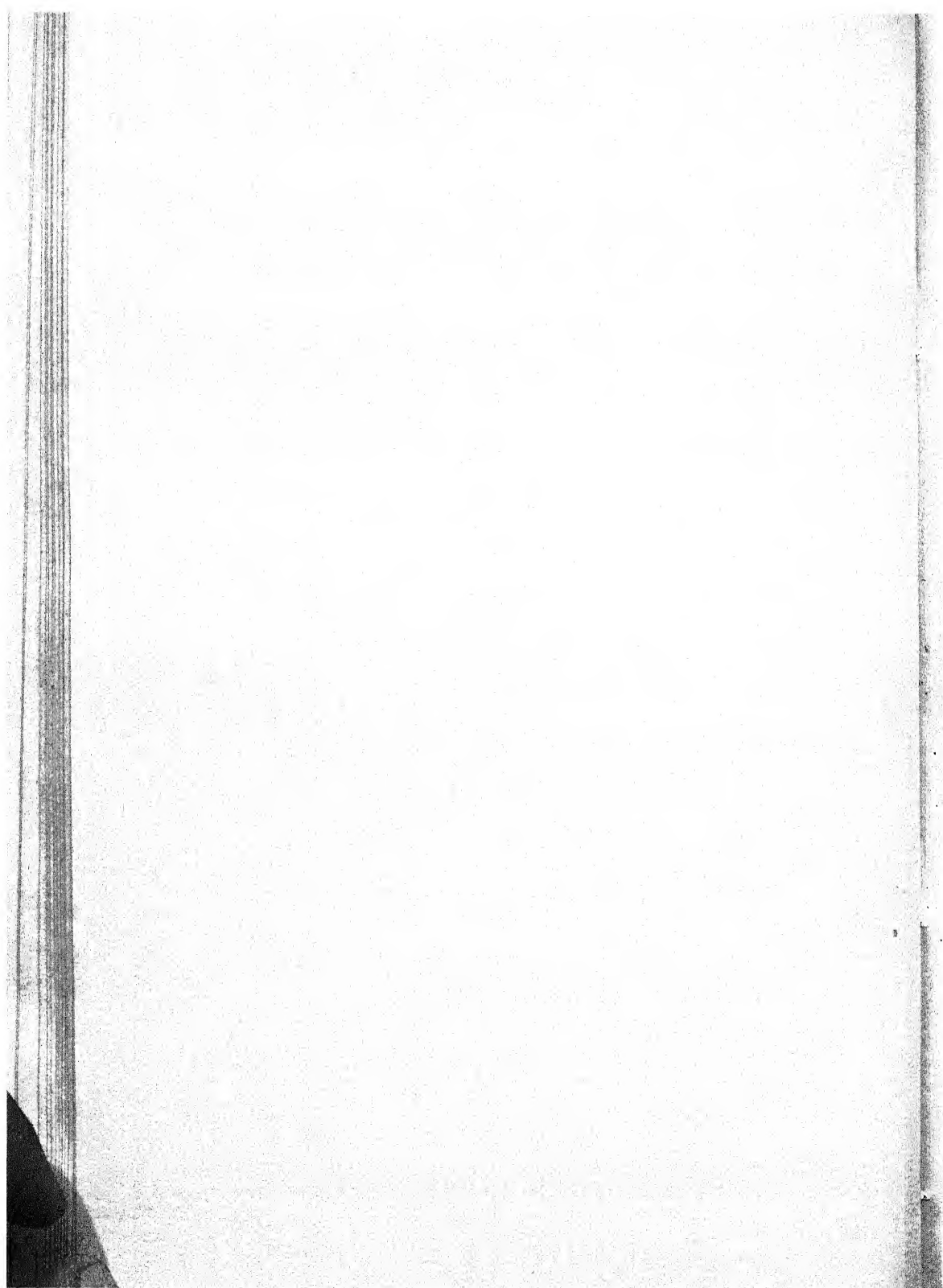
Mr. Manuk really needs no introduction from me. He is one of the oldest members of the Society; he has served on its Council as well as on the Museum Committee and has addressed you on former occasions.

Mr. Manuk is well known to us as an authority on Indian painting, particularly of the Moghul and Rajput schools. His collection—the result of forty years work—is widely known, and it is due to his enthusiasm and knowledge that many pictures and manuscripts have been saved from destruction and have been made available to the public. Tonight, however, he is going to address us on the subject of Hieroglyphs—the picture characters of the more elaborate civilizations of the old world to which the development of writing, as we know it today, can be ascribed. He has chosen a subject in which he does not claim to be an expert, but in which he has long been interested as an amateur and he promises that his exposition will not be entirely above the heads of his audience, as it well might be. I have great pleasure in calling on Mr. Manuk to speak to you now on “The Fascination of Hieroglyphics.”

*At the close of the lecture His Excellency moved a
vote of thanks to the lecturer :*

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am sure that we have all enjoyed this evening's interesting and instructive lecture, and I ask you to record in the usual manner a vote of thanks to Mr. Manuk for the pleasure he has given us.



वादन्यायः

२. न्यायमतखंडनम्

अन्यत्तु न युक्तमिति नेष्यते । यत्रेदं यथोक्तं निग्रहस्थान-
लक्षणान्नास्ति तस्य निग्रहस्थानत्वमयुक्तमिति नोक्तमस्माभिः ।

प्र^१तिदृष्टान्तधर्माभ्यनुज्ञा स्वदृष्टान्ते प्रतिज्ञाहानि (न्यायसूत्रं
५।२।२) निग्रहस्थानमिति । अत्र भाष्यकारमतं दूषयित्वा वार्तिककारो^२

अन्यत्तु न युक्तमिति (8b5) यदुक्तमक्षपादेन द्वाविंशतिविधं निग्रहस्थानं ।
प्रतिज्ञाहानिः । प्रतिज्ञान्तरं । प्रतिज्ञाविरोधः । प्रतिज्ञासंन्यासो हेत्वन्तरमर्थान्तर-
निरर्थकमविज्ञातार्थमपार्थक्यमप्राप्तकालं न्यूनं अधिकं पुनरुक्तमननुभाषणमज्ञा-
नमप्रतिभा विक्षेपो मतानुज्ञा पर्यनुयोज्योपेक्षणनिरनुयोज्यानुयोगोपसिद्धान्तो
हेत्वाभासाश्च निग्रहस्थानानि (न्या० सू० ५।२।१) । “तानीमानि द्वाविंशति-
विधानि विभज्य वक्ष्यन्ते”^३ । प्रतिदृष्टान्तधर्मानुज्ञा स्वदृष्टान्ते प्रतिज्ञाहानिः ।
(न्या० सू० ५।२।१) तत्र भाष्यकारमतं दूषयित्वा वार्तिककारोऽयं स्थितपक्षमाह ।
तमेव ब्रूम इति । भाष्यकारमतस्य भारद्वाजेनैव दूषि^४तत्वादस्माकमर्द्धन्तावदवसितं
भारस्येति भावः । तत्रेदम्भाष्यकारस्य मतं । “साध्यधर्मप्रत्यनीकेन धर्मेण
प्रत्यवस्थितः प्रतिदृष्टान्तधर्मं स्वदृष्टां^५ तेनुजानन् प्रतिज्ञां जहातीति प्रतिज्ञाहानिः ।
निदर्शनमनित्यः शब्द ऐन्द्रियकत्वात् घटवदिति कृते पर आह । दृष्टमैन्द्रियकं
सामान्यं नित्यइकस्मात्^६ न तथा शब्द इति प्रत्यवस्थित इदमाह यदैन्द्रियकं
सामान्यं कामं घटोपि नित्योस्त्विति । स खल्वयं साधनस्य दृष्टान्तस्य नित्यत्वं
प्रसञ्जयन्निगमना^७ नन्त (र)मेव पक्षञ्जहाति पक्षञ्च जहतः प्रतिज्ञाहानिरित्युच्यते ।
प्रतिज्ञाश्रयत्वात् पक्षस्येति ।”^८ वार्तिककारेण चैवमेतद् दूषितं । ^९ “एतत्तु न बुद्ध्या-
महेक्यमत्र प्रतिज्ञा हीयत इति हेतोरनैकान्तिकत्वं सामान्यदृष्टान्तेन परेण चोद्यते ।

^१ उद्योतकर आह न्याय-वार्तिके (पृ० ५५१-५२) ।

^२ न्यायवात्स्यायनभाष्ये (५।२।१) । ^३ तत्रैव (५।२।२) ।

^४ न्यायवार्तिके (५।२।२) ।

यं स्थितपक्षमाह । तत्रैवं ब्रूमः (—) प्रतिदृष्टान्तस्य यो धर्मस्तं यदा स्वदृष्टान्ते^७ऽभ्यनुजानाति निगृहीतो वेदितव्यः । तत्र दृष्टश्चासावन्तेच व्यवस्थित इति दृष्टान्तः (।) स्वदृष्टान्तः स्वपक्षः, प्रतिदृष्टान्तः प्रतिपक्षः । प्रतिपक्षस्य धर्मं स्वपक्षेऽभ्यनुजा^८नन्पराजितः । यथाऽनित्यः शब्द ऐन्द्रियकत्वादिति ब्रुवन प्रतिपक्षवादिनि सामान्येन प्रत्यवस्थिते आह यदि सामान्यमैन्द्रियकं नित्यं शब्दोद्भावनमस्त्विति । अप्या प्रतिज्ञाहानिः प्राक्प्रतिज्ञातस्य^९ शब्दानित्यत्वस्य योगादिति । अत्रापगतप्रतियोगात् प्रतिज्ञाहानौ विशेषप्रतिनियमः किंकृतोऽनेन प्रकारेण प्रतिज्ञां त्यजतः प्रतिज्ञाहानिरिति । सम्भवन्ति ह्यन्येनापि प्रकारेण^{१०} हेतुदोषोद्भावनदिना प्रतिपक्षसाधनाभिधानेन च स्वपक्षपरित्यागः परपक्षोपगमश्च । इदमेव च प्रतिज्ञाहानेः प्रधानं निमित्तं एवं प्रतिपादितेन प्रतिज्ञा हात^{११} व्या हानौ च पराजय इति ।

तस्यानैकान्तिकदोषोद्धारमनुक्त्वा स्वदृष्टान्ते नित्यतां प्रतिपद्यते । नित्यताप्रतिपक्षे-
श्चा^{१२}सिद्धतादृष्टान्तदोषो भवतीति सोयं दृष्टान्तदोषेण वा हेतुदोषेण वा निग्रहो
न प्रतिज्ञाहानिरिति । दृष्टान्तञ्च जहत् प्रतिज्ञाञ्जहातीति उपचारेण निग्रहस्थानं^{१३}
न च प्रधानासम्भवे उपचारो लभ्यत इति प्रतिज्ञाहानेर्मुख्यो विषयो वक्तव्य इति । ”
इदानीन्मवातिककारमतं स्वयमेवोपन्यस्यति । प्रतिदृष्टान्तस्येत्यादिना (8b6) कः
पुनर^{१४}त्र दृष्टान्तोऽभिमतो यदि तावत् यत्र^{१५} ‘लौकिकपरीक्षकानो [?]णां’ बुद्धि-
साम्यं स दृष्टान्त (न्या० सू० १।१।२५) इति पारिभाषिकस्तदा भाष्यकारमताद-
विषेशस्तत्र च प्रतिविहितं । अथान्यः स न ग^{१६}म्यत इत्याह । तत्र दृष्टश्चासौ पञ्चाव-
यवेन साधनेनान्ते च निगमनस्य व्यवस्थित इति दृष्टान्तः पक्षः । ततः स्वशब्देन सह
विशेषणसमासः । तद्विपरीतः प्रतिदृष्टान्त^{१७} (ः) । यथाऽनित्यः शब्दः ऐन्द्रियकत्वादिति
ब्रुवन्वादी प्रतिपक्षवादिनि सामान्यादिकमैन्द्रियकं नित्यं च । ततोविपक्षेपि वृत्तेर्व्य-
भिचायं हेतुरित्येवं “सामान्येन प्रत्यवस्थिते सत्याह यद्येवं शब्दोप्येवमस्त्विति
एषा प्रतिज्ञाहानिर्नाम निग्रहस्थानं” । कस्मात् । प्राग्प्रतिज्ञातस्य शब्दानित्यत्वस्य
त्यागात् । प्रतिज्ञाशब्देन धर्मविशेषणभूतो धर्म उच्यते समुवायावयवत्वात् । एतत्
प्रतिक्षिपति । अत्र भारद्वाजमते उपगतायाः प्रतिज्ञायास्त्यागात् कारणात् । येयं
प्रतिज्ञाहानिर्व्यवस्थापिता तस्यां विशेषनियमः किङ्कृतः । कोसावनेन प्रकारेण
स्वपक्षे प्रतिपक्षधर्मानुज्ञास्वरूपेण प्रतिज्ञाहानिरिति । स्यात् मतमयमेव प्रतिज्ञा-
हानिः प्रकारो नान्योस्ति ततो नियमार्थमुच्यत इति । सम्भवति ह्यन्येनापीति । अथ

इदं पुनरसम्बद्धमेव सामान्यं नित्यमैन्द्रियकमित्युक्तं शब्दो-
प्येवमस्त्विति कः स्वस्थात्मा स्वयमैन्द्रियकत्वादित्यः शब्दा घटवदिति
ब्रुवन सामान्येनोपदर्शनमात्रेण^१ नित्यं शब्दं प्रतिपद्यते । सामान्यस्य-
(१)पि नित्यस्यैन्द्रियकत्वेऽप्यनित्ये घटे दर्शनात्संशयितः स्यात् । जात्या
ह्य(? प्र)तिपद्येतापोति चेत् । तथापि किं सामान्यस्योपदर्शनेन ।
ए^२वमेव नित्यः शब्द इति वक्तव्यं । जडस्य प्रतिपत्तौ विचाराभावात् ।
न च नित्यसामान्योपदर्शनेन तद्धर्म शब्दे प्रतिपद्यमानेन प्रतिपक्षधर्मा-
ऽभ्यनुज्ञातो भवति । अनित्यः शब्द इति च वदतो^३ नित्यशब्द इत्याभासः
प्रतिपक्षः स्यान्न नित्यं सामान्यमिति (१) तस्मादैन्द्रियकत्वस्य
नित्यानित्यपक्षवृत्तेर्व्यभिचारादसाधनाङ्गस्योपादानान्निग्रहाहो न, प्रति-
पक्षधर्मानुज्ञया^४ऽनेन प्रकारेण प्रतिज्ञाहानेः ॥ त् ॥

मतिः प्रधानमेतन्निमित्तं तस्यास्ततोऽस्मिन् प्रदर्शितेऽन्योपि प्रकाशित एव भवती^५ति ।
तदत्राप्याह । इदमेव च हेतुदोषोद्भावनादिकङ्कारणं यस्मादेवं हेतुदोषोद्भावना-
दिना प्रतिपादितेन प्रतिवादिना प्रतिज्ञा हातव्या सम्यग्दूषणाभिधानात्^६यच्चेद-
मभ्यधाय सामान्यं नित्यमैन्द्रियकमित्युक्ते शब्दोप्येवमस्त्वित्यत्र प्रतिविधत्ते । इद-
म्पुनरसम्बद्धमेव (१०१) । यस्मात् कः स्वस्थात्मा सामान्योपदर्शनमात्रेण सामान्य-
मस्ति^७ न चैन्द्रियकमित्युक्तेत्येतदविचार्य शब्दं नित्यं प्रतिपद्यते । एतावत् भवेत्
सामान्यस्यापि नित्यस्यैन्द्रियकत्वे तस्य ऐन्द्रियकत्वस्यानित्येपि घटे दर्शनात् संशयितः
स्यात्^८(१) अपि च प्रतिदृष्टान्तधर्मानुज्ञेवात्र न युक्तेत्याह । न च तद्धर्मं तस्य सामा-
न्यस्य धर्ममित्यत्वं यतोऽनित्यः शब्द इति वदता कस्यचिन्नित्यः शब्द इत्ययमञ्जशो
[? से]^९ति प्रत्यासन्नः प्रतिपक्षः स्यान्न सामान्यन्तस्य धर्म्यन्तरत्वात् । तथा ह्येका-
धिकरणयोरेव नित्यत्वानित्यत्वयोर्विरोधो न नानाधिकरणयोः । आज्ञस^{१०}ग्रहणमय-
मपि विरुद्धधर्माधिकरणत्वात् प्रतिपक्षो न त्वतिनिकटो यथा नित्यः शब्द इत्ययमिति
परिदीपनार्थं । नानेन प्रकारेण प्रतिज्ञाहाने^{११}निग्रहाहं इति वर्तते । केनानेनेत्याह ।
प्रतिपक्षधर्मानुज्ञया । अथवा अनेनेत्यसाधनाङ्गावचनेन । यथोक्तमिदमेव प्रधानं
निमित्तमिति ॥

^१“यदाह कीर्तिः—तस्मादैन्द्रियकत्वस्य नित्यानित्यपक्षवृत्तेर्व्यभिचारादसा-
धनाङ्गस्योपादानान्निग्रहो न प्रतिपक्षधर्मस्याभ्यनुज्ञानादिति”—इति न्यायवार्तिक-
तात्पर्यटीकायां वाचस्पतिमिश्रः (पृ० ७००-१) ।

प्रतिज्ञातार्थप्रतिषेधे धर्मविकल्पात्तदर्थनिर्देशः प्रतिज्ञान्तरं (न्या० ५।२।३) । प्रतिज्ञातोर्थोऽनित्यः शब्द ऐन्द्रियकत्वादित्येव, तस्य हेतुव्यभिचारो^५ पदशनेन प्रतिषेधे कृते धर्मभेदविकल्पात्सामान्यघटयोः सर्वगतत्वासर्वगतत्वधर्मविकल्पेन प्रतिज्ञान्तरङ्करोति । यथा घटोऽसर्वगतोऽनित्य एवं शब्दोऽप्यसर्वगतोऽनित्य इत्येतत्प्रतिज्ञान्तरं नाम निग्रहस्थानं साधनसामर्थ्येण परिज्ञानात् । सहि पूर्वस्या अनित्यः शब्द इति प्रतिज्ञायाः साधनात्तदा यामसर्वगतः शब्द इति^७ प्रतिज्ञामाह । तदर्शनाय तदर्थनिर्देश इत्याह । तदर्थः पूर्वोक्तसाध्यसिद्ध्यर्थ उत्तरप्रतिज्ञानिर्देशस्तदर्थनिर्देशः । न च प्रतिज्ञा प्रतिज्ञान्तरसाधने समर्थेति निग्रहस्थानं ॥

अत्रापि नै^८वं ब्रुवता प्रतिज्ञान्तरं पूर्वप्रतिज्ञासाधनायोक्तं भवति । किन्तर्हि विशेषणं । ऐन्द्रियकत्वस्य हेतोः सामान्ये वृत्त्या व्यभिचार उद्भावितेऽसर्वगतत्वे सत्यैन्द्रियकत्वस्य हेतोर्विशेषणो^९ पादाने व्यभिचारं परिहरति न पुनः प्रतिज्ञान्तरमाह । असर्वगतस्य शब्दे सिद्धत्वात् । प्रतिज्ञायाश्च साध्यनिर्देशालक्षणत्वात् ।

यदप्युक्तं पूर्वप्रतिज्ञासाधनायोत्तरां प्रतिज्ञामाहेति^{१०} तदप्युक्तं ।

प्रतिज्ञा^१तार्थप्रतिषेधे धर्मविकल्पात्तदर्थनिर्देशः प्रतिज्ञान्तरमिति (१२५) (न्या० सू० ५।२।३) द्वितीयलक्षणसूत्रं (१) निग्रहस्थानमिति सर्वत्रानुवर्तते । अस्यार्थः प्रतिषेधो विपक्षे हेतुसद्भावकथनं तस्मिन्सति सपक्षविपक्षयोर्द्धर्मभेदेन करणभूतेन पूर्वप्रतिज्ञार्थप्रतिपत्यर्थं प्रतिज्ञान्तरङ्करोति । यथा घटोऽसर्वगत एवं शब्दोऽप्यसर्वगतो घटवदेव^१नित्यः शब्द इति शेषः सुज्ञानः । इदं निराकरोति अत्रापि (१२८) त्यादिना । अविद्वक्कर्णस्तु भाष्यटीकायामिदमाशङ्क्यपरिजिहीर्षति (१) ननु चासर्वगतत्वे सतीति । हे^२तुविशेषणमुक्तं । सविशेषणद्वयं हेतुविपक्षे नास्तीति न प्रतिज्ञान्तरं निग्रहस्थानं । नहि तदेवमसर्वगतः शब्द इति प्रतिज्ञान्तरोपादानात् । हेतुविशेषणोपादाने हेत्वन्तरं निग्रहस्थानमिति । एतच्चातिस्पष्टं । स ह्येवं पक्षधर्ममेव विदग्धबुद्धिर्विशिनष्टि न तु प्रतिज्ञान्तरमुपादत्ते सिद्धत्वात् । यदपि हेतुविशेषणोपादाने हेत्वन्तरनिग्रहस्थानमित्यभ्यधायि तदप्यतिपेलवं । यस्मादेवं तदेव नामास्तु प्रतिज्ञान्तरत्वसम्बद्धं । उदाहरणसाधम्यदिशेति । उदाहरणसाधम्यात्साध्यसाधनं हेतु (न्या० सू० १।१।३४) रित्येतस्य प्रतिज्ञालक्षणस्य साध्यनिर्देशः प्रतिज्ञेत्येतस्याभावात् । नपावदता चानेन प्रतिज्ञां प्रतिज्ञासाधनाय प्रतिज्ञामात्रेण युक्तिरहिते^४ न सिद्धिरिष्टा

नहि प्रतिज्ञा प्रतिज्ञासाधनायोच्यमाना प्रतिज्ञान्तरं भवति, किन्तहि 9b
हेत्वादेरन्यतमः, साध्यसाधनायोपादानात् । साधननिर्देशः स स्यान्न साध्य-
निर्देशः । उदाहरणसाधर्म्या^१देशश्च हेतुलक्षणस्यासर्वगतत्वे भावात्प्रति-
ज्ञालक्षणस्य चाभावात् । हेतुत्वमसवगतत्वे प्रयुक्तं न प्रतिज्ञान्तरं ।^१
अत्यन्तासम्बद्धच्छेदं प्रतिज्ञां प्रतिज्ञासाधनायाहेति । यो हि प्राक् प्रतिज्ञामु-
क्त्वा हेतूदाहरणादिकं वक्तुं जानाति स किञ्चिदनुक्रमं साधनस्य जानात्येव
हि, जानन्कथमपिकलान्तः [? विकलान्तः] करणः प्रतिज्ञामेव प्रतिज्ञा-
साधनायोपाददीत । उपाददता चानेन प्रतिज्ञामात्रेण सिद्धिरि^३ष्टा
भवति । ततश्च न प्रागपि हेतुं ब्रूयात् । एवं प्रकाराणामसम्बद्धानां
परिसङ्ख्यातुमशक्यत्वात् । लक्षणनियमोप्य(स)म्बद्ध एव प्रतिज्ञान्त-
राभिधाने प्रतिज्ञान्तरं नाम निग्रहस्था^४नमिति । असम्बद्धाभिधानं
निग्रहस्थानमिति । एवं प्रकाराणामेकमेव लक्षणं वाच्यं स्यात् ।
न चैवं विधः कश्चिद्विवादिषु दृष्टपूर्वो व्यवहारो येन तदर्थं यत्नः क्रियते ।
न च^५ बालप्रलापानुद्दिश्य शास्त्रं प्रवर्तते, प्रवृत्तौ च का निष्ठा, तेषामनिष्ठा-
नात् । दृश्यते च विदुषामपि नातिनिरूपणादसिद्धाभिधानमिति ।
व्यवहारदर्शनात्तादृशं पराजया^६धिकरणं व्यवस्थाप्यते । तस्मादिहापि
यदि निवृत्ताका(ङ्ते) वादिनि परो नैकान्तिकतामुद्भावयेदसाधनाङ्गस्यानै-

भवति । ततश्च प्रागपि प्रथमप्रतिज्ञान्तरमपि हेतुमैन्द्रियकत्वन्न ब्रूयात् । तस्मादेवं
प्रकाराणाम्बालप्रलापानां प्रतिज्ञासाधनाय प्रतिज्ञान्तरमुच्यत इत्येवं रूपाणां
परिसङ्ख्यातुमस[?]क्यत्वात् लक्षणनियमोप्यसम्बद्ध एव । कोसौ । प्रतिज्ञान्तरा-
भिधाने प्रतिज्ञान्तरं नाम निग्रहस्थानमिति^७ ।

ननु नायमीदृशो लक्षणनियमः प्रतिज्ञातार्थप्रतिषेधे धर्मविकल्पात्तदर्थनिर्देश
इत्येवं कृतत्वात् । नास्ति दोषस्तस्यैव पर्यायान्तरेण कथनात् । अयोच्यते यथा
विद्वांसो न प्रतिज्ञां प्रतिज्ञासाधनयाहुस्तथा साध्यसिध्यर्थमसिद्धविरुद्धानैकान्तकादी-
नपि प्रयुज्यते ततश्चासाधनाङ्गवचनमित्यादि त्वयापि न वाच्यं^८ भवेदतः प्राह (1)
विदुषामपी (9b6) ति । अनुद्दिश्याप्रमाणकं शास्त्रोपगममिति मामकीने तन्त्रे

^१ “अत्यन्तासम्बद्धमेतद् यत्प्रतिज्ञा प्रतिज्ञासाधनायेति० स कथं चिदनु-
क्रमं० जानात्येव जानन् कथमविकलान्तःकरणः० साधनायोपाददीत” — इति
(न्या० वा० ता० पृ० ७०३) ।

कान्तिकस्याभिधानाभिप्रहृष्टानं वादिनः । एवं यदि प्र^१तिवादी सत्सामान्यमैन्द्रियकं नित्यञ्च प्रमाणेन प्रतिपादयितुं शक्नुयात् । अनुद्दिश्याप्रमाणकं शास्त्रोपगमं प्रमाणेनैवामर्थानामप्रतिपादनेन भूतदोषोद्भावनेमेत(त्) न क^२श्चित्पराजयोऽ(यः, अ)भ्युपगममात्रेण वस्तुसिद्धेरभावान् । प्रतिवादिना दोषस्याप्रतिपादितत्वात् । प्रमाणैरसमर्थितसाधनाभिधानास्तु जेतापि न भवतीति । अनित्याकांक्षे पुनर्वादिनि^३ न कश्चिदोषो, विशेषणाभिधानेन हेतोः समर्थनापक्रमात् ॥ न ॥

प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोर्विरोधः प्रतिज्ञाविरोधः (न्या० ५।२।४) । यथा (—)
 10a “गुणव्यतिरिक्तं द्रव्यमिति प्रतिज्ञा रूपादिभ्योऽर्थान्ति^१ ० रस्यानुपलब्धेरिति हेतुः । सोऽयं प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोर्विरोधः ।”^१ एतेनैव प्रतिज्ञाविरोधोऽप्युक्तो यत्र प्रतिज्ञावचनेन विरुध्यते । यथा श्रव [? श्रम] णा गर्भिणी (,) नास्त्यात्मेति वा । हेतुविरोधोऽपि यत्र प्र^१तिज्ञया हेतुविरुध्यते । यथा सर्व

52a सामान्यं यथा भूतं सिद्धमित्येव न प्रदर्शयत(इ)त्यर्थः । तथाहि व्युत्थित^२चेतसो न परसमयव्यवस्थोपरोधमाद्रियन्ते तत्त्वदर्शनाध्यवसायशूराः शू[?सू]रयः । अप्रमाणकम्वचनं प्रमाणोपेतस्याभ्युपगमस्य विद्वद्भिरलङ्घनीयत्वात् । एतच्च स्या^१त् प्रमाणैरसमर्थितसाधनाभिधानाद्वाद्यापि जेता न भवति प्रतिपक्षस्य निराकरणात् ॥४॥

प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोर्विरोधः प्रतिज्ञाविरोधो (न्या० सू० ५।२।४) (9b10) नाम निप्रहृष्टानं । “गुणव्यतिरिक्तं द्रव्यमिति प्रतिज्ञा । रूपादिभ्योऽर्थान्तरस्यानुपलब्धेरिति हेतुः । सोऽयमप्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोर्विरोधः । यदि गुणव्यतिरिक्तं द्रव्यं रूपादिभ्योऽर्थान्तरस्यानुपलब्धिर्नोपपद्यते । अथ रूपादिभ्योऽर्थान्तरस्यानुपलब्धिर्गुणव्यतिरिक्तं द्रव्यमिति नोपपद्यते ।” एतेनैव प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोर्विरोधेन प्रतिज्ञाविरोधः स्ववचनेन व्याख्यात(ः) । “सूत्रकारेणास्योपलक्षणार्थमुक्तमेतत् । भ्रमणा(10a1)प्रतिविरत-पुरुषसम्भोगा गर्भश्च नान्तरेण पुरुषसम्भोगमिति स्ववचनव्याहृतिः । हेतुविरोध एतेन^३ चोक्त इति वर्तते । सर्वं पृथग् नाना नास्त्येको भाव इति यावत् । समूहे भाव सद्ब[?शब्द]प्रयोगात् समूहवाचकघटादिभावशब्दवाच्यत्वादित्यर्थः । यस्मात् समूह इ^४ति बुवाणेन एकोभ्युपगतो भवति । एकसमुच्चयो हि समूह इति । तथा हि गवादिद्रव्याणि समुदितानि प्रतिपद्यमानेन समूहोभ्युपेयः । स चायं समूहयन्ति

पृथक् समूहे भावशब्दप्रयोगादिति । एतेन प्रतिज्ञया दृष्टान्तविरोधोपि व्याख्यातः । हेतोश्च दृष्टान्तादिभिर्विरोधः प्रमाणविरोधश्च प्रतिज्ञाहेतोर्वक्तव्यः^२ । यः परपक्षं स्वसिद्धेन गोत्वादिना व्यभिचारयति तद्विरुद्धमुत्तरं वेदितव्यं (१) स्वपक्षानपेक्षश्च यश्च स्वपक्षानपेक्षं हेतुं प्रयुंक्ते अनित्यः शब्द ऐन्द्रियकत्वादिति तस्य स्वसिद्धस्य गोत्वादेरनित्यविरोधाद्विरुद्धः^३ ।

द्रव्याण्येतानि गवादिभावेन व्यवस्थितानीति न व्यवतिष्ठते । भेदोप्यल्पतरतमत्वेन यत्तत्र परमाल्पं यदभेद्यं ततो निवर्तते यतश्चायं भेदो निवर्तते तदेकं । अथ म^०न्यसे यं तमभेद्यं परमाणुं मन्यसे सोपि रूपादीनां समुदाय इति । एतस्मिन्च दर्शने ये रूपादयः समुदितास्ते परमाणुरिति परमाणौ रूपं स कस्य समुदाय इ^०ति वक्तव्यं । एवं शेषेषु गुणेषु । अथ न तं समुदायम्प्रतिपद्यते । अष्टौ द्रव्याणि समुदितानि परमाणुरिति शास्त्रं व्याहृतं । कामेऽष्टद्रव्यकोऽशब्दः परमाणुरिति (अभिधर्मकोशे २।२२) । तस्मा^१दनुपपत्तावनेकोपपत्तिरित्यतिमौढ्यं । असिद्धश्चायं हेतुः । यस्मादनेकविधलक्षणैर्गन्धादिभिर्गुणैर्बुध्नादिभिश्चावयवैः सम्बद्ध एको भाव उपपद्यते । अतः^२शब्ददेकार्थाधिगतौ शेषोनुसक्तो[?प्रक्तो]र्थो गम्यत इति ।

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ननु चायमपि प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोविरोध इति प्रथमादस्याविशेषः । नैवमुभयाभित त्वात् विरोधस्य । विवक्षातो^३ऽन्यतरनिर्देश इति भारद्वाजेनैवोक्तत्वात् । प्रतिज्ञाया दृष्टान्तविरोधो यथा व्यक्तमेकप्रकृतिकं परिमितत्वात् शरावादिवदिति शरावादिवृष्टान्त ए^०कप्रकृतित्वं बाधते । दृष्टान्तभूतायाः प्रकृतेः प्रकृत्यंतरत्वात् । एकप्रकृतित्वे वा शरावादिवृष्टान्तोऽयुक्तः । हेतोश्च दृष्टान्तादिभिर्विरोधो यथा गुण^०व्यतिरिक्तं द्रव्यमर्थान्तरत्वेनानुपलभ्यमानत्वात् । घटादिवदिति । घटादीनाम्भेदेन ग्रहणाद्धेतुं बाधते दृष्टान्तः । आदिग्रहणेन हेतोरुपनयनिगम(न)ाभ्यां विरोधो गृह्यते । अनयोऽदाहरणमनित्यः शब्दः कृतकत्वात् । यत्कृतकन्तदनित्यं यथाकाशन्तथा च कृतकः शब्द इत्युपनयेन हेतोर्विरोधः । तथा ह्युदा^०हरणापेक्षस्तथेत्युपसंहारो न तथेति चेति (न्या० सू० १।१।३८) साध्यस्योपनय उक्तः । इह च विपरीतमुदाहरणमित्येतदपेक्षोपनयेन हेतोर्विरोधः । ईदृशे च प्रयोगे त^०स्मादनित्य इत्युपसंहारे निगमनेन । प्रमाणविरोधश्च प्रतिज्ञाहेतोर्थथाऽनुष्णो-ग्निर्द्रव्यत्वाज्जलवदिति प्रत्यक्षम्बाधते । परपक्ष (१० a 2) इत्यादि । एतच्च यच्च स्वपक्षा^०नपेक्षञ्चेत्यादि (१० a 3) । एतदप्युभयम्प्रतिज्ञाहेतोर्विरोध इत्यनेनैव सङ्गृहीतत्वात् पृथग् निग्रहस्थानत्वेन नैव वक्तव्यमिति दर्शयति ।^१ परपक्ष इत्यत्र परेणप्र माणे कृते कणादोऽनैकान्तिकमुद्भावयति । स्वपक्षानपेक्षञ्चेत्यत्र

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इति परपक्षेष्वसिद्धेन गोत्वादिनाऽनैकान्तिकचोदनाविरुद्धः । उभयपक्ष-
सम्प्रतिपक्षस्वनैकान्तिकः । यदुभयपक्षं प्रतिपक्षं वस्तु तेनानैकान्तिक-
चोदनेति ।^१

अत्रापि प्रतिज्ञार्थः^२ साधनवाक्ये प्रयोगप्रतिषेधान् । तदाश्रयस्त-
त्कृतो वा हेतुदृष्टान्तयोर्न विरोध इति न प्रतिज्ञाविरोधो नाम किञ्चिन्नि-
ग्रहस्थानं ।

स्यादेतदसत्यपि प्रतिज्ञाप्रयोगे गम्यमानोपि प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोर्विरोधो
भवति । यथा रूपादिभ्योऽर्थान्तरस्यानुपलब्धिस्तद्गुणव्यतिरिक्तं नोपलभ्य-
म्यते च रूपादिभ्योऽर्थान्तरं द्रव्यमित्युक्तेपि गम्यत एव साध्यसाधनयोर्वि-
रोधः कथन्ततोऽर्थान्तरस्यानुपलब्धिस्तद्व्यतिरेकश्चेति । सत्यं स्यादयं विरोधो
यदि हेतुः साध्यधर्मविपर्ययं साधयेत् । यदि ह्युपलब्धिलक्षणव्याप्तत्वेनो-
पगतस्य^३ सतो द्रव्यरूपादिप्रतिभासविवेकेन स्वप्रतिभासानुपलब्धिस्तस्य-
तद्व्यतिरेके नास्तीतीष्टव्यतिरेकविपर्ययसाधनाद्विरुद्धो हेतुरस्माभिरुक्त
एवेति । भवत्येवेदं निग्रहाधिकरणं यद्येवंविधः प्रतिज्ञाहेतोर्विरोध इष्टः ।
अथ पुनरस्योपलब्धिलक्षणप्राप्तिर्लुप्यते तदा न कश्चित्प्रतिज्ञाहेतोर्विरोधः
व्यतिरिक्तानामपि भावानां कुतश्चिद्विप्रकर्षाणां तद्व्यतिरेके^४ णानुपलब्धा-
वपि व्यतिरेकस्य भावात् ।

यदुक्तं (—) स्ववचनप्रतिज्ञायाः स्ववचनविरोधे प्रतिज्ञाविरोध
इति । तत्रेदमेव निग्रहाधिकरणमसाधनाङ्गभूतायाः प्रतिज्ञायाः साधन-

तु वैशेषिक एव प्रमाणङ्करोति । परस्तं व्यभिचारयतीति भेदः । यदि तर्हि
गोत्वादिना व्यभिचारे कृते विरुद्धमुत्तरं तथा सत्यनैकान्तिको निर्दिष्य इत्याह ।
उभयेत्या(1024)दि । वादिप्रतिवादिप्रसिद्ध उभयपक्षसंप्रतिपक्षः सोऽनैकान्तिकस्त-
द्विषयत्वादुप^३चारेण तथा च वृत्तिस्तेनानैकान्तिकचोदनेति । अत्रापि(1023)स्यादि ।
नैतदपि प्रतियोगिनि तदाश्रयः सा प्रतिज्ञाऽश्रयो यस्य विरोधस्य स तथा । तत्कृतो
वेति त^४या प्रतिज्ञया कृतः । परिशिष्टमतिस्फुटं । व्यतिरिक्तानामपि कुतश्चित् पर्व-
तावेः सकाशाद्विप्रकर्षिणाम्पि^५सा [?] शा]चादीनां तत्रेदमेव निग्रहाधिकरणं ।^६ यदुत
प्रतिज्ञायाः प्रयोगः । न विरोधः प्रतिज्ञायाः निग्रहाधिकरणमिति वदन्ते । किमिति ।
तदधिकरणत्वात् । प्रतिज्ञाश्रयत्वात् इत्यर्थः । यदि पु^७नस्तदधिकरणो न भवेद्

^१ न्यायवार्तिके (पृ० ५५३-४) स्वल्पभेदेन ।

वाक्ये¹⁰ प्रयोगो न विरोधस्तदधिकरणत्वात् । यदि प्रतिज्ञानपेक्षो 10b
विरोधः स्यात् स्यात्पराजयाश्रयः । प्रतिज्ञाधिकरणत्वे पुनस्तत्प्रयोगकृत
एव पराजयोऽस्य प्रस्तावोपसंहारावज्ञानत्वात् । व्यर्थं विरोधो¹द्वावनं
पराजितपराजयाभावाद्भस्मीकृतनालवत् । ये तु केचिद्विचारप्रसङ्गेष्वेकत्र
साध्ये बहुवो हेतव उच्यन्ते तेषां विकल्पेन तत्साध्यसाधनाय वृत्तेः सामर्थ्य-
मन्यथा द्वितीयस्य वैयर्थ्या²त् । यदि हि तत्राप्येकप्रयोगमन्तरेणापरस्य
प्रयोगो न सम्भवेत् न तदा द्वितीयस्य कश्चित्साधनार्थः, प्रतीतप्रतिपादना-
भावात् । तस्मान्न प्रतिज्ञायाः स्ववचनविरोधो नाम किञ्चिन्निग्रहस्थानं ।³

न च नास्त्यात्मेत्यत्र कश्चित्प्रतिज्ञाविरोधः । नास्त्यात्मशब्दार्थस्य

भवेन्निग्रहाधिकरणमित्याह । यदी(10b1)त्यादि । प्रस्तावस्य वादस्योपसंहारः परि-
समाप्तिस्तस्यावसाननिमित्तं प्रतिज्ञाप्रयोगः । तन्मात्रेण⁴वासाधनाङ्गाभिधानात्
वादिनोभङ्गात् । क्वचित्प्रस्तावोपसंहारावसरत्वादिति पठ्यते । तत्रापि
वादपरिसमाप्तेः प्रतिज्ञापदप्रयोगे सत्यवसरोऽधिकार इत्यर्थः । अथ बुद्धिर्द्वया
भवद्भिः कस्यचिदर्थस्य क्षणिकत्वादिकमेकमेव साध्यं बहुभिः सत्त्वोत्पत्तिमत्व-
प्रत्ययभेदभेदित्वादिभिर्हेतुभिः प्रतिपाद्यते तथैक⁵मपि दूष्यम्परोपन्यस्तं साधन-
वाक्यं प्रतिज्ञोपादानद्वारेण तद्विरोधद्वारेणान्यथा वा दूष्यते । तथा च नायन्दोषः
पराजितपराजयाभावादिति । तदत्राह । ये तु हेतवः¹उच्यन्ते(10b2)तेषाम्विकल्पेन
पूर्व्वहेतुनपेक्षया । एवं वैतत् । अथवान्यथा साधयामीत्येतत् साध्यसाधनाय वृत्तेः
कारणात्सामर्थ्यमस्ति (1) किं पुनः कारणं न समुच्चये नैव प्रयोग²इत्याह । अन्यथा
यदि(10b3)समुच्चये नैवापरहेत्वन्तरप्रयोगोभीष्टस्तदा द्वितीयस्य वैयर्थ्यात् विकल्पेन
सामान्यमिति वर्तते । वैयर्थ्यमेव प्रतिपादयति । यदि हि तत्राप्येकप्रयोगमन्तरेणा-
परस्य प्रयोगो न सम्भवेत् । उभयप्रतिषेधेन विध्यवसायात् । यद्येकस्य प्रयोगे-
ऽपरस्य समुच्चयेन प्रयोगः सम्भवेदि⁴त्यर्थः । तदा न द्वितीयस्य कश्चित् साधनार्थो
प्रतीतप्रतिपादनाभावात् । प्रथमहेतुप्रतिपादित एवार्थं व्यापृतत्वात्निष्पादित-
क्रिये दारुणि प्रवृत्त⁵स्यैव दात्रादेर्न कश्चित्साधकतमत्वार्थ इति यावत् । ननु च
साधनवद्विकल्पेनैव दूषणमपि भविष्यति । एवं मन्यते । नैवं परोभ्युपगन्तुमर्हति ।
ए⁶वं हि तेन स्वयमेव प्रतिज्ञाया असाधनाङ्गत्वम्प्रतिपन्नम्भवेत् । ततश्चैतद् व्याह-
न्यते । प्रतिज्ञाहेतुदाहरणोपनयनिगमनान्यवयवा (न्या० सू० १।१।३२) इति ।
अन्यैरेव हेतुभिरित्यव⁷यविद्रव्यनिषेधकैः पूर्व्वोक्तप्रकारैः कुम्भादिशब्दस्यैक-
घटाद्यवयविद्रव्यलक्षणविशेषानभिधानमनेकस्य चार्थस्य रूपादेर्यत्सामान्यमेकार्थ-

भावोपादानत्वनिषेधात् । शब्दार्थनिषेधे हि विरोधः स्यात् । न च स्वतन्त्राणां शब्दार्थ इति । यः पुनः प्रतिज्ञाया बाधनाद्वैतविरोध उक्तः । यथा सर्वं पृथक्समूहे भावशब्दप्रयोगादिति । नात्र प्रतिज्ञायाः प्रयोगो नापि हेतोर्येन विरोधः स्यात् । किन्तुहि प्रतिपादितार्थोपदर्शनेनोपसंहारवचनमेतस्मात् ।

54a क्रियासामर्थ्यात्मिकान्तदभिधानञ्च प्रतिपाद्य सर्वस्य शब्दार्थस्य रूपादेरेकार्थ-
क्रियासमर्थस्य नानार्थरूपतया करणभूतया । एकश्चासौ वस्तुविशेषस्वभावश्चा-
व्यविद्वन्वरूपस्तस्य भाव एकवस्तुविशेषस्वभावता तस्या अभावमुपदर्शयन्नास्त्येको
भाव इत्यभिदध्याद् बौद्धो न तु रूपाणीन्द्रियार्थान् प्रतिक्षिपन् । स्यात् मती
रूपाद्यव्यतिरेकात् सामर्थ्यमप्यनेकं तत्कथन्तदेकमित्युच्यते कथं वा तस्य शब्दार्थत्वं ।
नहि स्वलक्षणं शब्दार्थं इत्युच्यते । नानाभूतमपि सामर्थ्यमिन्नवत्स्वव्यतिरेकादेकार्थ-
क्रियाकारितयैकप्रत्यवमप्यहेतुत्वात् परम्परयैकमित्याख्यायते । यथोक्तम् ।

एकप्रत्यवमर्षस्य हेतुत्वाद्धीरभेदिनी (1)

एकधा हेतुभावेन व्यक्तीनामप्यभिन्नतेति ॥ (२५)

पुरुषाध्यवसायानिरोधेन शब्दार्थत्वं तस्य व्यवस्थाप्यते । पुरुषोऽप्यनादिमिध्या-
भ्यासवासनापरिपाकप्रभावादन्तर्मात्राविपरिवर्तनमाकारं बाह्येष्वेवारोप्य दृश्य-
विकल्पयोरेकत्वम्प्रतिपन्नः परमार्थतस्तु निर्विषया एव ध्वनयः । व्यक्तीनामिन्द्रियज्ञाना-
कारस्य चार्थान्तरानुगमाभावेनाभिलाषागोचरत्वात् । यथाध्यवसायञ्चाकारस्य
सत्त्वात् । यथोक्तं सूत्रे ॥

येन येन हि नाम्ना वै यो यो धर्मोऽभिप्लव्यते ।

न स सम्बिद्यते तत्र धर्माणां सा हि धर्मतेति ॥ (२६)

तदयमत्र समदायार्थो रूपादीनाङ्घटस्य च यथा क्रममनेकत्वमेकत्वञ्च बहुवचनैक-
वचनाभिधेयत्वात् (1) तद्यथा नक्षत्राणि शशीत्येवमादिभिरनुमानाभासैः परेण
घटादिशब्दस्य विषयोऽयमेकार्थोऽव्यव्यभिधानोभ्युपगतः स एव प्रतिक्षिप्यते । ननु
रूपरसादयः परमाणुस्वभावास्तथा हि तेषाम्प्रत्येकमेकैकात्मकत्वमिष्टमेव । केवला-
स्तदातिसफलबीजवन्न समुदायमासादयन्तीति नियतसहोत्पादत्वपरिदीपनायोक्तं ॥

कामेष्टद्वयकोऽशब्दः परमाणुगतीन्द्रियः (1)

54b कायेन्द्रियो नवद्रव्यो दशद्रव्योऽपरेन्द्रिय इति । (२७, अभिधर्मकोशे २१२२)

यथा तु परमाणूनामैन्द्रियकत्वमनित्यत्वञ्च तद्विस्तरेणोक्तमन्यत्रास्माभिः ।
प्रत्युनरेतद्बहुवचनैकवचनाभिधेयत्वादिति तद्वचभिचा^१रि । तथाहि यदैकस्यामपि

अन्यैरेव हेतुभिः शब्दस्यैकविशेषानभिधानमनेकार्थसामान्याभिधानञ्च ।
प्रतिपाद्य सर्वस्य शब्दार्थस्य नानार्थरूपतयैकवस्तुविशेषस्वभावताऽभाव-
मुपदर्शयन् शब्दार्थमधिकृत्य सर्वं पृथगिति ब्रूयात् । एतेन तद्विरोधः प्रत्युक्तः
दृष्टान्तोपदूषणं चैतदित्यः शब्दः कृतकानित्यत्वादिति । यथा कश्चि-
दर्थे विप्रतिपत्तौ प्रसिद्धमनेकार्थसामान्ये शब्दप्रयोगमुपदर्श्य प्रति-

योषिति जले सिकताद्रव्ये वा दारा आपः सिकता इति व्यवहारः । तदा किन्तत्र
बाहुल्यं येनैवं भवति शक्तिभेद इति चेत् । सर्वत्रोच्छिन्नमिदानीमेकवचनमेक-
शक्तेरभावात् । वस्त्वभेदादन्यत्रैकवचनमिति चेत् । इहाप्यस्तु । तदयन्निर्वस्तुको
नियमः क्रियमाणः स्वातन्त्र्यमिच्छायाः शब्दप्रयोगे ख्यापयति । एतेन तदपि
प्रत्युक्तं यदाह कुमारिलः (१)

तत्र व्यक्तौ च जातौ च दारादिश्चेत्प्रयुज्यते ।

व्यक्तेरवयवानाम्वा संख्यामादाय वर्तत इति ॥ (२८)

षण्णगरीति च कथम्बहुष्वेकवचनं । नहि नगराण्येव किञ्चित् कुतस्तेषां समाहारः ।
प्रासादपुरुषादीनां विजातीयानामनारम्भात् कुतस्तत्समुदायो द्रव्यं असंयोगाच्च
नापि संयोगः । प्रासादादीनां परस्परसंयोगात् । प्रासादस्य स्वयं संयोगात्मकस्य
निर्गुणतयापरेणासंयोगाच्च । तत एव च संख्याभावः । तत्संयोगपुरुषविशिष्टा
सत्ता नगरमिति चेत् । किमस्यानिरतिसंशयाया विशेषणं सत्तायाश्चैकत्वात्
नगरबहुत्वेपि नगराणीति बहुवचनं स्यात् (१) द्वयस्य परस्परसहिततेति चेत् ।
अनुपकारकयोः कः सहायीभावः । पुरुषसंयोगसत्तानां च बहुत्वान्नगरमिति कथमेक-
वचनं । तथा भूतानां क्वचिदभिन्ना शक्तिः सा निमित्तमिति चेन्न । शक्तेर्वस्तु-
रूपाव्यतिरेकात् । व्यतिरेके चानुपकार्यस्य पारतन्त्र्यायोगात् । उपकारे वा श-
क्त्युपकारिण्या अपि शक्तेर्व्यतिरेके इत्यवस्थितेरप्रतिपत्तिः । तदव्यतिरेके अन्यासा-
मपि प्रसंग इति यत्किञ्चिदेतत् । प्रकारान्तरमप्याह । दृष्टोपदर्शनश्चैतदिति । 55a
किं पुनः पञ्चम्यन्तनिर्देशेपि दृष्टान्तो भवतीत्याह । कृतकानित्यत्वादि (10b7)
ति यथा येनोक्तं ।

हेतोः साध्यान्वयो यत्राभावेभावश्चकथ्यते ।

पञ्चम्या तत्र दृष्टान्तो हेतुस्तूपनयाऽत्मक (२९) इति ॥

क्वचिदर्थे घटादिद्रव्ये विप्रतिपत्तौ सत्यां रूपादिव्यतिरिक्तमस्ति नास्तीत्यने-
कस्यार्थस्य परस्परव्यावृत्तस्य नगरादेः सामान्यं षण्णगरीत्यादि^३ यद् बुध्यारोपितं

पादितविप्रतिपत्तिस्थानः सामान्येनोपसंहरति । सर्वं पृथगिति । यदि दृष्टान्तप्रयोगः किमृजुनैव तत्प्रयोगक्रमेण न प्रयुक्तो विप्रतिपत्तिविषयश्च किन्न दर्शित इति चेत् । न (1) समासनिर्देशात् । एवमपि प्रयोग (ग)-दर्शनादसाधनवाक्यत्वाच्च । अत एव न प्रतिज्ञया हेतोर्बाधनं । न चैक-
IIa मेव किञ्चिन्नास्तीति ब्रुवाणः कश्चित्तत्समुच्चयरूपमेकञ्च समूह-
मिच्छति येन विरोधः स्यात् ।

तत्र प्रसिद्धं शब्दप्रयोगमादर्श्य परस्परव्यावृत्तानामेकार्थाननुगतानां बुद्धिसमाकृते समूहे भावशब्दप्रयोगादित्यनेन पश्चाद्दुपनयेन पक्षधर्मोपसंहारमागूयं प्रतिपादित-
विप्रतिपत्तिस्थानः सन्सामान्येनोपसंहरति । सर्वं पृथगिति (10b8) ति । प्रतिपादितं प्रतिपत्तिस्थानमनेनेति विग्रहः । एतदुक्तम्भवति । कपालादिव्यतिरेकेणा [?] णा-
व्यव्यस्ति नास्तीति विवादे सत्ययं त्रिलक्षणहेतुसूचनपरो दृष्टान्त उपन्यस्तो न हेतुः । प्रयोगस्त्वत्रैवं क्रियते । ये परस्परव्यावृत्ता न ते व्यतिरिक्तकावयविद्वयानु-
गतमूर्त्यः । तद्यथा षण्णगर्यादयः । तथा च परस्परव्यावृत्ताः कपालादय इति ॥

ननु च यद्ययं दृष्टान्तप्रयोगस्तत्किमृजुनैव तत्प्रयोगक्रमेण न प्रयुक्तो यथा यत्सत् तत्क्षणिकं यथा घट इत्यादौ । किम्पञ्चम्यन्तनिर्देशेन । विप्रतिपत्ति-
विषयश्च किन्न दर्शितः कपालादेरवयविप्रतिषेधविशिष्टः । यथान्यत्रानित्यः शब्दः
55b कृतकानित्यत्वादिति । चकारात् स्पष्टश्च कस्मात् हेतुः साध्यानुगतो न प्रदर्शितः ।
तथाह्यत्र परस्परव्यावृत्तानामेकार्थाननुगतानां बुद्ध्या समाहिते समूहभावशब्द-
प्रयोगादित्यभ्यूह्य वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः क्रियते । अत्रोत्तरं न समासनिर्देशात्
संक्षेपाभिधानादित्यर्थः । एवमपि प्रयोगदर्शनात् कृतकानित्यत्वादित्यादौ ।
असाधनं वाक्यत्वाच्च साधनप्रयोगोत्प्रेक्षासूचकं वाक्यमेतत् । नत्विदं साधन-
वाक्यमित्यर्थः । अत एवेति दृष्टान्तवाक्यत्वादेवेति । यदचायं हेतुस्तन्नुपटरूपे
भिन्नकारणे विशेषवत्त्वाद्रूपस्पर्शवदिति ॥ अयमपि तन्नुपटयोर्भेदासिद्धौ तदा-
श्रितस्यापि गुणस्य विभागासिद्धेरसिद्धाश्रय इति नालमिष्टसिद्धये । तथा हि सूक्ष्म-
शूलद्रव्यसमवायो विशेषवत्त्वं भिन्नकालोत्पन्नद्रव्यसंवायावेति व्याचक्षते ।

परे । ननु विचित्राभिसन्धयः योक्तारः । तत्र ये केचिद्वेत्त्वभिप्रायेनेव [?] णव]
वाचः प्रयुज्यते तान्त्रत्यस्माभिः प्रतिज्ञया हेतोर्बाधनमुच्यते न तु ये दृष्टान्ताभि-
मानिन इत्यत्राह (1) नचे (10b9) त्यादि । भगवत्तथागतमतावलम्बिनामुपययमु-
पक्षिप्तो विरोधो भवद्भिराक्षपादैर्न च नः स्वप्नव्ये तादृशोस्तीति पिण्डार्थः ।
स्यात् मतमस्त्येव योगाचारो यः (—)

योपि युगपत्पङ्केन योगादित्यादिना परमाणोर्भेदमाह । न तस्याप्येकः समुच्चयरूपः साधयितुमिष्टः किन्तर्ह्यभाव एव ए^१ कानेकप्रतिषेधात् । अतः सोपि न समूहस्तस्येष्टो न तत्र शब्द इति न विरोधः । न विरुद्धोऽयं पूर्वकात्प्रतिज्ञाहेतुविरोधाद् भिद्यते येन पृथगुच्येत । तत्र हेतुप्रतिज्ञयोर्वाधनमिह प्रतिज्ञया^२ हेतोरित्यस्ति भेद इति चेत् । अर्थविरोधे हि हेतुप्रतिज्ञयोर्वाध्यबाधकभावः स्यात् । सर्वार्थविरोधो द्विषु इति यज्ञपि परस्परं बाधकमेकार्थसन्निधावपरार्थासम्भवात् । तत्र हेतुप्रतिज्ञयोः पृथग्बाधोदाहरणयोर्न कश्चिदर्थभेदः । अपि चायं विरुद्धो

पङ्केन युगपद्योगात् परमाणोः पतङ्गतां ।

षण्णां समानदेशत्वात् पिण्डः स्यादणुमात्रक (॥३०)

इत्यादिना परमाणोरेकत्वमनभ्युपगच्छन्नपि पिण्डं समूहापरपर्यायमिच्छतीत्येतदुच्यते । योपी (IIaI) त्यादि किन्तर्ह्यभाव एवाणोरनेन प्रकारेण साधयितु^३ मिष्टः । कथं । एकानेकप्रतिषेधात् । पङ्कायोगादिना तावदेकत्वं प्रतिसि^४ [?] वि^५द्धं । तत्समुदायरूपमनेकत्वमपि तदभावादेव न विद्यते । यथोक्तं ननु^१ (I)

तस्य तस्यै^६ कता नास्ति यो यो भावः परीक्ष्यते ।

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न स रित तेनानेकेपि येनैकोपि न विद्यत (३१) इति ॥

ननु^१ पङ्कयोगादिना कथमेकत्वमपोदितं । यावता तत्र तस्य सावयवत्वमापादितं ॥ त एव चावयवास्तस्याल्पीयांसः परमाणवो वि^२ भागपर्यवसानलक्षणत्वात् परमाणूनां । अथ तेषामप्यङ्गानामनेनैव विधानेन सावयवत्वमापाद्यते । तथा सति तत्राप्येतदेवोत्तरमित्यनेनैव प्रकारे^३ न शक्यते परमाणोरेकत्वनिषेधं कर्तुं । विभागस्य विभज्यमाण[?] न[?] तन्त्रत्वात् । कथञ्चानभ्युपगताणस्तस्य पङ्कयोगादिकमभ्युपगच्छतीति त^४ दसत्वप्रतिपादने सर्वे हेतवः स्वत एवाश्रयासिद्धा इति । एतच्च नैवं यस्मात्समर्था वादिनोऽपगतावयवविभागमासादितापकर्षयन्तं भाव^५ मणुरित्याचक्षते तस्य तेन पङ्कायोगादिनैकत्वमपाक्रियते । ते च यद्येवं निराकृताः सन्तो यथोपगतस्य सावयवत्वं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तदा स्व^६ प्रतिज्ञायादृश्ये-
रन् । न हि अनङ्गीकृतसावयवत्वास्तथा प्रत्यवस्थानमर्हन्ति । त एवावयवाः सन्तु परमाणव इति । तैरेव च तल्लक्षणम्यवस्थापनीयं योगाचा^७ रेण च निषेध्यमिति निगूह्यन्ते । अत एव नानवस्था । प्रसङ्गसाधनत्वाच्चासिद्धतादोषोपि नास्तीत्यल-
मेतेन । अथोच्यते न वयं भवन्तं प्रतीदं ब्रूमो यस्तु कश्चिदधौ^८ तपादो वाद्येवं

वा सति हेतुप्रयोगे व्यधिकरणत्वादसिद्ध इत्यसिद्धता हेतोर्निग्रह-
स्थानं स खलूच्यमान एवातद्धर्मतया प्रतीतो वक्तुः पराजयमानयति ।
पराजिते तस्मिन्सिद्धविरोधचिन्तया न किञ्चित् । अपि च सर्वत्रायं
प्रतिज्ञाहेतोर्[?त्वो]विरोधः । सम्भवन्त्वमीदोषजातिमभिपतति विरुद्धताम-

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प्राह तम्प्रतीति । तच्चासत्सर्वं पृथग्भावलक्षणपृथग्त्वात् नानेकलक्षणे-
नैकभावनिष्पत्तेरित्यत्र प्रस्तावे भारद्वाजेनात्मान्प्रत्येव कामेष्टद्वयक इत्यादिना
सिद्धान्तमस्माकीनमुपक्षिप्याप्यभिधानात् । तथाप्यभ्युपगम्य दोषान्तरमाह । न
चायम्पूर्वकाद् गुणव्यतिरिक्तमित्यादिपदसूचितात् परस्परार्थमा^१ धाय भिद्यते ।
हेतुप्रतिज्ञयोः सम्बन्धिन्योः बाधयोर्दाहरणोपेतयोः पृथग्बाधोदाहरणयोर्न कश्चि-
दर्थभेदः शब्दभेदस्तु केवलः । तथाविधस्य च पृथग्बाधो^२हरणेऽतिप्रसङ्गोऽकृतकः
शब्दः कृतकत्वादित्याद्यप्युदाहर्तव्यम्भवेत् । सह पृथग्वेति क्वचित्पाठः । तत्राय-
मर्थः सह यौगपद्येन यथा प्रथमे पृथक् प्रत्येकं । यथेह अथवा विरोधचिन्ताप्यत्रा-
युक्तेत्याह (1) अपिचे (IIa5) त्यादि । सर्वं पृथक् समूहे भावशब्दप्रयोगा (गा)
दित्ययं हेतुः । सर्वस्य धर्मिणो धर्म एव न भवति शब्दधर्मत्वादित्यसिद्धः ।
तथा च व्यधिकरणत्वादसिद्धतैव दोषो गुडो मधुरः काकस्य काष्ण्यादिति यथा ।
तत्र न विरोधो भिन्नाधिकरणत्वाद्धेतुप्रतिज्ञार्थयोः । स्याद् बुद्धिः समूहवाचक-
शब्दाव्याख्यादित्येवं भाविविक्तेन भाष्यटीकायां प्रयोगाद् व्यधिकरणत्वं नास्ति ।
एवं मन्यते न तावदयमुद्योतकरेणैवं प्रयुक्तस्य वायमस्माभिर्दोषोभिधातुमारब्धो
येपि सम्प्रत्यन्यथा प्रयुञ्जते तेषामपि यद्ययं दोषो न भवति । भवतु अनन्तरोक्तस्तु
दोषो वक्ष्यमाणश्च ब्रह्मणाऽपि न शक्यते परिहर्तुमिति । प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोर्विरोधस्य च
निग्रहस्थानान्तरत्वमङ्गीकृत्य मयेदमभ्यधायि । न त्वस्य तद्युक्तं । हेत्वाभासा-
श्च निग्रहस्थानानी (न्या० सू० ५।२।२४) त्यनेनैव सङ्गृहीतत्वादित्येतद्विभिनि-

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षुराह । अपिचे (IIa5) त्यादि । द्वाववयवौ यस्या दोषजतेर्दोषप्रकारस्य सा द्वयी ।
कामित्याह । विरुद्धतामसिद्धताञ्च । कथमुनविरुद्धतेत्याह । विरुद्धतेत्यादि । अयमत्र
संक्षेपार्थः । प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोर्यत्र प्रयोगे विरोधश्चोद्यते तत्रा^३वश्यं सिद्धेन धर्मिणा भाव्यं ।
सिद्धे च तस्मिन्धर्मिणि[?धर्मिणि] हेतोर्वा सत्वम्भवेत् साध्यधर्मस्य । द्वयोर्वा । तत्र न
तावत् द्वयोरपि सत्त्वं परस्परविरोधित्वेन शीतोष्णयोरिव एकाधिकरणत्वाभावात् ।
अन्यथा सहैकत्रावस्थानाद्रसरूपवदविरोध एव भवेदिति प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोर्विरोधो दूरतर
एव^४ प्रसज्यते । तद्वक्ष्यति । विरुद्धयोः स्वभावयोरेकत्रासम्भवाच्च चान्यथा विरोध
इति । अथ हेतोस्तत्र सत्त्वं । एवमपि यत्र हेतुस्तत्र न साध्यधर्मस्तद्विपर्ययस्तु विद्यत

सिद्धताञ्चेति । विरुद्धता सिद्धे हेतोर्द्धर्मिणि भावे साध्यधर्मविपर्यय एव भावेन प्रतिज्ञाविरोधात् । असिद्धता पुनर्द्धर्मिणि प्रतिज्ञातार्थसिद्धौ विरुद्धयोः स्वभावयोरैकत्रास^०म्भवात् । न चान्यथा विरोधोऽसिद्धे धर्मस्वभावेऽभिहितयोर्हेतुप्रतिज्ञातार्थयोर्विरोधाद्विरोधसम्भव इति चेत् । अप्रमाणयोगे तूभयोर्द्धर्मिणि संशयः । तथा सति हेतोर्द्धर्मिणि भावसंशयेऽसिद्धतैव हेतुदोष इत्यसिद्धविरुद्धाभ्यामन्यो न प्रतिज्ञया विरोधो नाम पराजयहेतुः । असिद्धविरुद्धे च हेत्वाभासवचनादेवोक्त इति न पृथक् प्रतिज्ञाविरो^० धो वक्तव्य इति ।

उभयाश्रितत्वाद्विरोधस्य विवक्षातोऽन्यतरनिर्देश इति चेत् । स्यादेतत् प्रतिज्ञाहेतोर्[? त्वो]र्विरोध इति प्रतिज्ञाहेतू आश्रित्योभयाश्रयो भवति । तत्र यदा प्रतिज्ञाविरो^० धो विवक्षितस्तदा प्रतिज्ञाविरोध इत्युच्यते । यदा प्रति-
I1b ज्ञाया हेतोर्वा विरोधस्तदा विरुद्धो हेतुरिति । अतः प्रतिज्ञाविरोधो हेतु-
विरोधो वेत्यदोषः । तत्र हेतोरुदाहरणमित्यः शब्द उत्प^१त्तिधर्मकत्वादिति, प्रतिज्ञाविरोधस्य नास्त्यात्मेति । प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोः परस्परविरुद्धोदाहरणं गुण-
व्यतिरिक्तमित्यादि । प्रतिज्ञया हेतुविरोधोदाहरणं नास्त्येको भाव इत्या-
दिकमिति । न (1) सर्वहै^२त्वपेक्षस्य विरोधहेत्वाभासानतिक्रमात् । यथोक्तं

इति व्यक्तमस्य विरुद्धत्वं । नित्यः शब्दः कृतकत्वादिवत् । तदाह (1) विरुद्धता सिद्धेहेत्वोर्द्धर्मिणि भाव (I1a6) इति । यदा पुनस्तस्मिन्धर्मिणि प्रमा^०णान्तरेण साध्यधर्मस्य सत्त्वं निश्चितं तदा तत्र हेतोरवृत्तिविरोधिना त्रौडीकृतत्वात् । अतश्चासिद्धत्वं हेतोः । कृतकः शब्दोऽकार्यत्वादिति यथा । तज्जा^० ते असिद्धता पुनर्द्धर्मिणीत्यादि । अथमन्यसे । प्रमाणेन सिद्ध एव गुणव्यतिरिक्ते द्रव्यादौ धर्मिणि प्रतिज्ञाहेतोर्विरोधो व्यवस्थाप्यते ततो नायं दोष इत्य^२त इदमासङ्गते [?शङ्कते] असिद्ध (I1b8) इत्यादिना । एवमपि यदि नाम धर्म्यभावेन पक्षधर्मस्यासम्भवात् विरुद्धत्वं परिहृतं । असिद्धत्वं पुनस्तदवस्थमेवेति मनस्या^०-
धायाह । प्रमाणयोगे तूभयोर्वादिप्रतिवादिनोर्द्धर्मिणि हेतोर्वृत्तिसंशयः । प्रमाण निवृत्तावप्यर्थाभावासिद्धेः । अतश्चासिद्धतैव सन्दिग्धाश्रयत्वात् । इह नि^०कुञ्जे 57b मयूरः केकायितत्वादित्यादिवत् । तु शब्दः प्रतिपादकप्रमाणायोगे धर्मिणः सन्दिग्धाश्रयताहेतोर्धर्मिबाधकप्रमाणवृत्तौ स्फुटमेवाश्रयासिद्धतत्वं । सर्वगत आ^१त्मनि साध्ये सर्वत्रोपलभ्यमाण[?न]गुणत्ववदित्यस्य समुच्चयार्थः । तथा ह्यसिद्धेः धर्मिस्वभाव इत्यत्र प्रतिपादकप्रमाणावृत्तेरसिद्धो धर्मी विवक्षितः स्यात् ।

प्राक् । अनपेक्षे च केवले स्वतः प्रतिविरोधे विवक्षिते प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोर्विरोध इति हेतुग्रहणमसम्बद्धं । न चोत्पत्तिधर्मस्वान्नित्यमित्यत्रापि हेतुविरोधो युक्तः । प्रतिज्ञया हि हेतोर्वाधने हेतुविरोधः । इह तु हेतुना प्रतिज्ञा बाध्यत इति प्रतिज्ञाविरोधो युक्तः । उभयाश्रयेपि विरोधे बाध्यमानविवक्षया तद्विरोधव्यवस्थापनात् । यदप्युक्तं । एतेन प्रतिज्ञया दृष्टान्तविरोधादयोपि वक्तव्या भण्डालेख्यन्यायेनेति । तत्रापि पक्षीकृतधर्मविपर्ययवति

बाधकप्रमाणवृत्तेर्वा । पूर्वस्मिन्पक्षे कण्ठेनैवोक्तो दोष उत्तरत्र शब्देन समुच्चितः । अत्रौद्योतकरमुत्तरभाष्यकृते । उभयाश्रयत्वा (Iia9) दित्यादिना । गतार्थत्वात् सुज्ञानं^३ सर्वमेतत् । न सर्वत्रेत्यादिना निराकरोति । यथोक्तं प्राग् न द्वयीं दोषजातिमित्यत्र । अथ प्रतिज्ञामात्रभाव्येव हेतवनपेक्षः प्रतिज्ञाविरोधो व्यवस्थाप्यते यथा नास्त्यात्मा श्रमणा गर्भिणीत्यत्रेत्यत आह (I) अनपेक्षे च हेतुग्रहणमसम्बद्धं (Iib3) । अनुपकारकत्वात् । यदपीदं हेतुविरोधस्योदाहरणं दत्तं नित्यः शब्द इत्यादिना तत्प्रतिज्ञाविरोधस्य हेतुनायुक्तमिति कथनायाह । न चेदि (Iib3) त्यादि । स्यात् मतमुभयाश्रयत्वाद्विरोधस्यैवमपि न हेतुत्वं एवेत्यत उच्यते उभयाश्रयेपी (Iib4) त्यादि । एवमुपदर्शितान्युदाहरणानि प्रक्षिप्यातिदिष्ट-बूषणायाह । यच्चोक्तमेतेन प्रतिज्ञायाः दृष्टान्तविरोधादयोपि वक्तव्या भण्डालेख्यन्यायेने (Iib5) ति । इति शब्दो वक्तव्य इत्यत्र प्रतिपत्तव्योऽन्यथापरेणोत्तरस्याप्रयुक्तत्वात् दुःश्लिष्टो भवेत् । भण्डग्रहणमित्यपुरुषोपलक्षणार्थं । यथा हि भण्डा प्राकृतान् विस्मापयन्तश्चित्रलक्षणोपेतकपिशालभञ्जिकादिप्रति-
 58a च्छन्दकमालिख्य विचित्रशिल्पकलाकौशलसादि[? शालि]नोऽतिदिशंत्येवं प्रकाराण्यस्मत्कौशलनिर्मितान्येकतालमात्रेण हस्त्यादिरूपकस्थानानि प्रतिपत्तव्यानीति तथा जातीयकमेतदुद्योतकरस्य । तथा ह्येतदेव भाव उपदर्शितहेतुविरोधादिकं हेत्वाभासव्यतिरिक्तलक्षणोपेतं । तदतिदिष्टे पुनः कैव चिन्ता । तामेव चातिदिष्टस्य दृष्टान्तविरोधादेर्हेत्वाभासव्यतिरिक्तलक्षणोपेततामभिधातुमुपक्रमते । तत्रापि (Iib5) त्यादिना । यत्र प्रतिज्ञायाः दृष्टान्तविरोधस्तत्रापि पक्षीकृतधर्मविपर्ययवति दृष्टान्ते सति विरोधः स्यात् प्रतिज्ञायाः दृष्टान्तेनेति शेषः । पक्षीकृतश्चा-

“एतेन प्रतिज्ञया दृष्टान्ताविरोधोऽपि वक्तव्यः”—(न्या० वा० ५५३-४); “न चैवं भण्डालेख्यन्यायः एकदेशेनाव्यापकेन समुदायसंग्रहे स हि भवति ।”—(न्या० वा० ता० ७०३) ।

दृष्टान्ते विरोधः स्यात्, विरुद्धे च दृष्टान्ते यदि पक्षधर्मस्य वृत्तिरनन्य-
साधारणा प्रसाध्यते विरुद्धस्तदा हेत्वाभासः । साधारणायामप्रसा-
धिते वा तद्वृत्तिनियमेऽनैकान्तिकः । अवृत्तौ वा साधारणः ।

विरुद्धदृष्टान्तवृत्तौ विपर्ययवृत्तौ च हेतोर्न कश्चिद्वे^६त्ति दोषो दृष्टान्त-
विरोधश्च प्रतिज्ञाया इति चेत् । न (१) तदपि संशयहेतुत्वात् । निवृत्ते-
दृष्टान्तविरोधो हि प्रतिज्ञायाः । साधर्म्ये दोषो न वैधर्म्येऽभिमतत्वात् ।

सौ धर्मश्च तस्य विपर्ययः स विद्यते यस्मिन्निति विग्रहः । दृष्टान्त इति च साधर्म्यदृ-
ष्टान्तो । अभिप्रेतः । यस्मा^४द्वैधर्म्यदृष्टान्तः साध्यधर्मविपर्ययवानेव तत्र को विरोधः ।
तत्रोदाहरणं । नित्यः शब्दो घटवदिति । विरुद्धे च दृष्टान्ते सति यदि पक्षधर्मस्य वृत्ति^५
रनन्यसाधारणा प्रसाध्यते प्रमाणेन विरुद्धस्तदा हेत्वाभासः । नान्यसाधारणेत्यनन्य-
साधारणा । अन्यशब्देन पक्षीकृतधर्मविपर्ययवतः^६ पृथग्भूतः पक्षीकृतधर्मवानभि-
प्रेतः पक्षीकृतधर्मविपर्ययवत्येववर्तते इत्येवं यदि साध्यत इत्यर्थः । यथानयोरेव
साध्यदृष्टान्तयोः कार्यत्वादिति तद्विपक्षीकृतधर्मबहिर्व्योमादौ न वर्तते तद्विपरीते
पुनर्घटे वर्तत इति । साधारणायामवृत्तौ साधितायां सपक्षविपक्षयोरिति शेषः । अनै-
कान्तिकः^८ साधारणाख्यः । यथानयोरेव साध्योदाहरणयोः प्रमेयत्वादिति । अप्रसा-
धिते चातद्वृत्तिनियमे तयोः सपक्षविपक्षयोर्वृत्तिनियमे सपक्ष एव वर्तते वि^९पक्ष 58b
एवेति अनैकान्तिक एव सन्दिग्धान्वयः सन्दिग्धव्यतिरेको वा । यथा सर्व्वविद्वीत-
रागो वा विवक्षितः पुरुषो न वा तथा वक्तृत्वाद्व्यथानरवदिति । तयोरेव सपक्ष^१-
विपक्षयोरवृत्तौ वा सत्यामसाधारणः । नित्यः शब्दः श्रावणत्वादिति यथा । परः प्राह
विरुद्धदृष्टान्तावृत्तौ हेतोर्विपर्ययवृत्तौ च सत्यान्न कश्चिद्वे^२त्तुदोषः^२ तद्यथाऽनित्यः
शब्दः प्रत्ययभेदभेदित्वात् नभोवदिति साधर्म्येण । वैधर्म्येण च घटवदिति । अत्र
नासिद्धत्वं ध(१)मणि हेतोः सद्भावात् । नाप्यनैकान्तिकत्वमुभ^३यत्रावृत्तेः ।
प्रतिबन्धसद्भावाच्च । न च विरुद्धत्वं सपक्षविपक्षयोर्विपरीत्येन वृत्त्यभावात् ।
दृष्टान्तेन तु विरोधः प्रतिज्ञायाः इत्ययं हेतुदोषानति^४कान्तो विषयः प्रतिज्ञायाः
दृष्टान्तेन च विरोधस्येति । इदमपनुदति । न । तदापि संशयहेतुत्वानतिवृत्तेः ।
यस्माद् दृष्टान्ते न प्रतिज्ञाया विरोधः सा^५धर्म्ये दृष्टान्ते दोषो न वैधर्म्ये । कस्माद-
भिमतत्वाद् विरोधस्य । पक्षीकृतधर्मविपर्ययवानेव हि वैधर्म्यदृष्टान्त उच्यत इत्य-
भिप्रायः । यदि ना^६मैवं तथापि कथं हेत्वाभासानतिवृत्तिरित्याह साधर्म्यदृष्टान्ते
च विपरीतधर्मवति नभसि नाऽव्यभिचारधर्मता शक्या दर्शयितुं । तदर्थश्च दृष्टान्तः
प्रदर्शते ॥^७ यदाह

साधर्म्यदृष्टान्ते च विपरीतधर्मवति वस्तुतः साध्याव्यभिचारेऽपि हेतोर्नाव्यभिचारधर्मता शक्या दर्शयितुमिति । नाप्रदर्शिताविनाभाव-सम्बन्धाद्धेतोर्निश्चयः तन्न प्रतिज्ञया दृष्टान्तविरोधो हेत्वाभासानतिवर्तते । उभयथापि दोषोस्त्विति चेत् । न (1) न हेतुदोषस्य प्राक् प्रसङ्गो न पराजितस्य दोषान्तरानपेक्षणात् । विशेषणं साधनावयवानुक्रम-नियमा वादिन उदाहरणसाधर्म्यहेतु^३ लक्षणं विरुद्धे दृष्टान्ते न सम्भव-तीति प्राक्श्रुतस्य हेतोर्दोषेण पराजय इति नोत्तरदृष्टान्तापेक्षया विरोध-

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त्रिरूपो हेतुरित्युक्तं पक्षधर्मं च संस्थितः ।

रूढे रूपद्वयं शेषं दृष्टान्तेन प्रदर्श्यते इति । (३२)

ननु च कथमशक्या यावता प्रत्ययभेदभेदित्वमनित्यत्वाव्यभिचार्येव तत्त्वत इत्यत आह । वस्तुतः साध्याव्यभिचारेपी (11b7)ति । विद्यमानोप्यव्यभिचारः 59a प्रमाणेनाप्रतिपादितत्वादसत्कल्प इति भावः । तदेतन्नाप्रदर्शिताविनाभावसम्बन्धाद्धेतोः साध्यनिश्चयः । तत्तस्मान्न प्रतिज्ञाया दृष्टान्तविरोधोपि हेत्वाभासानतिवर्तते । अस्यापि तदानीं संदिग्धविपक्षव्यावृत्तिकत्वादित्यागूरितं^१ । न केवलहेतुविरोध इत्यपि शब्दः परमतमास[?श]ङ्कते । उभयथापि हेतुद्वारेण दृष्टान्तद्वारेण च । न हेतुद्वारेण प्राग्दृष्टान्तदोषात् प्रसङ्गेन पराजितस्य वादि^२नो दोषान्तरस्य दृष्टान्त-विरोधस्य वाच्यस्य वानपेक्षणात् पराजितपराजयानावादित्याकृतं । विशेषेण साध-नावयवानुक्रमवादिनो नैयायिकस्य स हि^३ प्रतिज्ञाहेतूदाहरणोपनयनिगमनानामानु-पूर्वीं प्रतिपन्नः । कः पुनः तस्यातिशय इत्याह । उदाहरणसाधर्म्यमि (11b9)-त्यादि । अङ्गीकृत्य चेदमवादि^४न तु दृष्टान्तविरोधो हेत्वाभासरूपासंस्पर्शस्तु । यथोक्तमनन्तरमिति । एतेन विकल्पतो दोषविधानं प्रत्युक्तं । एवन्तावद्वचनस्थित-मेतद्वथा प्र^५तिज्ञाया दृष्टान्तविरोधो हेत्वाभासान्नातिवर्तते इति । यत्पुनरुदाहृत-मविद्धकरणेन भाष्यटीकायां व्यक्तमेकप्रकृतिकं परिमितत्वाच्छरावादि^६वदिति । तत्रापि विरुद्धो हेतुः परिमितत्त्वस्य हेतोः सपक्षेऽभावे वा वृत्तेः । विपक्षे चानेकप्रकृति-के शरावादी वृत्तेः । मूढः प्रतिक्षणं प्रत्ययवयवञ्च भिद्यमानत्वात् । संप्रति हेतोरपि दृष्टान्तेन विरोधो हेत्वाभासान्तर्गत इति कथयति । हेतोरपि दृष्टान्तविरोधे सत्यसा (धा) रणत्वमुभयत्रावृत्तेः । विरुद्धत्वम्वा । कदा^७ विरुद्धत्वमित्याह । बंधर्म्ये यदि स्यादप्यत्रोदाहरणमुक्तं तेनैव गुणव्यतिरिक्तं द्रव्यमर्थान्तरत्वेनानुपलभ्यमा-नत्वाद् घटवदिति अत्रापि दृश्यत्वे सतीति^८ हेतुविशेषणे विरुद्धः सपक्षे अवर्तमान-त्वात् । विपक्षे च रूपादीनां स्वरूपे वर्तमानत्वात् । विशेषणानुपादाने तु व्यभिचारो-

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श्चिन्तामर्हति । हेतोरपि दृष्टान्तविरोधेऽसा(धा)र(ण)त्वंविरुद्ध-
त्वं वा वैधर्म्यं यदि वृ^१त्तिः स्यात् । प्रमाणविरोधे तु हेतोर्यथा न दहनो-
ऽग्निः शैत्यादित्यादि ह्यसिद्धो हेत्वाभासः । प्रतिज्ञायाः प्रमाणविरोधः
स्ववचनविरोधेन व्याख्यात इति । सर्व एते साधनविरोधे हे^२त्वाभा-
सोऽप्येवान्तर्भवन्तीति हेत्वाभासवचनेनैवोक्ताः ।

यत्तु विरुद्धमुत्तरं परपक्षे स्वसिद्धेन गोत्वादिनाऽनैकान्तिकचोदनेति ।
तदसम्बद्धमेव । यदि हि स्वसिद्धेन गोत्वादिना प^३रस्य व्यभिचारसिद्धिमाका-
(ङ्क्षे)त तस्य तत् स्वपक्षाविरुद्धं नाभिमतमिति विरोधो युज्येत । स हि स्वयं

थान्तरत्वेनानुपलब्धानामपि पि^४शत्त्वादीनां परस्परव्यतिरेकित्वात् । न चात्र घट-
वदिति दृष्टान्तो युक्तस्तस्यैव द्रव्यान्तरत्वेन पक्षीकृतत्वात् । तस्य रूपादिभ्यो भेदेन
ग्रहणं पूर्वमेव प्रतिसि[?]षि^५द्धं^६ ग्रहणे चासिद्धो हेत्वाभास इत्यस्मन्मतमेव
स्थितं । अथ हेतोः प्रमाणविरोधे को हेत्वाभास इत्याह । असिद्धोऽग्नेः शैत्यस्या-
विद्यमानत्वात् । यत्पुनरत्रो^७दाहरणमन्यदनुष्णोऽग्निर्द्रव्यत्वाज्जलवदिति तदयुक्तं ।
नहि प्रत्यक्षं द्रव्यं हेतुं बाधते । तस्य धर्मिणि सिद्धत्वात् । किन्तु प्रतिज्ञार्थमनुष्णत्वं ॥^८
अथ प्रतिज्ञार्थस्य प्रत्यक्षेण बाधितत्वाद्धेतोस्तेन व्याप्तिर्नास्तीति हेतोः प्रमाणविरोध
उच्यते । एवन्तर्हि विरुद्धेन साध्यधर्मेणाव्याप्तेः सन्दि^९ग्धव्यतिरेको हेत्वाभास
इत्यस्मत्पक्ष एव समर्थितः ।

हेतोः प्रमाण[?]मान]विरोधस्य हेत्वाभासानतिक्रमात् ॥ (३३)

तदुक्तम्

प्रत्यक्षादि(वि)रोधा ये व्याप्तकालो^{१०}पपातिनः ।

ते सर्वे न विरुद्धेन व्याप्तिधर्मेण युज्यत (३४) इति ॥

स्यान्मतम्प्रतिज्ञायाः प्रमाणविरोधस्तन्मात्रभाविताद्धेतवाभासेऽन्तर्गमयितुं न
पार्यत इत्यत आह ।^{११} प्रतिज्ञायाः प्रमाणविरोधः स्ववचनविरोधेन व्याख्यातः (I2a2)
कृतप्रतिक्रियस्तत्रेदमेव निग्रहाधिकरणमसाधनाङ्गाभूतायाः प्रतिज्ञायाः साधनवाक्ये
प्रयोग इत्यादिना । इति तस्मात् सर्व्व एवेत्युपसंहरति । यत्तु विरुद्धमुत्तरमिति
पूर्व्वपक्षोक्तमपरमुपक्षिपति तदसम्बद्धमेव । यस्माद्यदि ही (I2a3) त्यदि । अनि^{१२}त्यः 60a
शब्द ऐन्द्रियकत्वाद् घटवदित्येकं बौद्धेनान्येन वा कृते भीमांसकः काणादोन्यो वा
स्वपक्षसिद्धेन गोत्वादिना सामान्ये^{१३}न परस्य साधनवादिनो बौद्धस्य हेतोर्व्यभिचार-
सिद्धिमाकांक्षेत गोत्वमप्यैन्द्रियकं तदपि भवतोऽनित्यं प्रसज्यत इत्येव यदि परं प्रत्ये-

प्रतिपन्ने गोत्वे हेतुवृत्तेः संशयानोऽप्रतिपत्तिमात्मनस्तथा ख्यापयति^४ स च हेतुः सत्यसति गोत्वेऽप्रसाधितसाधनसामर्थ्यः संशये हेतुत्वादनैकान्तिक एव । प्रसाधिते तु सामर्थ्ये गोत्वेऽवृत्त्या हेतोः [? हेतौ] न संशय एव सर्व-संशयप्रकाराणां^५ परिहारेण समर्थनान् । एतेन स्वपक्षानपेक्षहेतुप्रयोगस्या-नैकान्तिकता व्याख्याता । सोऽपि स्वाभि(म)तनित्यगोचवृत्तिहेतुमनित्य-

बाध्यारोप्याभिदध्याद् व्यभि^६चारं तदा तस्य बाध्यस्य तत्त्वानात्म्यमैन्द्रियकं नित्यञ्च स्वपक्षविरुद्धं नित्यपदार्थानभ्युपगमात्त्राभिमतमतश्च कथं व्यभिचार इति विरोधो व्याहृतिरयुक्तत्वमिति^७ यावत् युज्यत उत्तरस्येत्यध्याहृत्यं । न तु पुनरेव-मसौ परस्येवोपरि भारमुपक्षिप्य व्यभिचारमुद्भावयति तत्कथमुत्तरस्य विरोधः यतः स^८ ह्युत्तरवादी स्वयं प्रतिपन्ने नित्यत्वेन गोत्वे हेतोरैन्द्रियकत्वस्य वृत्तेः संश-यानः सन् किञ्चिदवदैन्द्रियकत्वादनित्यः शब्दो भवतु किम्वा गोत्वा दिवग्नित्य इत्य-प्रतिपत्तिमनिश्चयमात्मनस्तथा वृथाणः ख्यापयति सत्पक्षे खल्वेन्द्रियकमपि गोत्वं नित्यं तस्मादयं सांप्रत्यनैकान्तिक इती^९त्यमात्मीयमेवाभ्युपगमं पुरस्कृत्यानेकान्त-ञ्चोदयति । ततः साध्विबोत्तरमिति समुदायार्थः । स्यात् मतम्बौद्धस्य नास्त्येव-गोत्वं नित्यं ततो व्याहृतमेवोत्तर^{१०}मित्यत आह । स च हेतु (I2a5) रैन्द्रियकत्वादिति सत्यसति वा गोत्वे परमार्थतः । अप्रसाधितसाधनसामर्थ्यः सन् विपर्यये बाधक-प्रमाणावृत्त्या संशयहेतुत्वादे^{११}नैकान्तिक एव । अप्रसाधितं साधनाय सामर्थ्यं साध्या विनाभावित्वलक्षणमस्येति विग्रहः । साधनशब्दो भावसाधनः । यदा तु बाधक-प्रमाणबलेन हेतोरवि^{१२}नाभावं सर्वोपसंहारेण साधयति यत्किञ्चिदिन्द्रियज्ञानग्राह्यं स्वनिर्भसिज्ञानजनकत्वात्तत्र सर्वमनित्यं नित्यत्वे सर्वदा तद्विषयं ज्ञानं प्रसज्यते न वा कदाचिदपि^{१३} तथाहि ।

स्वात्मनि ज्ञानजनने यच्छक्तं शक्तमेव तत् ।

अथवाऽशक्तं कदाचिच्चेदशक्तं सर्वदैव तत् ॥ (३५)

तस्य शक्तिरशक्तिर्वा या स्वभावेन संस्थिता ।

नित्यत्वादचिकित्स्य^{१४}स्य कस्तां क्षपयितुं क्षम (३६) इति ॥

तदानीं गोत्वादीनामपि नित्यानामेकप्रघटेन इव पाटितत्वात् गोत्वे हेतोर-वृत्तेर्न संशय एव भवति । एतेन (I2a6) त्यादि सुज्ञानं । तत्रा^{१५}प्यनैकान्तिकहेत्वा-भासत्वानतिवृत्तिरिति संक्षेपः । तत्संशयहेतुत्वमुखेनानैकान्तिकत्वमसमर्थिते सति हेतौ । अन्यत्रापि त्येकपक्षप्रतिपन्नेपि^{१६} वस्तुनि तुल्यमिति नोभयसिद्धेतरयोर्बस्तुनोरनै-कान्तिकत्वविशेषः । यथा कथितमनन्तरमेव । स च हेतुः सत्यसति वेत्यादिना । इतर-

स्वे ब्रुवाणोऽसमर्थत(या) साधनाङ्गत^६या संशयहेतुमेवाहेति । यत्पुनरुक्तमुभयपक्षसंप्रतिपन्नेन वस्तुना ऽनैकान्तिकचोदनेति तत्राप्यवश्यं संशयहेतुत्त्वमुखेनैवानैकान्तिको वक्तव्यः । तदसमर्थ^७तेऽन्यत्रापि तुल्यमिति नोभयसिद्धेतरयोरनैकान्तिकत्त्वैर्विशेषः ।

यदप्युक्तं दृष्टान्ताभासहेत्वाभासपूर्वकत्वात्तदभिधानेनैवोक्ता इति न पृथग्निग्रहस्थानेपूक्ता इति^८ । तदप्यवयवान्तरवादिनोऽयुक्तं योऽवयवान्तरं दृष्टान्तहेतोराह तस्य न हेत्वाभासोक्त्या दृष्टान्ताभासोक्तिर्व्याप्या तद्वचनेन गम्यमानस्य तस्मात्साधनान्तराभावप्रसङ्गात् । दृष्टान्ताभासा^९नां हेत्वाभासेष्वन्तर्भावाद् दृष्टान्तस्यापि हेतावन्तर्भाव इष्टो भवति । तथा च न दृष्टान्तः पृथक् साधनावयवः^{१०} स्यादपृथग्वृत्तेः । यो दृष्टान्तसाध्योर्थस्तस्य हेतावन्तर्भावाद्धेतुनैव साधित इति न दृष्टान्तस्य पृथक्किञ्चित्सामर्थ्यं । अपि च न किञ्चित्पूर्वपक्षवादिनो हेत्वाभासासंस्पर्शो न्या^{११}यं निग्रहस्थान-

12b

देकपक्ष^५प्रतिपक्षमनैकान्तिकविषयत्वाच्चानैकान्तिकमिति व्याख्यातं । स्याच्चित्तज्ञानिष्टेर्दूषणं सर्व्वप्रसिद्धस्तु द्वयोरपि साधनं । दूषणमेवेत्येतत्कथमेव^६ व्याहन्यत इति तच्च नैवं । निश्चितदूषणाभिसन्धिवचनात् । तत एव तदनन्तरमाहान्यः पुनः साध्यत्वमीक्षत इति । एतत्तु स्यात् । तदा द्वयोरेकस्यापि न जय^७पराजयौ । यदप्युक्तमुद्योत करेण प्रतिज्ञाविरोधसूत्रमेव विवृण्वता दृष्टान्ताभासा इत्यादि तदप्यवयवान्तरवादिनो नैयायिकस्यायुक्तं । बौद्ध एवैवं ब्रुवा^८णः शोभत इत्यभिप्रेतं (१) तद्वचनेन हेत्वाभासवचनेन गम्यमानस्य दृष्टान्ताभासस्य तस्माद्धेतोः सकाशात् सा^९धनान्तरत्वाभासप्रसङ्गात् । दृष्टान्तस्येति शेषः ।

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ननु च दृष्टान्ताभासानां हेत्वाभासेष्वन्तर्भावेऽतिदिष्टे हेतोर्दृष्टान्तेऽवयवान्तरं न प्राप्नोतीति वचन^१मसम्बद्धमेवेत्यत आह । दृष्टान्ताभासानामि (12a9) त्यादि । अयमस्य प्रयोगो मनसि विजृम्भते । यद्यतोऽर्थान्तरभूतं न तदाभासवचनेन तदाभासवचनं न्याय्यं^२ न च तदाभासेषु तदाभासानामन्तर्भावः । तद्यथा प्रत्यक्षाभासानामनुमानाभासेषु । तथा च भवतो हेतोर्दृष्टान्तोर्थान्तरभूत इति व्यापकविरुद्धोपलब्धिः^३ अतोऽवश्यं दृष्टान्तस्य हेतावन्तर्भाव एष्टव्यः । तत्र च न दृष्टान्तः पृथक् साधनावयवः स्यात् । अपृथग्वृत्तेः एकव्यापारत्वादित्यर्थः । एतदेव व्या^४चष्टे यो दृष्टान्त (12b1) इत्यादिना । एवं प्रतिज्ञाहेत्वोर्विरोधस्य प्रपञ्चस्य हेत्वाभासैः सङ्गृहीतत्वान्न पृथग्वचनं कर्त्तव्यमित्यभिधायानुना प्रतिघट्टा^५न्यादीनामपीयमेव गतिरित्यावेदनायाह । अपि चे (12b1) त्यादि । पूर्व्वपक्षवादिग्रहणमुत्तरपक्षवादि-

मस्तीति तत्सम्बन्धीनि सर्वाण्येव हेत्वाभासतावचनेनैवोक्तानिति न पृथग्वाच्यानि स्युः । अर्थान्तरगमनादेरपि हेतोरसा(म)^१य एव सम्भवात् । नहि समर्थं हेतौ साध्ये च सिद्धेऽर्थान्तरगमनं कश्चिदारभतेऽसमर्थस्य मिथ्याप्रवृत्तेरिति ॥ त ॥

पक्षप्रतिषेधे प्रतिज्ञातार्थापनयनं प्रतिज्ञासत्ता[? न्या]सः (न्या० ५।२।५) । यं प्रतिज्ञातमर्थमनित्यः(ः)^२ शब्दः ऐन्द्रियकत्वादिति सामान्यवृत्त्या हेतोर्व्यभिचारप्रदर्शनेन स प्रतिषेधे कृते क एवमाहानित्यः शब्द इति परित्यजति तस्य प्रतिज्ञासंन्यासो^३ नाम^४ निग्रहस्थानमिति । अत्रापि यद्युद्भाषितेपि हेतोर्व्यभिचारे न सपक्षं किं न गृह्येतानिगृहीत एव हेत्वाभासाभिधानादिति चेत् ।^५ किमिदानीमुत्तर^६प्रतिज्ञान्यासापेक्षया तस्य तदेवाद्यनिग्रहस्थानमिति किमन्यैरशक्यपरिच्छेदैः क्लीवप्रलापचेष्टितैरुपन्यस्तैरेव क्षतिप्रसङ्गः स्यात्^७ पक्षप्रति (?)प्रतिषेधे तूष्णींभवतस्तूष्णीं-

नोज्ञानादीनि हेत्वाभासस्पर्शानि संतीति^८ कथनार्थं । तत्सम्बन्धीनीति हेत्वाभासपूर्वपक्षवादिसम्बन्धीनि वा । अथोच्यते । अर्थान्तरगमनादीनां हेत्वाभासासंस्पर्शित्वात् तेष्वेव[?]न्तर्भाव इति । तच्चासत् । अर्थान्तरगमनादेरपि हेतोरसमर्थं एवमतिसम्भवात् । कुतः असमर्थस्य न्यायबलेन साध्यप्रतिपादने वादिन इति शेषः । मिथ्याप्रवृत्तेरर्थान्तरगमनादिनेत्यभिप्रायः ॥४॥

उत्तरः पश्चाद् फलभावी स चासौ प्रतिज्ञासंन्यासश्च तस्यापेक्षया किञ्च 6ib दित्यर्थः । अशक्तः परिच्छेदः संख्ये येषां क्लीवप्रलापचेष्टितानां तानि तथा क्लीवादीनां प्रलापा येषां वादिनान्तेषां चेष्टितानि प्रतिज्ञासंन्यासादीनि वै किमुपन्यस्तैः (१) क (:) पुनरेवं सति दोष इत्याह । एवं ह्यतिप्रसङ्गः (11b6) स्यात् । एवमाद्यपीति मूर्च्छाविषयत्रसत्त्वादीनामादिशब्देनावरोधः । तस्मादेतदप्यसम्बद्धं विद्वत्सदस्येवं प्रकारस्य स्थूलत्वादित्याभिप्रायः तदत्र भाविविक्तः स्वयमाशङ्क्य किल प्रतिविधत्ते स्थूलत्वेनेदं निग्रहस्थानमिति चेत् । प्राश्निकप्रतिवादिसन्निधौ प्रतिज्ञातार्थापहनव-

^१न्याय-भाष्ये पृ० २५९; न्या० वा. ५५४ ।

^२न्या० वा. ता. (७०७)—“किमिदानीं हेत्वाभासादुत्तरसंन्यासापेक्षया तस्य प्रतिवादिनो हेत्वाभास एवाद्यं निग्रहस्थानमिति ।”

^३तत्रैव—“पक्षप्रतिषेधे तूष्णींभवतस्तूष्णींभावो० प्रलपतश्च प्रलपितं नाम ।”

भावो नाम निग्रहस्थानं । प्रपलायमानस्य प्रपलायितन्नामेति एवमन्य
न्य [१ द] पि वाच्यं स्यात् (१) तस्मादेतदप्यसम्बद्धमिति ॥⁷

अविशेषोक्ते हेतौ प्रतिषिद्धे विशेषमिच्छतो हेत्वन्तरं (न्या० ५।२।६)
निदर्शनमेकप्रकृतीदं वक्तव्यं परिणामात्मत्पूर्वकाणां शरावप्रभृतीनां दृष्टं
परिमाणमिति । अस्य व्यभिचारेण प्रत्यवस्थानं नानाप्रकृतीनामेकप्रकृ-
तीनाञ्च दृष्टं परिमाणं इति । एवं व्यवस्थित [१ प्रत्यवस्थित] आह ।

एकप्रकृतिसमन्वय^१प्रकाराणां परिणामदर्शनात्सुखदुःखमोहसम- 13a
न्वितं हीदं सर्वं व्यक्तं परिगृह्यते । तस्य प्रकृ (त्य) न्तररूपसमन्वयाभावो-
ऽसत्येकप्रकृतिकत्वमिति तदविशेषोक्ते हेतौ प्रतिषेधं ब्रु^१वतो हेत्वन्तरम्भ-
वति । सति हेत्वन्तरभावे पूर्वस्य हेतोरसाधकत्वाग्निग्रहस्थानं^१ (१)
अत्रापि पूर्वस्यैव हेतोरनैकान्तिकस्याभिधानाग्निगृहीते हेत्वन्तरचिन्ता
क्रोपयुज्य^२ते । यदि प्राक्साधनवादी हेतुमनैकान्तिकमुक्त्वा दत्तोत्तरावस-
रस्तेनैव निगृह्यते । अदत्तोत्तरावसरो हेत्वन्तराभिधानेपि न निग्रहमर्हत्य-
विरामात् ॥^३ ॥

इकरोतीति । असम्बद्ध^३मुच्यते तन्नाभिप्रायापरिज्ञानात् । न ब्रूमो ध्वंसी शब्द इति
किन्तु संयोगविभागाभ्यां न व्यक्त इत्ययं प्रतिज्ञातार्थ इत्याह सामान्यस्य च स्वाश्रय-
व्यङ्ग्यत्वात् विवादाभाव इति । निग्रहस्थानन्तु पूर्वमप्रतिज्ञातार्थत्वात् । अनैकान्ति-
कदोषेण प्रतिषेधे हेतौ प्रतिज्ञातार्थापहनवइकरोतीति निगृह्यत इति^४ तत्रवाच्यं
यदि वादी साकांक्ष एवान्तराले केनचिद् दुर्विदग्धेनानैकान्तिकदोषेण चोदितः
सन्प्रतिज्ञातार्थफलीकरणेन स्वाभिप्रायमाविष्करोति । तदा^५न्योपि न कश्चि-
द्दोषः । किमङ्ग पुनः प्रतिज्ञासंन्यासः । अथ निराकांक्षः सन् पश्चाच्चोदितः
प्रतिज्ञां विशिनष्टि । तदप्यनैकान्तिकदोषेणैव निगृह्यत इति कि^६मुत्तरप्रतिज्ञा-
संन्यासापेक्षयेति न किञ्चित्परिहृतं किञ्च स्फुटमिदं प्रतिज्ञान्तरेन्तर्भवतीति नः
पृथग्वाच्यमिति ॥४॥

अविशेषोक्ते हेतावित्यादि सूत्रं^७ अत्र निदर्शनमुदाहरणमित्यर्थः । कापिलः
प्रमाणयति प्रधानसिद्धिप्रत्याशया । एकप्रकृतीदं व्यक्तं व्यक्तादिपरिमितत्वाद् घटश-
रावादिवदिति । एका प्र^८कृतिरस्येति विग्रहः । प्रकृतिरूपादानकारणं । या च 62a
किल सा प्रकृतिविकारग्रामस्य तत्प्रधानमितीयमलौकिकप्रत्यासा[?शा] साङ्ख्यस्या-

प्रकृतादर्थादप्रतिबद्ध्यर्थमर्थान्तरं^१) (न्या० ५।२।७) । “यथा-
 कलक्षणे पक्षप्रतिपक्षपरिग्रहे हेतुतः साध्यसिद्धौ प्रकृतायां कुर्यान्नित्यः
 शब्दोऽस्पृशश्चादिति हेतुः । हेतु^२श्च नाम हिनातेर्धातोस्तुशब्दे प्रत्यये कृदन्तं
 पदं (।) पदञ्च नामाख्यातोपसर्गानिपाता इति प्रस्तुत्य नामादीनि व्याचष्टे ।
 इदमर्थान्तरं^३” नाम निग्रहस्थानं “अभ्युपगतार्थासङ्गतत्वादिति”^४ ।
 न्याय्यमेतन्निग्रहस्थानं पूर्वोत्तरपक्षवादिनोप्रतिपादिते दोषे प्रकृतं परित्यज्या-
 साधनाङ्गवचनमदोषो^५द्वावनाञ्च । साधनवादिना ह्युपन्यस्तसाधनस्य

परिमाणञ्चतुरस्रम्परिमण्डलमित्यादि । मृत्युर्व्वकाणामित्यन्वयमाह । अस्य हेतो-
 र्व्यभिचारेण प्रत्यवस्थानं प्रतिवादिना क्रियते । नानाप्रकृतीनाङ्गवादवादीनामेक-
 प्रकृतीनाञ्च कुम्भोदञ्चना^६दीनान्दृष्टम्परिमाणमित्येवं प्रत्यवस्थिते सति प्रति-
 वादिनि । यदि वा प्रत्यवस्थितः प्रतिषिद्धः प्रधानवाद्याह । एकप्रकृतिसमन्वये सति
 परिमाणदर्शना^७दिति सविशेषणत्वाद्वेतोर्व्यभिचाराभाव इति मतिः । कथं पुनरेकप्र-
 कृतिसमन्वय इत्याह । सुखदुःखमोहसमन्वितं हीदं व्यक्तं परिमितं गृह्यते । सर्वत्र
 तत्कार्यदर्शनादित्याकृतं । तथाहि सुखबहुलानाम्प्रसादलाघवप्रसवाभिष्वङ्गाद्धर्षं
 प्रीतयः कार्यं । रजोबहुलानां शोषतापभेदस्तं^८भोद्वेगापद्वेपाः । तमोबहुलानां साव-
 रणमादनायध्वंसवीभत्सदैन्यगौरवाणि । एतानि च सर्वाणि सर्वत्रैव यथोत्कर्षाप-
 कर्षभेदमुपलभ्यन्ते । त^९स्मात्त्रैगुण्यप्रकृतीदं विश्वं । तदिदमित्यादिना निग्रहस्थानत्वे
 कारणमाह । अत्रापीत्याद्यस्य प्रतिषेधः सुज्ञानः । अविरामादच्छेदादपरिसमाप्त-
 त्वात्^{१०} साधनाभिधानस्येत्यर्थः ॥०॥

यथोक्तलक्षण इत्येकाधिकरणौ विरुद्धौ धर्माविति पक्षप्रतिपक्षलक्षणं स्म-
 रयति । परिग्रहे वादिप्रतिवादिभ्यां कृते सति हेतुतः^{११} साध्यसिद्धौ प्रकृतायां
 हेतुवसा^{१२}[?शा]त्साध्यसिद्धिरित्येतस्मिन्प्रकरणे सति प्रकृतोर्थः शब्दमित्यत्वं । तेना-
 62b सङ्गतत्वात् । तदसम्बद्धत्वात्तदनुपकारकत्वादित्यर्थः (।) तथा^{१३} हि विनापिरूपसि-
 द्ध्या प्रातिपदिकादिव्याख्यानं यथा कथञ्चित्प्रतिपादितादर्थदेिवार्थः सिध्यति ।
 न्याय्यमेतदिति स्वमतेनाविरुद्धत्वादभ्यनुजानाति । कदा च पूर्वो^{१४}त्तरपक्षवादिनो-
 न्याय्यं निग्रहस्थानमित्याह । प्रतिपादिते दोषे सति वादिप्र(ति)वादिभ्यामन्यो-
 न्यमसाधनाङ्गवचनमेतददोषद्भावनञ्च भवेदिति अन्यथा न ह्य^{१५}(न)-

^१दप्रतिसंबन्धार्थमर्थान्तरम्—इति न्यायभाष्ये पाठः ।

^२न्या० भा० पृ० २६० ।

^३न्या० वा० पृ० ६४६ ।

समर्थने कर्त्तव्ये तदकृत्वा परस्य प्रसङ्गेनाप्रसङ्गेन वाऽजनान्तरी(य)कस्या-
भिधानमुत्तरवादिनोपि दोषो 'द्वावनमात्रादपरस्योपक्षेप इति ॥'^१

वर्णक्रमनिर्देशवन्निरर्थकं (न्या० ५।२।८) । “यथानित्य (:) शब्दो
जबगडत्वात् भभयवदिति” “साधनान्युपादानाभिगृह्यत” इति (।)
इदमप्यसम्बद्धं नहि वर्णक्रमनिर्देशसिद्धावनर्थक्यं यदेव किञ्चिदसाध-
नाङ्गस्य वचनं तदेवानर्थकं साध्यसिद्ध्युपयोगिनोऽभिधेयस्याभावात्^१ 13b
निष्प्रयोजनत्वाच्चेति । प्रकारविशेषोपादानमसम्बद्धं । वतेरुपादानाद-
दोष इति चेत् । स्यादेतद्वर्णक्रमनिर्देशवदिति वतिरत्रोपात्तः सोन्यदाप्य-
नुरूपं गृह्णातीत्यदो^१ष इति नार्थान्तरादेर्निग्रहस्थानस्यावचनप्रसङ्गात् ।
एवं हि ता निरर्थक [? निरर्थका] वाच्या निरर्थकेनैवाभिधानाहित
[? तं] न साध्यसिद्धावनर्थकं निरर्थकं यस्य नैव कश्चिदर्थस्तन्निर^२र्थकमिष्ट-
मिति चेत् । यस्य कस्यचिदवादिनोऽपि हि निरर्थकाभिधाने किञ्च निग्रहो
निग्रहनिमित्ताविशेषात् । तस्येहाऽप्रस्तावादिति चेत् । आयातमिह यो निर-

योरेकस्यापि जयपराजयावित्युक्तं । प्रकृतं परित्यज्येति न्याय्यतामेवास्य
प्रतिपादयति । प्रकृतमत्र साध्यसाधनहेत्वभिधानं तदकृत्वेति उपन्यस्ते दोषे^३ न
समर्थनं । अपरस्य (I3a7) रूपसिध्यादेः । अतन्त्रान्तरीयकस्यापीति । उपन्यस्त-
साधनसमर्थनाङ्गनस्येत्यर्थः । अपरस्य नामादिष्व्याख्यानादेरुपक्षेपः पराजयस्थान-
मिति वर्त्तते ॥४॥

वर्णक्रमनिर्देश(व)न्निरर्थकं (न्या० सू० २।१।८) यत्र वर्णा एव केवलं क्रमेण
निर्दिश्यन्ते । न पदत्रयापि वाक्यं । अर्थान्तरे किलाप्र^४कृतार्थकथनमिह वर्णमात्रोच्चा-
रणमिति शेषः ॥ असम्बद्धतामेवाह । नहि वर्णक्रमनिर्देशादेव (I3a9) केवलादानर्थ-
क्यमपि तु यदेव किञ्चिदसाध^५नाङ्गस्यासिद्धविरुद्धादेः शब्दरूपसिध्यादेश्च वचन-
न्तदेवानर्थकं । किं कारणं । साध्यसिद्ध्युपयोगिनोऽभिधेयस्याभावात् । साध्यसिद्ध्यु-
पयोगिनोऽभावे^७पि कस्यान्यत्प्रयोजनमस्तीत्यपि न मन्तव्यं इति कथयति ।
निष्प्रयोजनत्वाच्चेति । साध्यसिद्धेरेव प्रस्तुतत्वादप्यप्रयोजनवत्त्वेपि आनर्थक्यमेव
तत्र प्रस्ता^८व इत्यभिप्रायः । तस्मात्प्रकारविशेषोपादानवर्णक्रमनिर्देशवदित्यसम्बद्धं ।
परः प्राह । न साध्यसिद्धौ यदनर्थकमनङ्गान्तन्निरर्थकमभिप्रेतमपि^९ तु यस्य वचनस्य 63a
काकयासितादेरिव नैव कश्चिदर्थः । तथा च नार्थान्तरापार्थकादीनामनेनैव संग्रहस्तत्र-

^१ “कीर्तिनाप्यनुमोदित” — न्या० सं० पृ० ६४६ ।

र्थकं ब्रवीति^३ तस्य तेनैव निग्रह इति । तत्तुल्यं सर्वस्यासाधनाङ्गवादिन इति । स सर्वो निरर्थकाभिधा (नो)प्यनेनैव निग्रहस्थानेन निग्रहार्हः । न च वर्णक्रमनिर्देश (:) सर्वत्र निरर्थकः, क्वचित्प्रकरणे तस्याप्यर्थवत्त्वात् । तस्मादत्रैवास्यानर्थक्यान् निग्रहस्थानत्वं । अपिचान्यदि दमुच्यते वर्णक्रमनिर्देशो निग्रहस्थानमिति ।^४ कपोलवादिनकंद्यवद्वि-
तकमित्येवमादीनामपि वाच्यत्वान्^१ ॥

पर्यत्प्रतिवादिभ्यान्निरमिहितमप्यविज्ञातार्थं (न्या० ५।२।९) ।
“यद्वाक्यं पर्यदा प्रतिवादिना च त्रिरभिहितं न विज्ञायते श्लिष्टशब्द-
मप्रतीतप्रयोगमतिद्रुतोच्चारितमित्येवमादिना कारणेन तद्विज्ञातार्थमसा-
मर्थ्यसम्बरणाय प्रयुक्तं निग्रहस्थानमिति” (१) नेदं निरर्थकाद्भिद्यते ।
सपदि प्रकृतार्थसम्बद्धं गमकमेव कुर्यात् नास्यासामर्थ्यं न च जाड्यात्प-
र्यदादयो न प्रतिपद्यन्त इति न विद्वान्निग्रहमर्हति पर्यत्प्रतिभासपरिकल्प्या-
हवच^५ नान्निग्रहार्ह एवेति चेत् । न्यायवादिनो जाड्यादुक्तमजानन्किञ्च

कस्यचिदर्थलेशस्य सद्भावात् । आचार्य आह^१ (१) यस्य कस्यचिद (१३७३) प्यादिनोपि
निरर्थकाभिधाने वाहित इव किञ्च निग्रहो भवति । कथं स्यादित्याह (१) निग्रहनिमित्त
तस्य निरर्थकाभिधानस्य वाद्यवादिनोरविशेषात् । नेति परन्तस्य वादिन इह
वादप्रकरणे । आयातमित्याचार्यः । तस्य तेनैव निरर्थकाभिधानेन । तत्रैवं स्थिते
वादे तुल्यं । सर्वस्यासाधनाङ्ग^२ वादिनो निरर्थकाभिधायित्वमित्यध्याहृतं व्यं । क्व-
चित्तवेतिपाठः । तत्र नोपकारेण किञ्चित् । अनेनैव निरर्थकाभिधानेन । प्रत्यु-
च्यते । यस्य नैव^३ कश्चिदर्थ इति । एतदप्यसम्बद्धं । यस्मान्न च वर्णक्रमनिर्देशोपि
निरर्थकः क्वचित्प्रकरणे प्रत्याहारादवर्थवत्वाच्च । तस्मादत्रैव वादेस्य वर्णक्रम-
स्यानर्थक्यं । तच्चाथान्तरादेरपि तुल्यमिति चित्तं कक्कडपिडिगतमित्यत्रादिशब्देन
उत्प्लुत्य गमनं तालदानन्तुत् [? नृत्य] आदीनाङ्गहणं ॥ ४ ॥

त्रिर^४भिहितमिति त्रिवचनङ्कार्यमिति न्यायत्वं दर्शयति । सकृदुक्तं स्पष्टार्थ-
मपि कदाचिन्न ज्ञायत इति त्रिरुच्चारणङ्कार्यं । कस्मात्पुनः पदवाक्यप्रमाणविद्-

^१ “कपोलवादितकक्ष्याभिज्ञादीनादीन्यपि कामं निविश्यन्ताम् । अत एवो
न्मत्तप्रलापतः शाक्यभिक्षवोऽपि परिशुद्धबोधिनः परलोकायाथार्थदर्शनः
शौचाचारव्यवहारेष्वबाह्या महान्तो विद्वांसः काममर्थशून्यमपि कथयन्तो
नोन्मत्ता भवितुमर्हन्ति ।” न्या० मं० ६४७ ।

प्रतिवादी निगृह्यते । जाड्यात्पर्षदादेरपि ज्ञातप्रतिपादनासामर्थ्ये इति विजेता न स्यान्न नि^१ग्रहार्हः । असम्बद्धाभिधाने निरर्थकमेवेति न पृथग्बोधितार्थं नाम निग्रहस्थानमिति ॥ त् ॥

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पौर्वापर्यायोगादप्रतिबद्धार्थ^१मपार्थकं (न्या० ५।२।१०) । “यत्रानेकस्य पदस्य वाक्यस्य वा^१ पौर्वापर्येण योगो नास्तीत्यसम्बद्धार्थता गृह्यते । तत्समुदायार्थोपायादपार्थकं दशदाडिमादि वाक्यवत् । इदं किल पदानाम-सम्बद्धादसम्बद्धवर्णाभिरर्थकात्पृथ^२गुक्तं (१) नन्वेवमसम्बद्धवाक्यमपि

भिवक्ष्यन् ज्ञायत इत्याह । क्लिष्टशब्दमित्यादि । क्लिष्टशब्दं मनागुच्चारितत्वात् । अपशब्दत्वादित्यपरे । कस्मादेवं प्रयुक्तमित्याह । असामर्थ्यसम्बन्ध^३ये (13b9) ति । स्पष्टार्थस्य प्रयोगे दूषणम्बक्ष्यतीति भयात्प्रयुक्ते । इदञ्च साधनदूषण-वादिनोः समानं । दूषणवाक्यमपि ह्येवंभूतनिग्रहप्रतिपादकारणं । नेदं^३ निरर्थकाद्-भिद्यते । तथा हि क्लिष्टशब्दादिभिः प्रकृतार्थसम्बद्धङ्गमकमेव ब्रूयात् । एतद्विप-रीतम्बा । प्राक्तने प्रकारे नास्यासामर्थ्यन्तत्र तु परिषदादयो जाड्या^१त्तदुक्तत्र प्रतिपद्यंत इति नेयता विद्वान्वादी निग्रहमर्हति ।

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वक्तुरेव हि तज्जाड्यं यच्छ्रोत्रा नावबुद्धयते । (३७)

ततोसौ निग्रहार्ह एवेत्याकूतवानाह परः । परिषत्^२ प्रज्ञामिति । न्यायवादिन (13b9) इति परिहरति । न्यायवादिनः उक्तमिति सम्बन्धः । वादी तु जाड्या-त्परिषदादेरविज्ञातसाधनसामर्थ्ये इति कृत्वा विजेता न स्यात् । परिषत्प्रतिवादि-प्रत्यायनेन जयव्यवस्थापनात् । अविज्ञातं प्रतिपादनसामर्थ्यं परिषत्प्रतिवादिभ्यां यस्येति कार्यं । द्वितीयन्तु विकल्पमधि^४कृत्याह । असम्बद्धाभिधाने निरर्थकमेवे (14a1) ति ॥ ४॥

अनेकस्य पदस्येति । यदानीमसम्बद्धार्थप्रतिपादकत्वे वाक्यार्थप्रतिपादकत्वं निराकरोति^५ वाक्यस्यासम्बद्धार्थप्रतिपादकत्वे प्रकरणाध्यायप्रतिपत्त्यभावः । समुदायप्रतिपत्त्यभावाच्च निग्रहस्थानं । उदाहरणं दश डा[?दा]डिमाः षड्पू^६पाः कुण्डमजाजिनं पल्लपिण्डं । अथ रौक्मेतत् कुमार्यः स्फैयकृतस्य पिता प्रतिशीन इति अत्र च भारद्वाजेन निरर्थकापार्थक्योरभेद इत्याशङ्क्य^७ प्रतिविहितं तत्र हि वर्णमात्रमिह यदान्यसम्बद्धानीति । तदेवाचार्योप्युपक्षिपति । इदं किले (14a2) त्या-दिना । असम्बद्धा वर्णा यस्मिन्निरर्थक इति विग्रहः । किं^८ल शब्दोज्ज्वलमतत्त्व-

^१दप्रतिसंबद्धार्थ—इति न्या० भा० पाठः ।

पृथग्वाच्यं । नोभयसंग्रहान् । अपार्थक्यान्निरर्थकस्यासङ्ग्रहप्रसङ्गान् ।
एवम्विधार्थविशेषसमाश्रयान् । पृथग् नियहस्थानलक्षणप्र^२लपनेऽति-
प्रसङ्गेऽप्युक्तः न च संग्रहनिर्देशो कश्चिदोपे पश्यामः । प्रभेदे वा गुणान्तर-
मिति यत्किञ्चिदेतन् ॥

अवयवविपर्यासवचन^३मप्राप्तकालं (न्या० ५।२।११) । “प्रतिज्ञा-
दीनां यथा लक्षणमर्थवशात्कमस्तत्रावयवानां विपर्ययेणाभिधानं निग्रह-

64a प्रदर्शनार्थः । अतश्चित्तवमेवाह । नन्वयं पदानामसम्बन्धादपार्थक्यदसम्बन्ध-
वाक्यमपि निरर्थकात् पृथग् वाच्यं स्यात् । स्यात्मतमपार्थक्यं^४ नैवातम्बद्वपदार्था-
सम्बद्धवाक्यार्थयोः सङ्गृहीतत्वात् पृथग् न वाच्यमित्या उच्यते । नोभय-
सङ्ग्रहाद(14a3)पार्थक्यं युक्तं । कस्मादसम्बद्धपदार्थेनापार्थक्येनैवासम्बद्धवा^१क्यत्वेव
निरर्थकस्यापि वर्णक्रममात्रलक्षणस्य सङ्ग्रहप्रसङ्गात् । अथोच्यते । निरर्थकं किमु-
च्यते । यस्यार्थ एव नास्ति केवलं वर्णक्रममात्रं । असम्बद्धपद^२वाक्ययोस्तु साध्य-
सिद्धयनुपयोगेन न सर्वथा निरर्थक्यमतोऽर्थतत्वे साम्यात् द्वयोरेवैकीकरणमित्यत
आह । एवं विधाच्चेत्यादि । कपोलवादितादीनामपि^३ पृथगभिधानप्रसङ्ग
इत्यत्रातिप्रसङ्ग उक्तः । नहि किञ्चित्मात्रेण विशेषो न शक्यते क्वचित्प्रदर्शयितु-
मित्यभिसन्धिः अथ निरर्थकापार्थक्योः^४ सङ्ग्रहनिर्देशोपे भेदनिर्देशो च गुणम्प-
श्यताऽक्षपादेन न सङ्ग्रहनिर्देशः कृत इति मन्यसे । न साधु मन्यस इत्याह । न च
सङ्ग्रह (14 a 4) इत्यादि ॥४॥^५

यथा लक्षणमर्थवसा[?शा]दित्यर्थः सामर्थ्यं । अनुपदर्शिते हि विषये निर्विषया
साधनप्रवृत्तिर्मा भूदिति साध्यनिर्देशलक्षणा प्रतिज्ञा पूर्वमुच्य^६ते । तदनन्तरमुदाहरण-
साधर्म्यात्साध्यसाधनं हेतुरित्येवं लक्षणो हेतुस्तत्साधनायोच्यते । ततो हेतोर्वैहिर्ग्या-
प्तिप्रदर्शनार्थं साध्यसाधर्म्यात्तद्धर्मभाविदृष्टान्त उदाहरणमि(न्या० सू० १।१।३६)
त्येवं लक्षणमुदाहरणं । ततः प्रतिबिम्बनार्थं साध्यवर्मिणि सम्भवप्रदर्शनार्थम्बा-
उदाहरणापेक्षस्तथेत्युपसंहारो न तथेति वेति^७ साधनस्योपनय (न्या० सू० १।१।३८)
इत्येवंलक्षण उपनयः । तत उत्तरकालं सर्वाविधवपरामर्शेण[?शेन] विपरीतप्रसङ्ग-
64b निवृत्यर्थं हेत्वपदेशात् प्रतिज्ञायाः पुनर्वचनं निग^८मनमि(न्या० सू० १।१।३९) त्येवं
लक्षणं निगमनमिति । अयमसौ यथालक्षणमर्थवसा[?शा]त्क्रमः । तथाहि लोकेपि
पूर्ववङ्कार्यं मृत्पिण्डाद्युपादीयते पश्चात्तु करणञ्चक्रदण्डादिकमिति^१ न्यायः ।
तत्रैतस्मिन्क्रम[?न्क्रमे] न्यायतः । स्थितेऽवयवानां प्रतिज्ञादीनां विपर्ययेणाभिधानं

स्थानं ।”^१ “नैवमपि सिद्धेरिति चेत्”^२ । न (१) प्रयोगापेतशब्दतुल्य-
त्वात् । यथा गौरित्यस्य पदस्यार्थे गोणीति प्रयुज्यमानं पदङ्कुदादिमन्त-
मर्थं प्रतिपादयतीति न शब्दार्थाख्यानं व्यर्थं । अनेन च पदेन^३ गोशब्द-
मेव प्रतिपद्यते गोशब्दात् ककुदादिमन्तमर्थं तथा प्रतिज्ञाद्यवयवविपर्यये-
णानुपूर्वीं प्रतिपद्यते । आनुपूर्व्या चार्थमिति । तथा हि पूर्वं कर्मोपादी^४-
यते ततः कर(णं) (मृत्) पिण्डादिकं लोक इति ।”^५ तदेतदुन्मत्तस्योन्मत्त-
सम्बर्णनमिव प्रयोगापेतशब्दवदेतदिति । यदि गोणी-शब्दात्ककुदादि-
मत्यर्थं प्रतीतिशब्दान्वा^६ख्यानप्रयत्नेनार्थं पश्यामः । गोणीशब्द- 14b
स्यार्थप्रतिपादनेऽसामर्थ्यात् प्रतिपादकव्युत्पत्त्यर्थमन्वाख्यानमिति चेत् ।

ननु गोणीशब्दादपि लोके प्रतीतिर्दृ^७ष्टा । सत्यं दृष्टा न तु साक्षा-
दित्युक्तं । उक्तमेतन्न पुनर्युक्तं स्त्रीशूद्राणामुभयप्रतीतेरभावात् । यः खलूमयं
वेत्ति शब्दमपशब्दश्च स एवं प्रतिपद्यते । यस्तु नक्^८शब्दस्मुक्शब्दमेव वा

निग्रहस्थानं । यथा घटवत्कृतत्वादित्य इति । नैवमपि सिद्धेरिति भार^९द्वाजः
स्वयमेवाशङ्क्य परिहरति । न प्रयोगापेतशब्दवदेतत्स्यादिति अनेनेति गोणीपदेन ।
यथा (१)

अम्बम्बिति यथा बालः शिक्षमाणः प्रभासते[?पते ।]

अव्यक्तं^{१०} तद्विदान्तेन व्यक्ते भवति निश्चयः । (३८)

तथा किल गोण्यादयः शब्दाः ते साधु^{११}ध्वनुमाणे[?ने]न प्रत्ययोत्पत्तिहेतव
इति । तदेतदुन्मत्तकस्य दैया^{१२}करणस्योन्मत्तकसंवर्णनमुन्मत्तकोद्योतकरेण संवर्णनं
यथा ह्येक उन्मत्तो द्वितीयमुन्मत्तकं सम्बर्णयति तथा भूतमेतदपीति या^{१३}वत् । यदि
चोन्मत्तकस्योद्योतकरस्योन्मत्तकस्य दैयाकरणस्य सम्बर्णनं । तथा हि शाब्दिक एव
तावदुन्मत्तः प्रमाणविच्छेदवत्त्वाभिधायित्वात् । ततः (:) कु^{१४}तस्तत्प्रक्रियायाः प्रमाण-
चिन्ताया ज्ञापकत्वमित्यभिप्रेतं । कथम्युनः शाब्दिकस्यायुक्ताभिधायित्वमित्याह ।
यदि (14a4) त्यादि सुबोधं । स्त्रीशूद्रशब्दो मूर्खवचनः ।^{१५} यस्तु नक्कशब्दं मुक्कशब्द-
मेव नासापर्यायम्वेत्ति । स कथमपशब्दाच्छब्दं साधु^{१६} प्रतिपद्यातः साधोः शब्दा-
दर्थप्रतिपद्येत । किमुच्यते नैवासौ तथा दिवोधमप्रतिपद्यत इत्याह । दृष्टाचानुभय-
वेदिनोपि (14b3) सनकादेः प्रतीतिरिति तस्मान्न परम्परया प्रतीतिरर्थस्य । अयमत्र
संक्षेपः । स्यादेवमसाधूनां साध्वनुमापकत्वम् । य^{१७}द्येषान्धूमादीनामिव त्रैरूप्यम्भवे-

65a

^१न्या० भा० पृ० २६१ ।

^२दिङ्नागेन कृत आक्षेपः ।

^३न्या० वा० पृ० ५५५-५६ ।

वेत्ति न नासाशब्दं स कथमपशब्दाच्छब्दं प्रतिपद्येत ततार्थं प्रतिपद्येत
(1) दृष्टा चानुभयवेदिनोपि प्रतीतिरिति न परस्परं यापि प्रतीतिरर्थ-

निश्चितं। तच्च न सम्भवति। यस्मादेतावदनुभयवेदिनः सनकादयस्ते सन्तमपि
व्याप्यव्यापकभावज्ञ प्रतिपद्यन्ते। न चासावज्ञातो गमको ज्ञापकत्वात्। येषि
शब्दापशब्दप्रविभागकुशलास्तेष्वविद्यमानत्वादेव भावयन्ति। तथाह्यसाधूनां साधुभिः
सम्बन्धस्तादात्म्यं कार्यकारणभावो वा भवेत्। तदुभयविकल्पस्याव्यभिचारनियमा-
भावात्। तत्र च तावन्न तादात्म्यमभ्युपेयं पारमार्थिकस्यैव भेदस्य स्फुटं प्रत्यक्षतः
प्रतीतेः। शब्दवदसाधोरप्यव्यतिरेकतो वाचकत्वप्रसङ्गाच्च। तदुत्पत्तिरपि दूरो-
त्सारितेव। यतो नासाधवः साधुभ्यो जायन्ते। क(1)रणगुणवक्तुकामतामात्रहेतुत्वा-
त्तेषां। न च तेषांनित्यत्वङ्कादाचित्कोपलम्भतः। तत्त्वे वा सुतरान्तदुत्पत्तेरभावः
सत्यपि वा व्याप्यव्यापकभावे तत्परिज्ञाने च पक्षधर्मत्ववैकल्याच्चाक्षुषत्वादे-
रिवासाधुभ्यो नानुमानं। नह्यत्र धर्मं विद्यते। यतः पक्षधर्मत्वं निष्पद्यते। नहि
साधूनामेव धर्मित्वन्तेषामेवानुमीयमानत्वात्। न च धर्मिसाधनं युक्तिमतः। भावा-
भावोभयधर्मस्यासिद्धविरुद्धानैकान्तिकदोषदुष्टत्वतः। कथं वा साधूनां तदधर्मत्वं।
नहि तत्काले ते सन्ति। असताञ्च धर्मित्वं वाचकत्वं चेति सुभाषितं। किमुच्यते
पुरुषो धर्मो साधुशब्दविवक्षा साध्यधर्मः पक्षधर्मश्चासाधुरिति तदप्यसम्बद्धं।
65b व्याप्यव्यापकभावाभावादेव। यस्मान्न च गोणीशब्दप्रयोगकाले गोशब्दविवक्षामु-
पलभामहे। अथ प्रत्यवस्थीयते। यथा पक्षधर्मत्वादिवैकल्पेप्यव्यक्तं। बालवचोव्यक्त-
मनुमापयति। तथैवासाधवोपि साधूनि (1) तदयुक्तं तत्रापि तुल्यपर्यनुयोगत्वा-
त्। वयन्तु प्रतिपद्यामहे साक्षादेव तस्मादप्यव्यक्तान्मात्राद्यर्थः प्रतीयत इति।
तत्र संज्ञासंज्ञिसम्बन्धस्याननुभूतत्वादयुक्ताप्रतीतावित्यपि न मन्तव्यं। अनादि-
मति संसारे व्यवहारपरम्परायास्तथाभूतायाः सम्बन्धस्योल्लिङ्गगितत्वात्। तथाहि
न गवादिशब्दानामपि प्रायः शृङ्गशङ्खाहिकयार्थनियमः सङ्केत्यतेपि तु व्यवहार-
पारम्पर्यतो विदग्धा निश्चिन्वन्ति। तच्चेहापि समानमेव। तस्मादेतदरण्यरहितं।

अम्बन्विति यथा बालः शिक्षमाणः प्रभासते।

अव्यक्तान्तद्विदान्तेन व्यक्तेन भवति निश्चयः ॥ (३९)

एवं साधौ प्रयोक्तव्ये यो मद्भ्रंशः प्रयुज्यते।

तेन साधु व्यवहितः कश्चिदर्थोवसीयत (४०) इति ॥

यदप्यभ्यधाधि कुमारिलेन।

ऽसमर्थस्य शब्देऽपि प्रतीतिजननासामर्थ्याच्च । न ह्यर्थेऽपि वाचकत्वं नामान्यदेवान्यत्र तद्विषयप्रतीतिजननात् । अपशब्दश्चेच्छब्दे प्रती^४ तिञ्जनयेत् । अर्थ एव किञ्च जनयति । न ह्येतस्यार्थात् किञ्चिद्भेदं पश्यामो येन तं परिहरेत् । अकृतसमयस्य शब्देऽप्यप्रतीतिजननाच्च । न ह्ययमप^५ शब्दः शब्देऽपि स्वभावतः प्रतीतिं जनयत्यदर्शनासमयत एव तु जनयेत् । समयवसा[? शा]त्प्रवर्तते । एवं हि प्रतिपत्तिपरम्परापरिश्रमः परिहृ^६तो भवति । विपर्ययदर्शनाच्च । शब्दादर्थमप्रतिपद्यमाना अप-शब्दैरेव ज्ञानं व्युत्पद्यमाना लोके दृश्यन्ते इति व्यर्थं शब्दानुशासनं ।

गोशब्देऽवस्थितेस्माकन्तदशक्तिजकारिता ।

गाव्यादेरपि गोबुद्धिर्मूलशब्दानुसारिणी(४१)ति ॥

तस्यापीद^१मेव प्रतिविधानमिदञ्च सर्वमागुर्यं निगमयति । न परम्परया प्रतीतिरिति । अत्रैवोपचयमाह । अर्थे प्रतिपादनायासमर्थस्यासाधोः शब्देऽपि साधौ प्रतीतिज^२ननासामर्थ्याच्च । तत्रैतत्स्यान्न वयमसाधूनामर्थेषु प्रतीति-जनकत्वं निराकुर्मः । किन्तु वाचकत्वं । शब्दे चासाधुः प्रतीतिजनक एव न वाचक एव इत्यत आह । न ह्यर्थेऽपि शब्दस्य वाचकत्वमन्यदेवे(14b4)- 66a
त्यादि । यद्यसाधोरर्थे प्रतीतिजनकत्वमिष्यते । तदैतावता वयमाहितपरितोषाः । किमस्माकमभिधानान्तरकल्पितेन वाचक^१त्वेनेत्याकूतं । नैव तदर्थसावर्थप्रतीतिं जनयितुं क्षमोऽपि तु शब्द एवेति चेदाह । अपशब्दश्चेदि(14b4)ति । अथोच्यते शब्देन तस्य स्वाभाविकः सम्बन्धो नार्थेन ततस्तमे^३व प्रतिपादयति नार्थन्तद्यथा स्वभावतश्चक्षुरूपं प्रकाश(य)ति न शब्दादीनत आह । अकृतसमयस्ये(14b5) त्यादि । अदर्शनादिति । न ह्यप्रतीतसम्बन्धाः सिंहलशब्दा आर्य^३जनव्यवहा-
राय वर्तन्ते । समय एव तु जनयेत् प्रतीतिं । सामयिके च तत्र सम्बन्धे सौर्धेप्य-निवार्यः । समयवसा[? शा]दसाधुः साधौ वर्तमानोर्थे एव गवादी^४ किञ्च प्रवर्तते । नहि किञ्चित्तथा दोषो गुणस्तु केवल इत्याह । एवं हीत्या(14b6)-
दि । एतदुक्तमभवति । ये स्वभावतः प्रकाशका न ते समयमपेक्षन्ते । यथा चक्षुर्दी-पा^५दयो रूपादीनां । स्वभावतश्चापशब्दो यदि शब्दस्य प्रकाशको भवेत् । ततस्ते-नापि सम्बन्धोनापेक्षः स्यात् । अपेक्ष्यते च ततो नास्य शब्दे स्वा(भा)विकं सामर्थ्यं^६ तथा चेदमपि शक्यमनुमातुं । ये समयपेक्ष [? पेक्ष]प्रवृत्तयस्ते सर्वत्र यथासमय-मनिवारितप्रसराः साक्षादेव प्रतिपादका भवन्ति । यथाकायविज्ञप्त्यादयः । त^७था चापशब्दा अपि समयपेक्षप्रवृत्तय इति सिद्धमेषामव्य(व)धानत एवार्थप्रति-

न व्यर्थं संस्कृतशब्दव्युत्पत्त्यर्थमिति चेत् । कोऽयं शब्दानां संस्कारः । नह्येषां प्रज्ञावाहुश्रुत्यादिकं संस्कारं पश्यामो, नाप्येषामेकान्तेन श्रव्यता । नाप्यर्थप्रत्यायने कश्चिद्विदितशयः । न धर्मसाधनता मिथ्यावृत्तिचोदनेभ्यः संस्कृतेभ्योऽप्यधर्मोत्पत्तिः । अन्येभ्योऽपि विपर्यये धर्मोत्पत्तेः । शब्दस्य सुप्रयोगादेव स्वधर्मोद्गमोपपत्त्या^१ वचनमात्रं (१) न चैर्विधानागमान् (१) त्रिवन्तो युक्तिज्ञाः । न च दानादि

पादकत्वमिति । विपर्ययदर्शनाच्चेत्युपचयान्तरं । तथाहि वृक्षोन्मिरुत्पलमित्युक्ते^१ ऽव्युत्पन्नधियो बालाः प्रश्नोपक्रमं सन्तिष्ठन्ते । कोयं वृक्ष इत्यादिना । ते चान्यस्य व्युत्पादोपायत्वाभावात्पश्यादैरेव व्युत्पाद्यन्ते एकत्र अगो उत्पत्तिमिति ॥ तदेव-
66b न्नत्रसाधय एव वाचका न साधनः सन्तोपीति विपर्ययो दृश्यते (१) अथ प्रतिपद्यसे धर्मसाधनता शब्दसंस्कारो ययोदत्तं ।

शिष्टेभ्य आगमान् सिद्धं साधनो धर्मसाधनं^१

अर्थप्रत्यायनाभेदे विपरीतास्त्वसाधव (४२) इति । तथा

“मन्त्र (१) हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो (वा) मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।

स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रद्राघुः स्वरतोपराधान्^१ ।” (४३)

ते सुरा हेऽल्यो (हे)ऽल्य इत्युक्तवन्तः परावभूवुः । एकोपि शब्दः सम्यक्प्रयुक्तः सुकृ-
त्तिनां लोकज्ञामयति । आहिताग्निरपशब्दन्विधाय प्रायश्चित्तीयामिति^१ निर्वदे-
(दि)त्यादि ।” (महाभाष्ये आह्निके १) इदमपत्तारयति न धर्मसाधनता (१४७९)
शब्दानां संस्कार इति वर्तते किङ्कारणमित्याह । मिथ्यावृत्तिचोदनेभ्य (१४७९)
इत्यादि । मिथ्यावृत्तिचोदते यैरिति कार्यं । यथा ह्यस्याभिनवविद्रुमाङ्कुरप्रकरा-
भिरामकिशलयमञ्जुसञ्जरीराजीविराजिततरोरशोकवनस्पतेरथः शयितस्य द्विज-
न्मनो नीलनीरजं नीलतातिसाधिना मण्डलाग्रेण शिरश्छिद्यत्स्युक्तेऽपि भवत्येव ब्रह्मह-
त्यया सम्बन्धः प्रयोजकस्य । अन्येभ्य इत्यसम्भूतेभ्यो विपर्ययेण सम्यक्त्ववृत्तिचोद-
नेन । यथा अस्स वम्भणस्स गायी दीअदि । सर्वञ्चेदमप्रमाणत्वाद् वचनमात्रं
भवतादिमत्याकूतवानुपचयमाह । शब्दस्य सुप्रयोगादेवेत्यादि (१४७९) । एवं
विधानित्यप्रमाणकान् ।

ननु च “प्रतिष्ठिते भूप्रदेशे चैत्यङ्कारयति ब्राह्मणं पुण्यं प्रसवति कल्पं स्वर्गं
शोभत” इत्यादावपि प्रमाणाभावादयं तुल्यः प्रसङ्गो भवतामपि । न तुल्यो यस्मादत्र

^१ व्याकरणमहाभाष्ये पस्पशाह्निके ।

धर्मसाधनचोदनाशून्यकेवलशब्दसुप्रयोगाग्नगपातं इति ब्रुवाणस्य कस्य-
चिन्मुखं वक्रोभवति । तस्मान्न^१ संस्कृतो नाम कश्चिच्छब्दः ।^१

शिष्टप्रयोगः संस्कार इति चेत् । के शिष्टाः (१) ये वेद्यतादिगुण-
युक्ताः । कः पुनरेषां गुणोत्कर्षानपेक्षोऽलीकनिर्बन्धो यत्तेऽमूनेव शब्दान्
प्रयुञ्जते नापरा^२न् । न चात्र कश्चिच्छब्दे (S) पवाह्यः साक्षी यत इतीदमेव
निश्चिनुमः । प्रयुञ्जते नाम शिष्टा नन्वेवं वयं गुणातिशयमपश्यन्तः संस्कारं
केषां चिच्छब्दानामनुमन्यामहे । तदन्वाख्यानं यत्नं वा गुणा^३तिशया-
भावात् वेदरक्षादिकथाप्रयोजनमेव । तत्स्थामवस्थापि (?) नः । सत्यपि
गुणातिशये न करणीय एवान्वाख्याने यत्नः । तत्स्वभावस्यान्यतोपि
सिद्धेः प्राकृतापभ्रंशद्रमि^४डान्त्रादिभाषा (१) वत् । न हि प्रतिदेशं भाषाणां

विषयद्वयपरिशुद्धिः परिनार्था (?) विसम्बादश्चास्तीति तृतीयेपि राशावाहितपरि-
तोषाः प्रेक्षावन्तः प्रवर्तन्ते । नत्वेवं भवन्मतेऽनन्तरोदितद्वयमपि^५ प्रमाणव्याहतत्वात् 67a
प्रमाणव्याहतिश्चानन्तरमेवावेदिता । तस्माद्दूरिद्रेक्षरस्पर्धासमानमेतत् (१)

विदितवेद्यादिगुणप्रयुक्ता (15a2) इत्यन्तर्भावितभावप्रत्यययो [? य]
निर्देशः^१ । विदितं वेद्यं हेयोपादेयत्वं यैस्ते तथोक्ताः । आदिग्रहणात् करुणादिप-
रिग्रहः । अमूने (5a2) व संस्कृतानपरानसंस्कृतान् । एतदुक्तम्भवति (१)
शब्दो हि व्यवहारोर्थप्र^२त्यायनफलः । तच्च यथा संस्कृतेभ्यः सङ्केतवसा [? शा]
त्सम्पद्यते तथाऽसंस्कृतेभ्योपीति किमस्थानेभिनिविष्टाः शिष्टाः । अत एव च
सन्धे प्रेक्षावद्भ्योन्यत्वादन्यगता^३र्थमेवं नामामीषामिति । अथवा किमस्माक-
मर्हषितिः (?) प्रत्याख्यानैः ॥ ते अमूनेव प्रयुञ्जते नापरानित्यत्रैव निश्चया-
भावात् । यदाह (१) न चात्र श^४ब्दे परोक्षः साक्षी यतः साक्षिण इदमेवामूनेव
प्रयुञ्जते नापरानिति निश्चिनुमः (15a3) ।

ननु चोक्ततदन्वाख्यानस्य प्रयोजनं रक्षोहागमलध्वसन्दे^५हा (महाभाष्येआहि-
नके १) इति । तत्कथं गुणातिशयाभावादित्युच्यत इत्याह । वेदरक्षादिकञ्चाप्रयो-
जनमेवातत्समयस्थायिन (15a4) स्ताथागतस्य । न्यायानुपायित्वात् । तत्स्वभा-
वस्य (15a4) साधुशब्दरूपस्य । अन्यतोपीति (15a4) बृद्धप्रवादपारम्पर्यात् ।
एतदेव दृष्टान्तोपक्रमं व्यनक्ति । प्राकृतेत्यादिना (15a4) ।

^१अत्र वाचस्पतिः (न्या० वा० ता० पृ०) — “तदेवं व्यवस्थिते न्याय-
मीमांसापरिशीलनविकलानां बाह्यतराः प्रलापा उपेक्षणीयाः ।”

किञ्चिल्लक्षणमस्ति । अथ च सम्प्रदायः सान्ना (?) ल्लोकस्तथैव प्रति-
पद्यते तासाञ्च प्रयोगभ्रंशं । तथा संस्कृतानां शब्दानां प्रतीतिभे-
विष्यतीति जडप्रतिपत्तिरेवैषा या शब्दानां लक्षणे प्रवृत्तिः ।

अवयवविपर्ययेपि यदि तेषां वचनानां सम्बन्धप्रतीतिर्न विप-
र्ययो नाप्यर्थाप्रतीतिः सामर्थ्यात् । न ह्यत्र कश्चित्सम^०यः प्रत्यायना-
विशेषेष्वेवमेवावयवाः प्रयोक्तव्या इति । स एव तेषां क्रमो यथावस्थिते-
भ्याऽर्थप्रतीतिर्भवतीति न विपर्ययात्प्रतीतिः (:) तत आनुपूर्वीप्रतिपत्त्या
प्रतीतिरिति चेत् । नाप्रतीयमानसम्बन्धेभ्य आनुपूर्वीप्रतिपत्तिः ।
येषां शब्दानां कश्चित्सम्बन्धो जायते इदमिह सम्बन्धत इति । तेषु विदित-
सम्बन्धेषु कः कस्य पूर्वोऽपरो वा क्रमो येन क्रमेण व्यवस्थायेरन ।
सम्बन्धप्रतिपत्तौ स एव तेषां क्रमो यो यथावस्थितानां सम्बन्धः प्रतीयते ।
नहि वाक्येषु पदानां क्रमनियमः कश्चिन् यथा राज्ञः पुरुषः पुरुषो राज्ञ
इति । यावद्भिः (:) पदै^०र्थपरिसमाप्तिः (:) तदैकं वाक्यं यथा देवदत्त
गामानय कृष्णामित्यत्र पदानां यथाकामं प्रयोगेपि नार्थप्रतीतौ विशेष
15b इति कश्चित्क्रमाभिनिवेशः । प्रतिपादितञ्च प्रातिज्ञावचनान्तरंणा^{१०} पि
यथा प्रतीतिर्भविष्यतीति प्रतीयमानार्थस्य शब्दस्य प्रयोगेऽतिप्रसङ्गः

इ(त्)थं शा(f)ब्दकस्योन्मत्तकतामुपदर्शयिषुना भा^०रद्वाजस्याह ।

अवयवविपर्ययेपीत्यादि (15a6) । सम्बन्धप्रतीतिरिति सम्बन्धः परस्परमुप-
कार्योपकारकभावः । सामर्थ्याद्विवक्षितप्रतिपादन इति शेषः ।^१ अथ स्यादक्षपाद-
सिद्धान्तनीतिपालनाय न प्रतिज्ञादीनां क्रमव्यत्ययः क्रियत इत्यत्राह । नह्यत्र
67b कश्चित्समयः (15a6) सिद्धान्तो नियमो वा प्रमाणोपेत इत्यप्याह । न^०पर आह ।
न विपर्ययात्प्रतीतिः (15a7) साध्यस्य । किन्तु ततो विपर्ययादानुपूर्व्या प्रतीति-
रिति । अस्य प्रतिषेधः । नाप्रतीयमानसम्बन्धेभ्य आनुपूर्वी प्रतीतिरिति (15a8) ।^१
येषामित्यादिनै (15a8) तदेव व्याचष्टे ॥ अपि च प्रतिज्ञोपनयनिगमनानां
पूर्वमेवास्माभिः साधनवाक्ये प्रयोगः प्रतिक्षिप्तः । तत्कुतस्तत्कृतो विपर्यय इत्येत-
त्कथयति^२ (1) प्रतिपादित (15a10) मित्यादिना । प्रतिज्ञाग्रहणमुपलक्षणार्थं ।
अथ सामर्थ्यलभ्यापि प्रयुज्यते तदातिप्रसङ्ग इत्येतदाह । प्रतीयमानार्थस्य च
प्रयोगेति (15b1) प्रसङ्गः सा^०धर्म्यवति प्रयोगे वैधर्मं (? म्यं) स्यापि प्रयोग-
प्रसङ्गः । न चेप्यते । अर्थादापन्नस्य स्वशब्देन पुनर्वचनञ्चेति (न्या० सू० ५।२।१५)
निग्रहस्थानवचनात् । पक्षधर्मान्वयव्यतिरे^३केषु तर्हि प्रतिज्ञाद्यभावेपि क्रमनियमो-

परिशिष्टेषु च सम्बन्धं प्रदर्श्य धर्मिणि भावः प्रदर्श्येत धर्मिणि भावं प्रदर्श्य सम्बन्धः प्रदर्श्येतेति न नियमः कश्चिदुभयथापि^१ प्रतीत्युत्पत्तेरित्युक्तं । अप्रतीयमानसम्बन्धेषु च पदेषु न तेभ्य आनुपूर्व्या अपि प्रतीतेरिति नेदमपार्थक्यद्विद्यत इति नाप्राप्तकालं पृथग्वाच्यं स्यादिति ॥

हीनमन्यतमेनाप्यवयवेन न्यू^२नं (न्या० ५।२।१२) । यस्मिन्वाक्ये “प्रतिज्ञादीनामन्यतमोऽवयवो न भवति तद्वाक्यं हीनं साधनाभावे साध्यासिद्धेः”^३ । न प्रतिज्ञान्यूनं हीनं तदभावे प्रतीतिभावादिति प्रतिपादितं । हीनमेव तत् न्यूनतायामपि नि^३ग्रहादित्यपरः । यः प्रतीयमानार्थमनर्थकं शब्दं प्रयुङ्क्ते स निग्रहमर्हेत् नार्थोपसंहितस्याभिधातेति । असमीक्षिताभिधानमेतत् । अतएव च प्रतिज्ञाया न साधनाङ्गभाव इति^४ ॥

भविष्यतीत्यत आह । परिशिष्टे (15b1) ष्वित्यादि । अप्रतीयमानसम्बन्धपक्षे दोषान्तरं ब्रूते (1) नेदमपार्थक्याद् भिद्यत (15b2) इति न पृथग्वाच्यं स्यादिति ॥ ४ ॥

यस्मिन्वाक्ये प्रतिज्ञादीनामन्यतमपर्यन्तानामन्यतमोऽवयवो न भवति । तद्वाक्यं हीनं (15b3) निग्रहस्था^५नत्वे कारणमाह । साधनाभावे साध्यासिद्धेरिति (15b3) । इदन्निराकरोति (1) न प्रतिज्ञादीनामित्यादिना (15b3) । प्रतिज्ञाग्रहणमुपलक्षणार्थं तेनोपनयनिगमनयोरपि^६ परिग्रहः । उद्योतकरस्य मतमुपन्यस्यति । हीनमेव तत् (15b3) । प्रतिज्ञान्यूनं । तस्याः प्रतिज्ञायाः न्यूनतायामपि निग्रहादिति अस्यायुक्ततामाह । यः साधनसा^७मर्थ्यात्प्रतीयमानार्थमनर्थकं शब्दं साध्याभिधायिनं साधने प्रयुङ्क्ते स निग्रहमर्हेत् (15b4) । तथा हि शब्दस्यानित्यत्वविचारे प्रस्तुते यदा ब्रवीति । कृतकानामनित्यत्वं^८ दृष्टङ्कृतकश्च शब्द 68a इति । तदा वचनद्वया देवसाध्यार्थः प्रतीयत इति निरर्थकमप्रतिज्ञावचनं । नार्थोपसंहितस्य युक्तियुक्तस्य पक्षधर्मसम्बन्धमात्रस्याभिधानेत्यसमीक्षिताभिधानमेतत् (15b4) द्वातिकारणस्य । अत एव चेति (15b4) यतः प्रतीयमानार्थं शब्दे प्रयुक्ते^९ निग्रहमर्हति । तदत्राविद्धकर्णः प्रतिबन्धकन्यायेन प्रत्यवतिष्ठते । यद्येवङ्कृतकश्च शब्द इत्येतदपि न वक्तव्यं किंकारणनी^{१०}(? निमित्त) मनित्यत्वमित्येतैनैव शब्दे^{११}पि कृतकत्वमनित्यत्वञ्चोभयं प्रतिपद्यते । यस्मात्पूर्वमपि शब्दे कृतकत्वम्परेण प्रतिपन्नमेव करणाच्छब्दोपि बुद्धौ व्यवस्थितः । अतोन्वयवाक्येन स्मृतिमात्रकमुपाद्यते । अप्रतिपन्नकृतकत्वस्य पुनः कृतकश्च शब्द इत्ये-

हेतुदाहरणाधिकमधिकं (न्या० ५।२।१६) । “एकेन कृतकत्वादित्य-
स्यानर्थक्यमिति तदेतन्नियमाभ्युपगमे वेदितव्यं”^१ । यत्रैकसाधनवाक्य-
प्रयोगपूर्वको विचारस्तत्राधिकाभिधानमनर्थकमिति^२ निग्रहस्थानं । प्रपञ्च-
कथायान्तु न कश्चिद्दोषो^३ नियमाभावादिति ॥

शब्दार्थयोः पुनर्वचनं पुनरुक्तमन्यत्रानुवादान् (न्या० ५।२।१४) ।
“शब्दपुनरुक्तमनित्यः शब्दोऽनित्यः शब्द इति । अर्थपुनरुक्तमनित्यः

तस्मादपि नैव भवति । यद्वा कृतकः शब्द इत्येतावद्वक्तव्यं । कृतकत्वस्य त्वनित्यत्वे-
नाविनाभावित्वं परस्य प्रसिद्धमिति शब्देऽप्यनित्यत्वं प्रतिपद्यत इति तेनानुकूल-
मेवाचरितं । तथा हि यदि वादिना कथञ्चिन्निश्चितम्भवति प्रतिपन्नमनेन वादिना
कृतकत्वं शब्द इति तदा नैव तेन पक्षधर्मोपसंहारः कर्तव्यो निष्फलत्वात् । प्रति-
बन्धमात्रन्तु प्रदर्शनीयं । अथ तथा न^४ निश्चितं । तथापि यद्यपि परः पक्षधर्मोपसंहारे
मया कृते तस्यासिद्धिञ्चोदयिष्यति । तदाहन्तां प्रत्ययभेदभेदित्वादभिर्भाष्यैः
प्रतिनिवारयिष्यामि स्व^५यमेव वा ऽचोदित एवाशङ्क्यैतच्चेतस्याधाय पक्षधर्मत्वमुप-
संहर्तव्यमेव कृतकश्च शब्द इति । यदाप्येवं वादी निश्चितवान् कृतकत्वस्यानित्यत्वे-
नाविनाभा^६वित्वं परस्य प्रसिद्धमिति तस्यामप्यवस्थायां कृतकः शब्द इत्येतावेदव
वक्तव्यं । यथोक्तम्

तद्भानहेतुभावो हि दृष्टान्ते तदवेदिनः

ख्याप्यते विदुषाम्वाच्यो हेतुरे^७व हि केवल इति ॥ (४४) ॥

तदेतन्नियमाभ्युपगम इत्यधिकं निग्रहस्थानं । विशिष्टे विषये स्थापयति तञ्च
विशिष्टं विषयमाह । यत्रेत्यादिना (15b5) । ननु चेदं नियमाभ्युपगमे वेदि-
तव्यमिति भाष्यकारेणैवोक्तं । तत्किमत्र दूषणमाचार्येणोक्तं सत्यपि किञ्चिदुक्तं ।
आ(चा)र्येण तु पक्षिलोक्तमेवनूद्यतेऽभ्यनुज्ञानार्थम् ॥ ४४ ॥

शब्दार्थयोः पुनर्वचनं पुनरुक्तमित्यस्यापवादमाह अन्यत्रानुवादादिति । अनु-
वादो निगमनं । अनुवादो हि न पुनरुक्तव्यपदे^८शं लभते । शब्दाभ्यामर्थविशेषोत्पत्तिः ।
यस्मात्साध्यनिर्देशः । प्रतिज्ञासिद्धनिर्देशो निगमनमित्युक्तं । पुनः शब्दश्च नानात्वे
दृष्टः । पुनरि^९यमचिरप्रभा निश्चरतीत्यप्यावेदितमेव । यद्येवन्तत्र तर्हि पुन-

^१न्या० भा० पृ० २६२ ।

^२न्या० सं० पृ० ६५०—“एतच्च कीर्तिनाऽप्येवं कथितं प्रपञ्चकथायां
तु न दोष इति ।”

शब्दो निरोध-धर्मको ध्वान इति ।”^१ अत्र न शब्दपुनरुक्तं पृथग्वाच्य-
मर्थपुनरुक्तवचनेनैव गतत्वात् । न ह्यर्थभेदे शब्दसाम्येऽपि कश्चिद्दोषो
यथा (—)

हसति^१ हसति स्वामिन्पुच्छैरुदत्यभिरोदिति (,)

कृतपरिकरं स्वेदोङ्गारं पूर्धावति धावति ।

गुणसमुदितं दोषापेतं प्रणिन्दति निन्दति (,)

घनलवपरिक्रीतं यन्त्रं प्रनृत्यति नृत्यति ॥ (२)

यथा वा, यद्यस्मिन्सति भवति भ^०वति न भवति (,) न भवति
तत्तस्य कार्यमितरत्कारणमिति । गम्यमानार्थं पुनर्वचनमपि पुनरुक्तं

रुक्ततायाः प्राप्तिरेव नास्तीति किमर्थमयमपवादः प्रारभ्यते । सत्यमेवमे^०तत् ।
त एव तु प्रकृष्टतार्किकाः प्रष्टव्याः । कथमेतदिति । अस्माकन्तु किं परकीयाभिर्गूढ-
चिन्ताभिश्चिन्तिताभिरित्यलम्प्रसङ्गेन । अत्र चेदमपि द्वितीयसूत्रम्^१स्ति अर्था-
दापन्नस्य स्वशब्देन पुनर्वचनमिति (न्या० सू० ५।२।१५) तदाचार्येण नोपन्यस्त-
मुपलक्षणार्थत्वात् । तद्भाष्य (म) पक्षिष्य निराकरिष्यति । गम्यमानार्थं पुनर्वचनम-
पी^०त्यादिना (15b9) । अत्रेत्यादिना (15b7) दूषणमारभते । एतदुक्तम्भवति ।
यत्र शब्दसाम्येऽप्यर्थो न भिद्यते तत्रार्थपुनरुक्ते^०न गतं यत्र तु शब्दसाम्येऽप्यर्थभेदस्तत्र
शब्दपुनरुक्ततायामपि न किञ्चित्कृतं । किमस्त्ययस्मीदृशः सम्भवो यच्छब्दपुनरुक्त-
तायामप्यर्थभेदोस्तीत्यत आह । यथा हस^१ति हसतीत्यादि (15b7) । अत्र हि
पूर्वो हसतिशब्दः सप्तम्यन्तो द्वितीयश्च तिङन्त इत्यर्थभेदः । एवमुत्तरत्रापि । काव्य
ईदृशः सम्भवो न तु वाद इत्याशङ्कायामुदाहर^०ति । यथा चेत्यादि (15b8) ।
ननु चेहाप्यर्थभेदवच्छब्दो[?]ब्दभेदोऽप्यस्ति सुबन्ततिङन्ततया । सत्यस्य केवलम-
त्रापि । अत्राप्यनित्यः शब्दोऽनित्यःशब्द इत्यत्रास्त्येव शब्दभेदः स्वलक्षणभेदात् ।
अन्यथा न क्रमभावि श्रवणं स्यात् । समानश्रुतिसमाश्रयमिह पौनरुक्त्यं यदि
व्यवस्थाप्यते तदत्रापि तुल्यमेव । अर्थभेद एवायं । किं^१याभेदादिवाच्यभेदात् ।
तद्वलकल्पित एव हि पदभेदः । गम्यमानार्थं पुनर्वचनमपि पुनरुक्तमिति (15b9)
द्वितीयम्पुनरुक्तलक्षणसूत्रमुपलक्षयति । अस्य^० चोदाहरणं वात्स्यायनेन न्यायभाष्य
उक्तं । साधर्म्यं वति प्रयोगे वैधर्म्यस्य । आचार्यस्तु प्रतिज्ञायामप्येतत्समानमित्यागर्थं
प्रतिज्ञायाः साधनवा^०क्येऽनुपन्यासं प्रतिपादयितुकामो वक्रोक्त्या प्रतिज्ञावचनमेवो-

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नियतिपदप्रयोगे साधनवाक्ये यथा प्रतिज्ञावचनमिति । अथ पुनरुक्तेनैव गतार्थत्वात् पृथग्वाच्यं^७ अयमपि नियनसाधनवाक्य एव दोषो वक्तव्यो न विस्तरकथायां व्याचक्षाणो हि कदाचिदसम्यक्श्रवणप्रतिपत्ति-शङ्कया साक्षिप्रभृतीनां पुनः पुनर्न्यादिति न तत्र किञ्चिच्छ्रुतं । नाविषयादिति चे^{१०}त् । नायङ्गुर्न शिष्य इति न यत्नतः प्रतिपादनीयो येन पुनः पुनरुच्यत इति । पुनर्वचने निग्रह एवेति चेत् । न (1) साक्षिणां यत्नेन प्रति-
16a पाद्यत्वान् । तदप्रतिपादने दोषाभिधानान् । प्रतिपा^{११}दने दोषाभिधानान् ।

दाहरणत्वेनोपन्यस्यति । नियतपदप्रयोगे साधनवाक्ये यथा प्रतिज्ञावचनमिति (15b9) नियतानां पदानां प्रयोगो यस्मिन्निति कार्यं । इदमप्रतिक्षिपति अर्थपुनरुक्तेनैव गत(र्थ)त्वात् पृथग्वाच्यमिति । यथा ह्येकशब्दप्रतिपादितेयं
69b तत्प्रतिपादनाय पदार्थशब्दान्तरमुपादीयमानमनर्थकत्वया सामर्थ्यगम्येष्ट्यर्थ इति अर्थपुनरुक्तेनैवात्य सङ्ग्रह इति समुदायार्थः । क्व पुनरेतत्प्रतिज्ञावचनभर्या-पत्तिभ्यं पुनरुक्तं सन्निग्रहस्थानम्भवतीति प्रश्ने नियनप्रयोगे साधनवाक्ये (15b9) इत्येतदेवम्पक्षेण विवृणोति । अयमपि दोषो गम्यमानार्थपुनर्वचनकृतः साधनवाक्य एव नियतपदप्रयोग इति वर्तते । इदमुक्तम्भवति । यदा प्राश्निकाः शब्दार्थप्रमाण-प्रविचयनिपुणा [?णा]ः प्रेक्षावन्तोत्यं^{१२}तमवहितमनसश्च भवन्ति । प्रतिवाद्यपि तथाभूत एवेति वदन्ति यदन्तरेण न साध्यसिद्धिः तदेव प्रयोक्तव्यं । नाभ्यधिक-मिति तदायन्दोषो नान्यथा^{१३} यस्मात्करुणापरतन्त्रचेतसोऽनिबन्धनवत्सलाः प्रतिवादि-नमतिद्व[?ङ्गु]ल्लभमिव शिष्यं न्यायवत्मावितारयितुं यतन्ते तत्र पुनर्वचनमपि न दोषाय । ए^{१४}तदेवाह । व्याचक्षाणो हि वादी साक्षीप्रभृतीनामसम्यक्श्रवणप्रतिपत्ति-शङ्कया करणभूतया सम्यक्श्रवणप्रतिपत्यर्थम्पुनः पुनर्न्यादपीति (15b10) । ना-विषय^{१५}त्वादिति परः । इदमेव व्याचष्टे नाग्रवादी गुरुः (15b11) प्रतिवादिनः । न शिष्यः प्रतिवाद्यपि वादिनः । द्वयोरपि परस्परजिगीषया व्यवस्थानादिति । तस्मात्^{१६} न वादिना प्रतिवादी यत्नतः प्रतिपादनीयः । ने(15b11)त्याद्याचार्यः । यदि नाम प्रतिवादी न प्रतिपाद्यते यत्नेन । साक्षिणस्त्ववश्यं यत्नेन प्रतिपाद्यास्त-
70a द्बोधना^{१७}देव हि वादिनो जयोन्यथा च पराजय इति कथं साक्षिण एव न प्रति-पादयेत्(?)त् किञ्चावश्यं साक्षिवत्प्रतिवाद्यपि प्रतिपाद्यः । कस्मात्तदप्रतिपादने दोषाभिधानात् । तच्छ(ले)न साक्षिप्रभृतयः प्रत्यवमृश्यन्ते यदि साक्षिप्रभृतयो न प्रतिपाद्या भवेयुस्ततो यद् भवद्भिः परिपत्प्रतिवादिभ्यान्निर्भहितमविज्ञात^{१८}म-विज्ञातार्थं निग्रहस्थानमुक्तं (न्या० सू० ५।२।१६) । तद्विरुद्धघत इत्यर्थः ।

प्रतिपाद्यस्य शिष्यत्वात्, विजिगीषुवादप्रतिषेधत्वात् त्रिरभिधानवचनात् । पुनर्वचनप्रसङ्गे समयनियमाभावाच्च । न चेदमधिकाद्बुद्धयत इति न पृथग्वाच्यं । विनियतपदप्रयोगे^१ हि साधनवाक्ये आधिक्यदोष इति पुनर्वचनेपि गतार्थस्याधिक्यमेव पदस्येति । प्रपञ्चकथायामपि कथितैकार्थसाधनाधिकरणायालीनार्थसाधनेप्सायां नाना साधनेप्सां वा श्रोतुर्हेत्वादिबाहुल्यस्य पुनर्वच^२नस्य दोषत्वात् । प्रतीतप्रत्ययाभावाद्धेत्वादिवा-

यच्चोच्यते नायं शिष्य इति तदसिद्धं । प्रतिपाद्यस्य शिष्यत्वात् (I6a1) । तत्त्वज्ञानार्थतया प्रतिपाद्य एव^३ शिष्योन्यस्य तल्लक्षणस्याभावात् । प्रतिवादी च तथाभूतः कथं न शिष्यः । किमुच्यते नैवासौ प्रतिवादी तत्त्वज्ञानार्थास्पर्थया व्युत्थितत्वादिति । 'तदयुक्तं । पूर्व्वजिगीषुवादप्रतिषेधात् (I6a1) । एवमपि नैवासौ यत्नप्रतिपाद्यस्त्रिरभिधाननियमस्य महर्षिणा कृतत्वादित्यत आह । त्रिरभिधान (I6a1) वचनादित्यादि । अनेनैतद्दर्शयति । यद्वक्ष्यति । यदि तावत्परप्रतिपादनार्था प्रवृत्तिः किन्त्रिरभिधीयते तथा तथा स ग्राहिणीयो^४ यथास्य प्रतिपत्तिर्भवति । अथ परोपतापनार्था तथापि किं त्रिरभिधीयते । साक्षिणाङ्कर्णे निवेद्य प्रतिवादी कष्टाप्रतीतद्रुतसंक्षिप्तादिभिरुपद्रो^५ तव्यो यथोत्तरप्रतिपत्तिविमूढस्तूष्णीम्भवतीति । न चेद(I6a1)मिति शब्दार्थयोः पुनर्वचनं । गम्यमानार्थपुनर्वचनं च । अभेदेमेव साधयति । विनिय^६ते(I6a1)त्यादिना । आधिक्यं (I6a2) हेतूदाहरणयोर्दोषः । एकेन कृतत्वादितरस्यानर्थक्यमिति वचनात् । पुनर्वचनेपि गतो ज्ञातः पूर्व्वेणैव शब्देनार्थो यस्यो^७त्तरस्य पदस्य तदेवमुक्तं ।^८ तस्याधिक्यमेव दोष इत्यधिकृतं । किम्पुननियतपदप्रयोगेऽन्यदोष इत्युक्तमिति चेदाह । प्रपञ्चकथायामदोष (I6a2) इत्यभिसम्बन्धः । क^९स्य हेत्वादिबाहुल्यस्य (I6a2) । पुनर्वचनस्य च । आदिशब्देनोदाहरणबाहुल्यग्रहणं । कीदृश्यामनिरूपितैकार्थसाधनाधिकरणायां अर्थः साध्यः । अर्थ्यत इ^{१०}ति कृत्वा साधनं । हेतुरधिकरणन्धर्मी । अर्थसहितं साधनसर्थसाधनं । मध्यपदलोपात् । एकञ्च तदर्थसाधनञ्च तथोक्तम् । तस्याधिकरणन्तदनिरूपि^{११}तमेकार्थसाधनाधिकरणं यस्यां प्रपञ्चकथायां प्रतिवादिना धर्मिणो जीवशरीरादेनैको धर्मो नैरात्म्यादिषु प्रमानुमिष्टोऽपित्वनेकः क्षणि^{१२}कत्वानात्मत्वानीद्वरकर्तृत्वादित्तथा नैकेनैव हेतुना किन्त्वनेकेनापि तस्यामित्यर्थः । एतदेव यथाक्रमं ब्रूते । नानार्थसाधनेप्सायां नाना^{१३}साधनेप्सायां वा श्रोतुरिति (I6a2) पूर्व्वकः साधनशब्दो भावसाधनत्वात्सिद्धिवचनः । उत्तरस्तु करणसाधनत्वाद्धेतुवचनः । तस्माद्धेत्वादिबाहु^{१४}ल्यं वचनबाहुल्यं साधनेन विनियतपदे दोषः । कस्मा(त्)

दुल्यं वचनबाहुल्यञ्च साधनदोष इति । आधिक्यपुनर्वचनयोस्तुल्यदोष इति सङ्ग्रहवचनं न्याय्यं, दोषाभावादेव गुणाभावान् । एवं प्रकाराणां भेदानां वचने चा^१तिप्रसङ्गादित्युक्तं । पर्यायशब्दकल्पो ह्युपरोक्ते तु प्रतिपादिते विषये वर्तमानः प्रतिपाद्यानि (? पाद्यां) विशेषाभावान् । अर्थः पुनः प्रतिपादनात् भिद्यते । यत्पुनरुक्तमनुवादे त्वपुनरुक्तं शब्दाभ्यासादर्थविशेषोपपत्तेः यथा हेत्वपदेशात्प्रतिज्ञायाः पुनर्यवनं निगमनमिति (न्या० १।१।३९) । प्रतिज्ञाया एवङ्गम्यमानार्थाया वचनं पुनर्वचनं किं पुनरस्याः पुनर्वचनमित्युक्तं निगमनं ॥

विज्ञातस्य पर्षदा त्रि^०भि(त्रि)रभिहितस्याप्रत्युच्चारणमनुभाषणं(न्या० ५।२।१६)। “विज्ञातवाक्यार्थस्य पर्षदा प्रतिवादिना त्रिभि(त्रि)रभिहितस्य यदप्रत्युच्चारणं तदननुभाषणनाम निग्रहस्थानमप्रत्युच्चारयन् किमाश्रयं पर^०पक्ष-प्रतिषेधं कुर्यादिति”^१ । उत्तरेणावसानान्नेदं निग्रहस्थानमिति चेत् । स्यादेत-

प्रतीताय्याभावात् । प्रत्य तुल्यो दोष इति कृत्वा सङ्ग्रह एव न्याय्यः । अधिकमेव वा वक्तव्यं पुनरुक्त^२मेव चेत्यर्थः । अनयोरेकस्मिन्द्वितीयस्यान्तर्भावात् । कथं पुनः शब्द-पुनरुक्ते ऽधिकस्यान्तर्भाव इत्याह । पर्यायशब्दकल्पो (16a4) ह्युपरो द्वितीयो हेतुरेकहेतुप्र^३तिपादिते विषये प्रवर्तमानः (1) किं कारणं (1) प्रतिपाद्यस्य विशेषाभावात् । अर्थस्य पुनरुक्ततन्त्रि^४कथमधिकेन्तर्भवतीत्याह अर्थः पुनः प्रतिपादना^५त् भिद्यत इति ॥ अर्थशब्देनार्थपुनरुक्तमुपलक्षयति । पुनः प्रतिपाद्यते अनेनेति पुनः प्रतिपादनं हेतुदाहरणाधिकमेव । इदमुक्तम्भवति (1) स्फुटमेवास्य उदाहरणाधिकेन्तर्भावः । तथाहि साधर्म्यवति प्रयोगे वैधर्म्योदाहरणस्याप्रयोगोऽर्थपुनरुक्तस्योदाहरणमुक्तं । यत्पुनरुक्तमेवाद्यपवादप्रतिषेधः सुज्ञानः ॥०॥^६

विज्ञातो वाक्यार्थो यस्य त्रिरभिहितस्य तत्तथा । विशेषणसमासो वा विज्ञातश्चासौ वाक्यार्थश्चेति त्रिरभिहितस्य वादिनेति प्रतिपत्तव्यं ॥ प्रतिवादिना प^०द-प्रत्युच्चारणमिति सम्बन्धनीयं । त्रिवचनं सकृदभिहितस्याननुभाषणेपि न निग्रह इति ज्ञापनार्थं । अप्रत्युच्चारणञ्च शब्दद्वारेणार्थद्वारेण^७ वा । निग्रहस्थानत्वे कारणमाह । अप्रत्युच्चारयन् किमाश्रयम्परपक्षे प्रतिषेधं ब्रूयादि (16a7) ति न विषयनू-षणाभिधानप्राप्तीत्यर्थः ॥ इदन्त्वयोक्तं^८ मति इकृत्वा नूषणम्वाच्यं । एवमनूषणवाक्य

दुत्तरेण गुणदोषवता मूढामूढत्वं गम्यत इति किमुच्चारितेन । अस्ति हि कश्चिदुत्तरेण समर्थो न प्रत्युच्चारणेनासौ तावता निग्रहमर्हेदिति । नोत्तरविषयापरिज्ञानाद्यद्यत्र प्रत्युच्चारयति निर्विषयमुत्तरं प्रसज्येत । अथोत्तरं ब्रवीति कथं नोच्चारयति । तदिदं व्याहृतमुच्यते नोच्चारयति^८ उत्तरञ्च ब्रवीतीति । अप्रतिज्ञानाच्च न चेदं न प्रतिज्ञायते पूर्वं सर्वमुच्चारयितव्यं पश्चादुत्तरमभिधातव्यमिति । अपितु यथा कथञ्चिदुत्तरं वाच्यमुत्तरञ्चाश्रयोऽभावेऽयुक्तमिति युक्तमप्रत्युच्चारणनिग्रह(ह)स्था^९नमिति । यदि नाम वादी स्वसाधनार्थविवरणव्याजेन प्रसङ्गादपरं घोषयेद्विवादास्पदञ्च जिज्ञासितमर्थमात्रमुक्त्वा प्रतिज्ञादिष्वर्थविशेषपरंपरयाऽपरानर्थानुपक्षिप्य कथां विस्तारये^{१०} -

मपि साधनवादिना प्रत्यनुभाष्य परिहर्तव्यं । अतो द्वयोरपीदं निग्रहस्थानं । अत्र भारद्वाजोन्यक्षेण^{११}क्षेपन्तावत्करोति उत्तरेणावसानात्परिज्ञानाच्चेदन्निग्रहस्थानमिति चेदिति । इदम्वाक्यम्व्याचष्टे (1) स्वादेतदि(16a7)त्यादिना । नोत्तरविषयपरिज्ञानादिति स ए^{१२}व प्रतिविधत्ते । यद्ययमि(16a8)त्याद्यस्यैव विभागः । अप्रतिज्ञानाच्चेति स एव । उत्तरञ्चाश्रयाभावे परपक्षोपक्षेपाभावे सत्ययुक्तमिति युक्तमप्रत्युच्चारणे^{१३} निग्रहस्थानमित्येतावान् परकीयो ग्रन्थः । अत्राचार्यो दूषणम्बक्तुमारभते । यदि नाम वादीस्वसाधनार्थस्य विवरणव्याजेन प्रसङ्गादपरापरं घोषये^{१४}त् । यथोदा- 71b
हृतमप्राक्तत्र करणभुवनानि बुद्धिसत्कारणपूर्वकाणीति प्रतिज्ञाशरीरादिव्याख्यानच्छद्मना सकलं वैशेषिकतन्त्रं घोषयेदिति (16a10) । तथा जिज्ञासितम^{१५}र्थमात्रमुक्त्वा कथां विस्तारयेद्यदि नाम वादीति वर्तते । किङ्कृत्वा विस्तारयेदित्याह । प्रतिज्ञादिष्वर्थविशेषणपरम्परयाऽपरान् सिध्यन्पयोगिनोर्थानुपक्षिप्य (16b10) ।^{१६} यथा निर्दिशितं पूर्वस्त्रित्यः शब्दोऽनित्यः शब्द इति विवादे जैमिनीयः प्रमाणयति । द्वादशलक्षणेत्यादिना । व्याचष्टे च द्वादशलक्षणानि । यथा वाऽक्षपादा ए^{१७}वङ्कुर्वन्ति । किममी सर्वे संस्काराः क्षणिका नो वेति विवादे रूपत्वादिसामान्याश्रय(त्वा)त्तदाश्रयास्तद्विषयाश्च प्रत्यक्षादयः प्रत्ययाः स्वात्मलाभानन्तरप्रध्वंसिनो न भवन्ति । समानानामसमानजातीयद्रव्यसंयोगविभागजनितशब्दकार्यशब्दाभिधेयत्वात्प्रागभावादिवदिति । ननु च प्रतिज्ञादीष्वित्यत्रादिशब्देन किं गृह्यते । न तावद्धेतुदाहरणे तन्मात्रमुक्त्वेति वचनात् । न चापरः कश्चित्प्रस्तुतोऽत्रेति (1) नैष दोषो यतो हेत्वादिमात्रमप्युक्त्वेति द्रष्ट^{१८}व्यं । तेन हेत्वादीनामेवादिग्रहणेन आक्षेप इति केचित् । अपरे पुनराहुरस्थानमेवेदमाशङ्कितं । क्त्वाप्रत्ययनिर्देशेन । यस्मादयमत्रार्थो यत्र प्रतिवादिना जिज्ञासितमर्थमात्रमन्यविशेषणरहितमक्षणिकत्वादिकं तदुक्त्वा वाद्य-

त् । तच्च सर्वं यदा नानुवक्तुं शक्यताम् कस्तस्य विवादाश्रयाथमत्रोत्तरवचने
सामर्थ्यविधातो येन वादिवचनानुभाषणत्रिग्रहस्थानमुच्यते । तस्मान्न
16b सर्वा वादिकथामननुभाषमाणो¹¹ नोत्तरेऽसमर्थः ।

यद्वचननान्तरीयका जिज्ञासितार्थसिद्धिर्यथापक्षधर्मता व्याप्ति-
प्रसाधनमात्रं । न तत्रापि प्रसङ्गान्तरोपक्षेपस्तदवश्यं साधनाङ्गविषयत्वा-
द् दूषणमेवोपदर्शयति एव ।¹ तत्रापि न सर्वं प्रागनुक्रमेणोच्चारयितव्यं ।
पश्चाद् दूषणं वाच्यं । विरुद्धोच्चारणप्रसङ्गात् । दूषणविषयोपदर्शनार्थेऽनु-
भाषणे वादिवचनानुक्रमदोषणं व्यर्थमिति न कार्यमेवदूषयता²स्यादयं
दोष इति नान्तरीयत्वात् । प्रतिदोषवचनं विषयोपदर्शनं क्रियत एव (1)
नहि सर्वविषयोपदर्शनं कृत्वा युगपदोषः शक्यतेऽभिधातुं, प्रत्यर्थं

हमेतत्साधयामीत्युत्तरकालप्रमाणमारचयन्प्रतिज्ञादिष्वर्थविशेषणपरम्परयापरान -
र्थानुपक्षिप्य कथाम्बिस्तारयेदिति । तच्चे (16a11)ति प्रतिज्ञादिविशेषणपरम्परया
72a यदप्रस्तुतमेव नाटकास्थायिकाघोषणकल्पं वादिनोद्गा³हितं । तदा कस्तस्य विवा-
दाश्रयश्चासावर्थमात्रश्चाक्षणिकत्वादिकन्तस्योत्तरवचने सामर्थ्यविधातो नैवेत्यर्थः ।
तस्मान्न वादिकथामननुभाषमाणः प्रति⁴वाद्युत्तरवाद्येन (?) समर्थः । किन्तु यद्वचनना-
न्तरीयिका जिज्ञासितार्थसिद्धिस्तदवश्यमुपदर्शयति एवेति सम्बन्धः । कस्मात्सा-
धनाङ्गविषयत्वाद् दूषणस्य । परो⁵पनीते हि साधने दूषणम्प्रवर्तत इति सम्बन्धः
किन्नान्तरीयिका पुनर्जिज्ञासितार्थसिद्धिरित्याह । यथा पक्षधर्मता व्याप्तिप्रसाधन-
मात्रमि (16b1)ति व्याप्तिः प्रसा⁶ध्यतेनेनेति व्याप्तिप्रसाधनं बाधकप्रमाणोप-
दर्शनं किमियमित्यपि साधनप्रयोगेऽर्थान्तरोपक्षेपः कर्तव्यो नेत्याह । न । तत्रापि
प्रसङ्गान्तरो⁷पक्षेप (16b1) इति नैरर्थक्यादिति मतिः (1)तावत् मात्रमुपदर्शयते
किं प्रागनुक्रमेण । पश्चात्तु दूष्यते नेत्याह । तत्रापि दूषणविषयोपदर्शनार्थेऽनु-
भा⁸षणे न सर्वं यावदुपन्यस्तं वादिना तद्दूषणाभिधानात् । प्रागनुक्रमेणो-
च्चारयितव्यं । कस्मात् त्रिरुच्चारणप्रसङ्गात् । द्विरुच्चारणप्रसङ्गमेव⁹ प्रति-
पादयितुमादिप्रस्थानमाचरति । दूषणेत्या (16b2)दिना । यदि वचनानुक्रमदोषणं
न करोति निविषयमिदानीं दूषणम्प्रसक्तमित्याह । नान्तरीय¹⁰कत्वा (द्16b3)
दूषयता विषयोपदर्शनं क्रियत एव । कथम्प्रतिदोषवचनं दोषवचनं दोषवचनम्प्रति ।
यो यो दोषो भण्यते तस्य तस्य विषयः कथ्यत इत्य¹¹र्थः । इदमेवाह (1) अस्य वाद्युक्त-
स्यायन्दोष इति । किम्पुनः कारणं सर्वप्रत्युच्चार्ययुगपद्दूषणलोच्यत इति चेदाह ।
72b नही (16b3) त्यादि । कुतः प्रत्यर्थं दो¹²षभेदात् । विषयवद् भिद्यते दोष इति

दोषभेदात् । तस्माद्यं पदार्थं दूषयति^३ स एव तद्दूषणविषयस्तदा प्रदर्शनीयो नापरस्तु दूषणेऽपरोपदर्शनस्यासम्भवात् । तस्मिन्दूषिते पुनरन्योर्थोऽपरदोषविषय इत्ययमनुभाषणे दूषणे च न्यायः^४ । सकृत्सर्वानुभाषणेपि दोषवचनकाले पुनर्विषयप्रदर्शनीय एवाप्रदर्शिते दोषस्य वक्तुमशक्यत्वात् । तथा च द्विरनुभाषणं कृतं स्यात् । तत्र प्रथमं सर्वानुक्रमानुभाषणं निष्प्रयोजनं, दूषणवादिना दूषणे वक्तव्ये यन्न तत्रोपयुज्यते तस्याभिधानमदोषोद्भावनं द्विरुक्तिश्चेति । सकृत्सर्वानुभाषणं पराजयाधिकरणं वाच्यं । त^५थास्त्विति चेत् । स्यादेतदुक्तमेतदर्थान्तरं निग्रहस्थानमिति तत्र साधने यतः कुतश्चित्प्रसङ्गादिना नान्तरीयकाभिधानं वादिनोऽर्थान्तरगमनमेवेति । स निग्रहार्हः ।^६ न कश्चित्तत्कथितक्रियमाणप्रसङ्गो न प्रसज्यते । नापि तत्तस्यानुभाषणीयं, न चेदमप्यस्माभिरनुज्ञायते सर्वं प्राक् सकृद्वक्तव्यं पश्चाद्दूषणमिति । किन्तु दूषयता-

यावत् । एवमारचितादिप्रस्थानो द्विरुच्चारणप्रसङ्गमप्रदर्शयति सकृदेवाप्रघुष्टो न । सर्वानुभाषणस्य प्रदर्शिते विषयदोषस्य वक्तुमशक्यत्वात् । केवलमिदं निःप्रयोजनपराजयाधिकरणं चेत्याह । दूषणवादिना दूषणे वक्तव्ये (16b6) सति यत्र सर्वानुक्रमभाषणं तत्र^७ परपक्षक्षोभेनोपयुज्यते तस्याभिधानमिदं द्विरुक्तपदोद्भावनञ्चेत्येवं व्यत्याशेन (? सेन) पदविन्यासः कार्य इति तस्मात्सर्वानुक्रमभाषणम्पराजयाधिकरणं वाच्यं अत्रेदानीमाक्षपादः सर्वमिदं दूषणमनभ्युपगमेनैव पूर्वपक्षस्यास्माभिः प्रतिव्यूढमिति मन्यमानोऽभ्यनुजानाति । तथास्त्विति^८ (16b7) ति । स्यादेतदित्येतदेव व्याचष्टे । यतः कुतश्चिदिति (16b7) ति साधनार्थविवरणस्य व्याजेन प्रतिज्ञादिष्वर्थविशेषणपरम्परोपक्षेपेण चाप्रसङ्गात् अनं^९तरीयकाभिधानं (16b7) रूपसिद्धिनामादिव्याख्यानकल्पत्वाद्वादिनोऽर्थान्तरगमनमेवेति स तेन निग्रहार्हः । प्रासङ्गिकं ब्रुवाणः किमिति निगृह्यत इति चेदाह । नहि कश्चित् क्वचित् क्रियमाणप्रसङ्गो न प्रयुज्यते । यथोक्तम्प्राक् नैरात्म्यवादिनः । तत्साधने नृत्यगीतादेरपि प्रसङ्ग इति । नापि तद्यद्वादिना प्रसङ्गत्वेन आहितं । तस्य प्रतिवादिनोऽनुभाषणीयं (16b8) । अनुपयुज्यमाणं [? न] त्वज्ञैवानुभाषणमर्हतीत्यर्थः । तदेतेन यत्पूर्वमुक्तं यदि नाम वादी^{१०} स्वसाधनार्थविवरणव्याजेन (15b10) त्यादि तदभ्यनुज्ञातं । संप्रति यदुक्तं तत्रापि न सर्वं क्रमेणोच्चारयितव्यं । पश्चाद्दूषणम्वाच्यं द्विरुच्चारणप्रसङ्गादिति तदनुजानाति । न चेदमप्यस्माभिरित्या (16b8) विना ।

उपश्यं विषयां दर्शनीयोऽन्यथा दूषणावृत्तेरिति ।

एवन्तर्हि नाऽननुभाषणं पृथग्निग्रहस्थानं वाच्यं । (अ)प्रतिभया ग-
तत्त्वात् । उत्तरस्य हि र (? अ-) प्रतिपत्तिरप्रतिभा (न्या० ५।२।१८)
(अ)प्रतिपत्तिरप्रतिभा, न चोत्तरविषयमग्रदर्शयन्नुत्तरं प्र^०तिपत्तुं समर्थः ।
न ह्यनाक्षिप्तानुत्तरप्रतिपत्तिकमननुभाषणं, तेनाननुभाषणस्य व्यापिकाया-
मप्रतिभायां विहितं निग्रहस्थानत्त्वमननुभाषणं न-मेवाग(?)विधिर्विहित-
मिव सा^{१०} स्नादिमत्त्वं बाहुल्येऽपि तस्मादगतिर्भवेत् निग्रहाधिकरणत्वेन

आचार्य आह । यदि भवद्भिरप्ये[?पी]दमेवेष्टमेवन्तर्हि नाननुभाषणमप्यु-
गवाच्यं (16b9) । कस्मात् प्रतिभयागतत्वात् । गतत्त्वमेव प्रतिपादयति ।
उत्तरस्य ह्यप्रतिपत्तेरप्रतिभा (न्या० सू० ५।२।१८) । ततः कथङ्गतमित्याह ।
न चोत्तरविषयमग्रदर्शयन् प्रतिवाहुत्तरं प्रतिपत्तुं ज्ञानुवभिधातुं वा समर्थः ।^१
किमिति न शक्त इत्याह । न हीत्यादि । चोत्तरप्रतिपत्तिरुत्तरा प्रतिपत्तिरि-
त्यर्थः । सा नाक्षिप्ता येनाननुभाषणेन तत्तथा । प्रतिषेधद्वयाद्विषयवर्तीय^२ आक्षि-
प्तोत्तराप्रतिपत्तिकमेवेति । एतदुक्तम्भवति । यो हि नामोत्तरमप्रतिपद्यतेऽतोवश्यं
तद्विषयमप्यवेत्यस्येदं दूषणमिति परिज्ञानात्^३ परिज्ञातविषयश्च कथं सचेतनो
न तमनुभाषते । तस्माद्यत्राननुभाषणन्तत्राप्रतिभयाभावमिति सा तस्य व्यापिका
तत्परिवर्जदिरस्य^४ तस्याश्च विहितं निग्रहस्थानत्वं व्याप्येऽननुभाषणे तदा
क्षिपतीत्येतन्निगमनव्याजेनाह । तेनेत्यादि । अत्रैव दृष्टान्तं ब्रूते गव्यपरामृष्ट^५
तद्भेदायां सामान्यभूतायाम्बिहितमिव सा(?सा) स्नादिमत्त्वतद्व्याप्तबाहुल्येऽपि-
लब्धमिति वर्तते । प्रयोगः पुनर्यदेकविधानसामर्थ्यादनुक्तमपि लभ्यते । ननु-
भूयः प्रेक्षापूर्वकारिणा विधातव्यं । तद्यथा गोजाती शा(?सा) स्नादिमत्वविधानसाम-
र्थ्यात् प्रतिलब्धं तद्दृष्टेः शा(?सा) स्नादिमत्त्वं । अप्रतिभानिग्रहस्थान^६त्वविधान-
सामर्थ्यात् प्रतिबद्धश्चाननुभाषणनिग्रहस्थानत्वमिति व्यापकविरुद्धोपलब्धिः । (1)

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ननु च विषयं विषयश्च प्रपञ्चोत्तरं प्रतिपद्यमानोप्यति^७भयकम्पादिभिर्व्याकुलीकृत-
चेताः प्रतिवादीनानुभाषते स विषयोऽननुभाषणस्याप्रतिभयानालीढस्तत्कथं सा तस्य
व्यापिका यतोऽयं हेतुः सिद्धो भविष्यति^८ नैव सम्भवात् । नहि विषयं विषयविषय-
ञ्चोत्तरं प्रतिपद्यमानः कुतश्चिद्विभेति वेपते वा तदज्ञानकृतत्वाद् भयवेपथुस्येदा-
दीनां । अथ तथाभूतोऽपि भ^९यादिभिराकुलीक्रियते स तर्ह्यदावेव तथाभूतो वाद-
मपि कर्तुंशेव धावति । अपि च । यदि परं बाला एवैवं भूता भवन्ति । न च बाल-
व्यवहारानधिकृत्य^{१०} न्यायशास्त्राणि प्रणीयन्ते । यद्वैषम्यप्रतिभायामन्तर्भावो

वा नाननुभाषणं । कश्चायं समयनियमस्त्रिभिहितस्याननुभाषणमि ति । 17a
 यदि तावत्परप्रत्यायनार्था प्रवृत्तिः किन्त्रिरभिधीयेत^१ । तथा तथा
 स ग्राहणी (यो) यथास्य प्रतिपत्तिर्भवति । अथ परोपता(प)नार्थी तदापि
 किं त्रिभिरभिधीयते । साक्षिणां कर्णो निवेद्य प्रतिवादी कष्टाप्रतीतद्रुत-
 संक्षिप्तादिभिरुपद्रोतव्यो यथो^२त्तरप्रतिपत्तिविमूढस्तूष्णीम्भवति ।
 नहि परोपतापनक्रमे कश्चिन्न्यायो येन कष्टाप्रतीतप्रयोगद्रुतोच्चारिता
 निवार्यन्ते त्रिभिरभिधानं वा विधीयते । न च परोपतापाय सन्तः प्रव-
 र्तन्ते^३ शास्त्राणि वा प्रणीयन्ते इत्यदो वक्तव्यं तस्मात्तावद्वक्तव्यं
 यावदनेन (न) गृहीतं न त्रिभिरेव । अग्रहणसामर्थ्यं प्रागेव वा परिच्छिन्न-
 सामर्थ्येन परिहर्तव्यः पुनरनुप्रति^४बोध्येति [१ ध्येति] ॥

नैव व्याहृत्ये । यस्माद्विधोत्तरा प्रतिपत्तिरुत्तराज्ञानरूपोत्तरानभिधानरूपा^४ च ।
 तस्माद्यत्किञ्चिदेतत् । अथ परोपतापनार्था तथापि किन्त्रिरभिधीयते । किन्तर्हि
 कार्यमित्याह । साक्षिणामुक्तोचोपसङ्क्रमं कर्णं निवेद्या^५यमत्रार्थो मया विव-
 क्षित इत्युत्तरकालं प्रतिवाद्यनार्थो वराकः कष्टाऽप्रतीतद्रुतसंक्षिप्तादिभिः
 शब्दैरिति शेषः । उपद्रोतव्यः । कस्माद्बु^६र्भणाः । अप्रतीताः सिंहलभाषादिवदसं
 केतिकाः । द्रुताः शीघ्रमुच्चारिताः । संक्षिप्ता सूत्रवाण्टादिवद्वर्तुलीकृतार्थाः । आदि-
 ग्रहणेन गोपिता^७र्थानाङ्ग्रहणं । यथा । सत्वादुर्वायुस्ते दिव्यायोतायाञ्चारात्य-
 स्वन्तं पक्षे नोलंबम्विज्ञायैःवेष्टातोयास्पृष्टेशः शमिति । यथा । संप्रति वादी
 उत्तरप्रतिपत्तौ^८ बिसूढः (:) तूष्णीं भवति । पर्षत्प्रतिवादिभ्यां त्रिरभिहितम-
 विज्ञातमविज्ञातार्थं (न्या० सू० ५।२।९) मित्यत्र श्लिष्टकष्टादिशब्दप्रयोगस्य मुनि-
 नानिवारितत्वात् नैवमन्यायं कर्तुं लभ^९त इति चेदाह । नहि परोपतापक्रम इत्यादि
 किञ्च न परोपतापनाय सन्तः प्रवर्तन्ते शास्त्राणि वा प्रणीयन्ते तैरित्युक्तं कुर्जन-
 विप्रतिपत्त्य^{१०}धिकरणे सतां सा[१]शास्त्राप्रवृत्तेरित्यत्र । यतश्च परानुपतापयितुं
 न सन्तः प्रवर्तन्ते तस्मात्तावद् वक्तव्यं यावदनेन न गृहीतं न त्रिरेव वक्तव्यमित्यधि-
 कृतं । अथ^२ वादिना शतधापुनः पुन रभिधाने प्रतिवाद्यतिजडत्वाद् गृहीतुं न शक्नो-
 तीति निश्चिततन्ताऽग्रहणसामर्थ्यं कथञ्चिन्निश्चिते साधनप्रयोगात्प्रागेव^३ परि-
 हर्तव्यो नानेन सहोद्ग्राह्यामीति परिच्छिन्न[१]च्छिन्नमसामर्थ्यं[१]र्थ्यं । ग्रहणेऽति-
 जाड्यापरनामकप्रतिवादिसम्बन्धयेन वादिना स तथा । कथं^४ तथा परिहरन्ना-
 शक्तः शक्यत इत्याह । पराणन[१]न्साक्षिणः प्रबोध्य नायं शक्तो वाक्यार्थं बोद्धुं
 वस्तु त्वेवं व्यवस्थितमिति ॥४॥

अविज्ञातमज्ञानं (न्याय ५।२।१७) । “विज्ञातं पर्यदा प्रतिवादिना यदविज्ञातं तदज्ञानं नाम निग्रहस्थानमर्थं ग्वल्वविज्ञाते न तस्य प्रतिषेधं ब्रूयादिति ।”^१ एतदप्यनुभाषणवदत्रेति तत्रैव गम्यत्वादवाच्यं । यथाऽनुभाषणेऽप्रदर्शितविषयत्वादुत्तरप्रतिपत्तिरशक्येति (१) अनुगत(र)-प्रतिपत्त्यैव निग्रहस्थानत्वमुत्तरविषयप्रदर्शनप्रसङ्गः^२ मन्तरंगानुभाषणस्य

अविज्ञातञ्चाज्ञानं (न्या० सू० ५।२।१७) मिति भावे निष्ठाविधानात् साधनवाक्यार्थापरिज्ञानं निग्रहस्थानं । तत एव भाष्ये टीकाकृतो विवृण्वन्ति वाक्यार्थविषयस्य विज्ञानस्यानुत्पत्तिरज्ञानमिति । अस्तु वा कर्मण्येव निष्ठाविधानं तथापि वाक्यार्थविषयज्ञानानुत्पत्त्या विशेषितं वादिप्रयुक्तं वाक्यमेव प्रतिवादिनो निग्रहस्थानमिति न किञ्चिद्व्याहृत्यते । अन्ये पुनर्विवरणेऽर्थग्रहणं पश्यन्तः सूत्रेऽप्यर्थग्रहणं भ्रान्त्या पठन्ति । अविज्ञातार्थञ्चाज्ञानमिति सोऽन्येषां पाठः । विज्ञातार्थं^३ साधनवाक्यं परिषदा तस्य प्रतिवादिना यदविज्ञातमनवबोधस्तदज्ञानमित्येवं भावपक्षेऽशरद्विन्यासः । कर्मपक्षे तु तस्येति नाध्याहर्तव्यमेकवाक्यतयैव तु व्याख्यातं । विज्ञातं पर्यदेति किमर्थं पर्यदाप्यविज्ञाते वादिना एवाविज्ञातार्थं निग्रहस्थानं भवतीति ज्ञापनाय । निग्रहस्थानत्वे कारणमाह । अर्थं खल्वविज्ञाते प्रतिवादी न तस्य प्रतिषेधं ब्रूयादिति । अपरे तूत्तरेण दूषणग्रन्थेन सहैतत् सम्बध्नन्ति तच्चायुक्तं भाष्यवार्तिकग्रन्थत्वादस्य । गम्यत्वमेव साधयति यथाऽनुभाषणेऽनुत्तरप्रतिपत्त्यैव निग्रहस्थानत्वं कथमुत्तराप्रतिपत्तिरित्याह । अप्रदर्शितविषयत्वात्प्रतिवादिनोत्तरप्रतिपत्तिरशक्येति^४ कृत्वाऽप्रदर्शितो विषयो येनेति विज्ञेयं विशेषणसमाप्तो वा । तथाहि दूषणस्य विषयख्यापनार्थमनुभाषते तच्च परित्यज्य यद्यदेव वा^५दिनाऽनुद्ग्राहितमालजालमनुभाषते । तदानीमुत्तरविषयप्रदर्शनप्रसङ्गमन्तरेण तथाभूतस्यानुभाषणस्य वैयर्थ्यादशक्येतिवर्तते । अनुग्रहप्रतिपत्त्यैव निग्रहस्थानत्वमिति वा । दाष्टान्तिकमुपसंहरति । तथा ज्ञानेऽप्युत्तराप्रतिपत्त्यैव निग्रहस्थानत्वमिति । यस्मादज्ञानं प्रतिवादिदूषणतद्विषयो कथमुत्तरविषयञ्च ब्रूयात् । उत्तरविषयो दूष्यः । क्वचित्तु पाठः । कथमुत्तरमुत्तरविषयञ्चोत्तरमिति । अत्रैवं यदसम्बन्धः । अज्ञानमुत्तरविषयञ्च कथमुत्तरम्ब्रूयादिति । तस्माद्विषयाज्ञानमुत्तराज्ञानञ्च निग्रहस्थानमप्रतिभयैव गम्यत्वात् । अवाच्यमिति वर्तते किं कारणमन्यथैवमनिष्प्रमाणे सत्यप्रतिभाया निर्विषयत्वात् । कथं निर्विषयत्वमित्याह ।

^१अविज्ञानं चाज्ञानम्—इति न्या० भा० पाठः ।

वैयर्थ्यात् । तथाऽज्ञानेष्युत्तराप्रतिपत्त्यैव निग्रहस्थानत्वमज्ञानानः
 कथमुत्तरमुत्तरविषयश्च ब्रूयादिति । विषयाज्ञानमुत्तराज्ञानश्च निग्रहस्था-
 नं मन्येथा अतिप्रतिभासानिर्विषयत्वात् । अनवधारितार्थो हि नानुभाषते (1)
 अननुभाषमाणो विषयमुपप्र(द)र्योत्तरं प्रतिपत्तुं न शक्नुयादित्युत्तरं
 न प्रतिपद्येत । ज्ञातोत्तरतद्विषयस्योत्तराप्रतिपत्तेरसम्भवात् । उभयमेत-
 दुत्तराप्रतिपत्तेः कारणमिति तदभावे प्रतिपत्तिर्भवत्येवेति तयोः पृथग्-
 चनेऽप्रतिभायाः को विषय इति वक्तव्यं निर्विषयत्वादवाच्यत्वात्⁹ च 17b
 स्यात् । नोत्तरज्ञानमज्ञानं किन्तर्हि विषयज्ञानं ज्ञाते हि विषये उत्तरा-
 ज्ञानात् । तन्न प्रतिपद्येतेति ।

अनवधारितार्थो हीत्यादि । अनवधारि⁹तोर्यपूर्वपक्षस्योत्तरस्य च येन प्रतिवादिना 75a
 स नानु¹भाषेत् । अननुभाष्यमाणश्चासौ विषयमप्रदर्शयोत्तरं प्रतिपत्तुं न शक्नुयादित्यत
 उत्तरं प्रतिपद्येत । न जानीयास्माभिदध्याद्वा । कस्मादुत्तरविषययोरज्ञाने सत्युत्तरा-
 प्रतिपत्तिरित्यत आह ज्ञानोत्तरतद्विषयस्योत्तराप्रतिपत्तेरसंभवादिति । ज्ञाता
 उत्तरतद्विषयो येनेति वृत्तः । तस्मादुभयमेतदुत्तराज्ञानं । विषयाज्ञानञ्च प्रति-
 पत्तेरप्रतिभापरपर्यायायाः कारणं । ननु चोत्तराज्ञानमेवाप्रतिभा तत्कथं सैवा-
 त्मनः कारणत्वेनोपदिश्यते । नोत्तरानभिधानलक्षणाया अप्रतिभासाया विवक्षित-
 त्वात् । तदभाव इति तयोरुत्तरविषयाज्ञानयोरभा⁴वे सति प्रतिपत्तिरभिधान-
 मुत्तरस्य भवत्येव । इति तस्मात्तयोर्विषयाज्ञानोत्तरज्ञानयोरज्ञानसंज्ञितेन निग्रह-
 स्थानेनाप्रतिभा निग्रहस्थाना⁵त् पृथक्वचने सत्यप्रतिभायाः को विषय इति
 वक्तव्यं । न चेद्विषयो भण्यते । तदा निर्विषयत्वादवाच्यैव स्यादप्रतिभा । तयोर-
 ज्ञानानुभाषणयो⁶ः पृथक्वचन इत्यन्ये व्याचक्षते । अज्ञानाप्रतिभयोर्विषयभेदव्यव-
 स्थापनाय परः प्राह । नोत्तरज्ञानमज्ञानमुच्यते । यतोऽप्रतिभा निर्विषयत्वादवा-
 च्यसंभवेत् । किन्तु ह्यज्ञानमित्याह । विषयाज्ञानं । एवमपि कथमप्रतिभा विषय-
 वती भवतीत्याह । ज्ञाते विषये सत्युत्तरकालमुत्तराज्ञानात् । प्रतिवादी तदुत्तरं
 प्रतिपद्येत न ब्रूयात् । अतोऽस्ति विषयोऽप्रतिभायाः । अज्ञानाक्रान्तः । एवमप्य-
 वाच्यत्वान्नमुच्यस इत्याह । एवन्तीति । अज्ञानेनानुभाषणस्याक्षेपमेव साधयति । 75b
 नहि विषयं सम्यक् प्रतिपद्यमानः कश्चित् सचेतनो नानुभाषेतेति नानुभाषणम¹-
 ज्ञानात्पृथग्वाच्यं । अपिचैवमप्रतिभाप्यननुभाषणवदज्ञानात्पृथगनवाच्येत्याह । उत्त-
 राज्ञानस्य चाक्षेपादिति । इदं व्याचष्टे विषयेत्यादिना । ज्ञाते विषय⁷ इत्यादि परः ।

अस्ति विषयोऽप्रतिभाया इति चेत् । एवन्तद्वयननुभाषणं निविषयमज्ञानेनाक्षेपात् । न हि विषयं सम्यक् प्रतिपद्यमानः कश्चिन्नानुभाषेतेति नाननुभाषणं पृथग्वाच्यमुत्तराज्ञानस्य चाक्षेपान् । विषयाज्ञानेनोत्तराज्ञानमप्याक्षिप्रमेव । न हि विषयमज्ञानमुत्तराज्ञानातीति नैवाप्रतिभाया विषयोस्ति । ज्ञानेपि विषयं पुनरुत्तराज्ञानमप्रतिभाया विषय इति चेत् । एवन्तर्हि विषयोत्तराज्ञानयोरपि प्रभेदाक्षिप्रहस्थानान्तरालवाच्यानि । यथाऽज्ञानस्य विषयो ज्ञानमुत्तराज्ञानमिति प्रभेदादसत्यपि गुणातिशये निग्रहस्थानान्तरव्यवस्था क्रियते । तथाऽज्ञानयोरपि सर्वा क्रमद्वारा (?) ज्ञानमित्यादिप्रभेदाक्षिप्रहस्था नान्तराणि किञ्चोच्यन्ते । न चोभयस्याप्यज्ञानस्य संग्रहवचने — दोषो गुणस्तु स्यादिति संग्रहवचनं न्याय्यं । तस्मादननुभाषणाज्ञानयोरप्रतिभाविषयत्वाच्च पृथग्वचनं । अपि च न पूर्वोत्तरपक्षवादिनां हेत्वाभासाप्रतिभाभ्यामप्यक्षिप्रहस्थानं न्याय्यं (?) मस्ति । तदुभयवचनेनैव सर्वमुक्तमिति । तदुभयाक्षिप्रेषु प्रभेदेषु गुणातिशयमन्तरेण वचनादेऽतिप्रसङ्गः (१८) न्यर्थः प्रपञ्च इति ॥

इदमुक्तमभवति द्विषोत्तराज्ञानविषयाज्ञानसहचरञ्च विषयज्ञानसहचरञ्च । तत्राद्यस्य विषयाज्ञाने नाक्षेपेऽप्युत्तरमनाक्षिप्तमेव ततो द्वितीयापेक्षयाऽप्रतिभायाः पृथगुपादानमिति । अनवस्थैव निग्रहस्थानानां प्रसज्यत इत्याह । एवन्तर्हीत्यादि । यथेत्याद्यस्यैव विभागः । तथा ज्ञानयोरपीति विषयोत्तराज्ञानयोरपि । सर्वस्योत्तरस्य विषयस्य चाज्ञानं । आदिग्रहणेन द्वित्रिचतुर्भागाद्यवरोधः । विषयोत्तराज्ञानयोः सङ्ग्रहवचने दोष इति चेदाह । न चेति । यथा न दोषस्तथागुणोपि नास्तीति चेदाह । गुणश्च लाघवसङ्गः स्यादिति संग्रहवचनं न्याय्यं । अप्रतिभाविषयत्वाच्च पृथग्वचनं । अप्रतिभावचनेनैवानयोः सङ्ग्रह इत्यर्थः । न केवलमनयोरेवापृथग्वचनं । न्याय्यमपि त्वन्येषामपीत्याह । अपि चेत्यादि । तदुभयवचनेनैवेति । हेत्वाभासाऽप्रतिभयोरेव वचनेन सर्वप्रतिज्ञाहान्यननुभाषणाद्युक्तं । नहि कश्चिद्वचन्यस्साधनवादीः प्रतिपक्षधर्ममभ्यनुजानाति प्रतिज्ञाम्वा प्रतिज्ञासाधनायोपादत्त इत्यादि वाच्यं । तदा न कञ्चिद् (६) दूषणं व्यक्तमेव यन्नानुभाषते । कथं विक्षिपति । परमं तच्चानुजानातीति (?) वक्तव्यं । तदुभयाक्षेपेपि प्रपञ्चो गुणवानतस्तदवचनादरोमुनेरिति चेदाह । तदुभयाक्षिप्रेषु प्रभेदेषु गुणातिशयमन्तरेण । अनुपलभ्यमानत्वाद् गुणस्य प्रपञ्चवचनादरेऽतिप्रसङ्गात् । कक्षपिट्टा-

उत्तरस्याप्रतिपत्तिरप्रतिभा (न्या० ५।२।१८) । परपक्षप्रतिषेधे उत्तरं यदा न प्रतिपद्येत तदा निगृहीतो वक्तव्यः साधनवचनान्तरस्पतिविषय-मुत्तरे व्यर्थं, तदज्ञानक्रमघोषणश्लोकपाठादिना कालङ्गमयन् कर्त्तव्याप्रति-पत्त्या निग्रहाहं इति न्याय्यं निग्रहस्थानमिति^८ ॥

कार्यव्यासङ्गात्कथाविच्छेदो विक्षेपः (न्या० ५।२।१९) । यत्किञ्चित्कर्त्तव्यं व्यासज्य कथां विच्छिनत्ति । इदं मे करणीयं परिहीयते । अस्मिन्नवसिते पश्चात्करिष्यामि । प्रतिश्याय क^९ लात्मञ्च (?) क्षिणोत्येवमादिना 18a कथां विच्छिनत्ति । स विक्षेपो नाम निग्रहस्थानमेकमेकतरनिग्रहान्तायां कथायां स्वयमेव कथान्तं प्रतिपद्यत इति । इदमपि यदि पूर्वपक्षवादी कुर्यात् । व्याजोपक्षेपमात्रेण न पुनर्भूतस्य तथाविधकथोपरोधिनः कार्य-

दीनामभिधानप्रसङ्गात् । अतो व्यर्थः प्रपञ्चो महामुनिनाक्रियत^{१०} ॥०॥

परपक्षप्रतिषेधे कर्तव्ये उत्तरं दूषणं यदा न प्रतिपद्येत न वेत्ति नाभिदधाति तदा निगृहीतो वेदितव्य इतीयान् परग्रन्थः । साध्वेतन्निग्रहस्थानं । अतएवास्माभिरपीदमदोषोद्भावनमित्यत्रोक्तमित्येतत् मत्वाऽऽभ्यनुजानाति । साधनेत्यादि । साधन वचनानन्तरं प्रतिवादिना दूषणम्वक्तव्यं । स यदा सर्वं तदकृत्वा सर्वानुक्रमानुभाषणेन श्लोकपाठेन सभासम्बर्णनेनान्येन कालमयति तदासौ व्यर्थं निष्प्रयोजनं कालङ्गमयन्कर्त्तव्यस्य दूषणाभिधानस्य प्रतिपत्त्याऽननुष्ठानेन निगृह्यते । व्यर्थस्येदं क्रियायाः कालस्य विशेषणं ॥०॥

कार्यव्यासङ्गः कर्णीयोपन्यासः कथाविच्छेदः क^{११}थानिवृत्तिः । यथा जीर्णकला मे बाधते । सम्प्रति वक्तुं न शक्नोमि पश्चात् कथयिष्यामीति एवमादिना प्रकारेण कथामुद्ग्राहणे काचिच्छिनत्तिः । निग्रहस्थाने^{१२} कारणमाह । एकतरस्य वादिनः प्रतिवादिनो वाऽसाधनाङ्गवचनेनादोषोद्भावनेन च निगृहणन्ती निग्रहपर्यवसाना कथा । तस्याञ्च तथाभूतायां प्रस्तुता^{१३}यां स स्वयमेव कथांतं कथा पर्यवसानं प्रतिपद्यत इति निग्रहस्थानमेतत् । अत्राचार्योब्रूत (१) इदमपि कार्यव्यासञ्जनं यदि तावत् पूर्वपक्षवादी कुर्यात्^{१४} साधनाभिधानशक्तिविकल्पाद् व्याजोपक्षेपमात्रेण येन केनचिच्छलेनेत्यर्थः । न पुनर्भूतस्य तथाविधकथोपरोधिनः कार्यस्य भावे सति कुर्यादिति वर्तते । तथा वि^{१५}धामुद्ग्राहणिकारूपाङ्कथामुपरोद्गुं शीलं यस्य कार्यस्याजीर्णकला कुक्षिशूलगेहु(?) दाहाद्यैस्तत्तथा । यदि सद्भावेनैव तस्य तस्याम्बेलायां कुक्षिशूलगेहु(?) दा^{१६}हादयो भवन्ति तथा सति नैव निग्रहस्थानमित्यर्थः । यदा पुनर्व्याजमात्रेणैव करोति तदा तस्य पूर्वपक्षवादिनः

स्य भावे तस्य स्वसाधनासामर्थ्यपरिच्छेदादेव विक्षेपः स्यात् । तथा चेदमर्थान्तरगमन एवान्तर्भवेत् । असमर्थसाधनाभिधानात् । हेत्वाभासेषु वा प्रकृतसाधनासम्बद्धप्रतिपत्तेश्च निरर्थकापार्थकाभ्याञ्च न भिद्यते । अतिप्रसङ्गश्चैवं प्रकाराणामसम्बद्धसाधनवाक्यम्प्रतिपत्तिप्रभेदानां पृथग्निग्रहस्थानव्यवस्थापने प्रोक्तः । अथोत्तरवाद्येवं विक्षिपेत्तस्यापि साधनानन्तरमुत्तरे प्रतिपत्तव्ये तदप्रतिपत्त्या विक्षेपप्रतिपत्तिः प्रतिभायामर्थान्तरे वान्तर्भवति ।

ननु नावरयं साधनद्रूषणाभ्यामेव सर्वस्य प्रतिपत्तिर्येन सर्वा वादिप्रतिवादिनोर्न सम्यक् प्रतिपत्तेर्हेत्वाभासेर्थे प्रतिभायां वान्तर्भावान् । भवति हि अनिवद्धेनापि कथाप्रपञ्चेन विवाद इति । न (1) असम्भवात् एकत्र पूर्वकरणे विरुद्धाभ्युपगमयोर्विवादः स्यात् ।

स्वसाधनासामर्थ्यपरिच्छेदादेव विक्षेपः स्यात्ततः किमित्याह । तथा चेदं विक्षेपसञ्ज्ञितस्निग्रहस्थानमर्थान्तर एवान्तर्भवेत् । रूपसिद्धिनामादिव्याख्यानसमानत्वात् करणीयोपन्यासस्य । हेत्वाभासेष्वेवान्तर्भवेदित्यधिकृतं । कस्मादसमर्थञ्च तत्साधनञ्च तस्याभिधानात् । किञ्चेदं निरर्थकापार्थकाभ्यां सकाशान्न भिद्यते । किं कारणं प्रकृतञ्च तत्साधनञ्च तेनासम्बद्धा च सा प्रतिपत्तिश्च ततः साधनवाक्येन सहास्य दशदाडिमादिवचनस्येव जवगडादिवर्णक्रमस्येव च सम्बद्धानुपलम्भादित्यर्थः । किञ्चिन्मात्रभेदान्निमित्तलेशेन पृथगुक्तमिति चेदाह । अतिप्रसङ्गश्चेत्यादि । असम्बद्धसाधनवाक्येन प्रतिपत्तिर्येषां प्रतिभेदानान्तेऽसम्बद्धसाधनवाक्यप्रतिपत्तयः । ते च ते प्रभेदाश्च तेषामिति कार्य एवन्तावत् पूर्वपक्षवादि-सम्बन्धेन विक्षेपस्य पृथगनभिधानमुक्तं ॥ अधुना प्रतिवादिसम्बन्धेनाप्याह । अथोत्तरपक्षवाद्येवं बलात्कलात्मकण्ठं क्षिणोतीत्यादिना प्रक्रमेण कथां विक्षिपेत् । तदानीन्तस्याप्युत्तरपक्षवादिनः साधनानन्तरमुत्तरे प्रतिपत्तव्ये सति तदप्रतिपत्त्या तस्योत्तरस्यानभिधानेन विक्षेपप्रतिपत्तिर्यसाऽप्रतिभायामर्थान्तरे वान्तर्भवतीति परस्तु यथोक्तमन्तर्भावमसहमानश्चोदयति ।

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ननु नावश्यमिति तदेव द्रढयति (1) भवति ह्यनिबद्धेनापि साधनवाक्येनासम्बद्धे नापि कथाप्रबन्धेन परप्रतिभाहरणायान्तशो जननीव्यभिचारबोदनेनापि विवाद इति । आचार्य आह । नासम्भवादेवंविधस्य विवादस्य । यस्मादेकत्र शब्दादावधिकरणे नित्यत्वानित्यत्वादिप्रतिज्ञानाविरुद्धावभ्युपगमौ ययोर्वादिप्रतिवादिनोस्तयोर्विवादः स्यात् । कुत एतदित्याह । अविरुद्धावभ्युपगमौ ययोस्तौ

अविरुद्धाभ्युपगमयोरनभ्युपगमयोर्वा विरोधाभावात् । तत्रावश्यमेकस्य प्राग्वचनप्रवृत्तिर्युगपत्प्रवृत्तौ परस्परवचनग्रहणावधारिणोत्तराणाम-
सम्भवेन प्रवृत्तिवैफल्यात् । स्वस्थात्मनामप्रवृत्तेः (१) तेन च स्वोपगमो-
पन्यासेऽवश्यं साधनं वक्तव्यमन्यथा परेषामप्रतिपत्तेः । अपरेण च
तत्सत्यपि दूषणं उभयो^८रसम्यक्प्रतिपत्तौ हेत्वाभासप्रतिभयोः प्रसङ्ग
इति । सर्वो न्यायप्रवृत्तः पूर्वोत्तरपक्षोपन्यासेऽयं नातिपतति । एतेनैव
वितण्डा प्रत्युक्ताऽभ्युपगमाभावे^९ विवादाभावात् । यदा तर्ह्यभ्युपगम्य १८b
वादं विफलतया न किञ्चिद्वक्ति, अन्यद्वा यत्किञ्चित्प्रलपति तदा कथं

तथा न विद्येते विरुद्धाविरुद्धयोरभ्युपगमौ ययोः पुरुषयोस्तावभ्युपगमौ । तयो-
विवादाभावात् । तत्रैतस्मिन्व्यवस्थिते न्याय^५निर्धारणे वा तत्र शब्दः ।
एकस्य वादिनः प्रतिवादिनोवश्यं प्राग्वचनप्रवृत्तिः । यौगपद्येन किन्न ब्रूत
इत्याह । युगपत्प्रवृत्तौ स्वस्थात्मना^६मप्रवृत्तेरिति सम्बन्धः । एतदेव कुत
इत्याह । परस्पर वचन श्रवणावधारणोत्तराणामसम्भवेन करणभूतेन प्रवृत्ति-
वैफल्यात् । यदि हि परस्परवच^७नस्यासङ्गकरणे श्रवणम्भवेत्तत्तदर्थमवधार-
यत्युत्तरञ्च । युगपत्प्रवृत्तौ च दिगम्बरपाठकलकल इव सर्वमेतन्न संभवति तस्मा-
दवश्यमेकस्य प्राग्वचन^८प्रवृत्तिः । अतस्तेन च स्वस्थात्मना पूर्वपक्षवादिनाऽनित्यं
शब्दं साधयामीत्यादिना स्वोपगमोपन्यासे कृते सत्यवश्यं साधनं वक्तव्यं । अन्यथेति
हेत्वनभिधा^९ने परेसां^{१०}[?वां] साक्षिप्रभृतीनामप्रतिपत्तेः । अपरेण चेत्युत्तरपक्ष- ७7b
वादिना तत्सम्बन्धिवादिप्रोक्तसाधनसम्बन्धि दूषणं वक्तव्यमिति वक्तंते (१)
तस्मादुभयोर्वादिप्र^१(ति)वादिनोरसम्यक् प्रवृत्तौ सत्यां हेत्वाभासाप्रतिभयोः
संग्रह इति सर्वो न्यायप्रवृत्तः पूर्वोत्तरपक्षोपन्यासो द्वयं हेत्वाभासाप्रतिभाञ्च
नातिपतति ।

ननु च यदि न्यायः प्रवृत्तः कथन्तत्रास्य द्वयस्याधिकारः । कथञ्चैकत्र
धर्माणि विरुद्धावुपन्यासौ न्यायप्रवृत्ताववश्यं हि तत्रैकेनोपन्यासेन न्यायं प्रवृत्तेन
भाव्यं । अन्य^३था धर्माद्विद्यात्मको भवेत् । नाभिप्रायापरिज्ञानात् । नेदम्भवता
न्यायप्रवृत्तत्वमाचार्येण विवक्षितं पर्यज्ञायि । न्यायप्रवृत्तौ(?) हि पूर्वोत्तरपक्षोप-
न्यासस्य युगपत्प्रवृत्त्यभावेन जननी व्यभिचारवेदनाद्यभावेन चाभिप्रेतं । एतेनैकत्र
ह्यधिकरणे विरुद्धाभ्युपगमयोर्विवादः स्यादित्यादि^{११}ना वितण्डा प्रत्युक्ता । कथं
प्रत्युक्तेत्याह । अभ्युपगमाभावे विवादाभावात् । इदमुक्तम्भवति । स्वपक्षस्थापना
हीनो वाक्यसमूहो वितण्डेत्युच्य^{१२}ते (न्या० सू० १।२।३) । यदि चवैतण्डिकस्य

हेत्वाभासान्तर्भावः । असमर्थितसाधनाभिधान एवमुक्तमनभिधानान्याभिधान^१योरपि पराजय एवेत्युक्तमभ्युपगम्य वादमसाधनाङ्गवचनात् । एतेनाधिकस्य पुनरुक्तस्य च प्रतिज्ञादेर्वचनस्य च निग्रहस्थानत्वं व्याख्यातं तदपि हि प्रतिपादितार्थविपर्यय^२त्वात्साधनसामर्थ्य-

स्वपक्षो नास्ति विवादस्तर्हि कथमिति वक्तव्यं । परपक्षप्रतिषेधार्थम्वैतण्डिकः प्रवर्तत इति चेत् । परपक्षप्रतिषेध एव तर्ह्यस्य^३ स्वपक्षस्थापनेति वितण्डालक्षणं विशीर्यते । तथा हि यो येनाभ्युपगतः स तस्य स्वपक्षः । परपक्षप्रतिषेधश्च तेनाभ्युपगतः स्वपक्षतां नातिवर्तत इति ।^४ यदा तर्ह्युपगम्य वादं प्रतिज्ञासाधनेन विफलतया परिषच्छारद्येन व्याकुलीकृतत्वादित्यर्थः । न किञ्चित् साधनं तदायासं वा वक्ति ।
 78a अन्यद्वा किञ्चित् प्रलप^५ति । साधनतदाभासव्यतिरिक्तं काको बिरुपं विरोति नूनमयं मे गेहे विपदं सूचयति तदलमनेन विवादेन । यामि तावद् गेहे किन्तु मे पितुर्मरणमन्यद्वा वर्तत इत्या^६दि । तथा कथं हेत्वाभासान्तर्भावः । साधनाभावाद्धेत्वाभासासम्भवं मन्यते । उत्तराप्रतिपत्तिरपि नास्त्येव पूर्वपक्षवादित्वादित्यभिप्रायः । तदनेन द्वयज्ञातिपतती^७त्येतद्विघटयितुमिच्छति परः । आचार्य आह । असमर्थितसाधनाभिधान एवमुक्तं द्वयं नातिपततीति प्रोक्तसाधन एतदुक्तमिति यावत् । अप्रोक्ते तु कथं प्रतिपत्^८व्यमित्याह । अनभिधानान्यभिधानयोरपि सतोः पराजयः एवेत्युक्तं प्रकरणावतार एव । तदेव स्मरयति । अभ्युपगम्यवादमसाधनाङ्गवचनादिति ।^९ तथाहि तत्र व्याख्यातं । साधनाङ्गस्यानुच्चारणं । साधनाङ्गाद्वा यदन्यस्याभिधानं तत्सर्व्वमसाधनाङ्गवचनमिति । एतेनेत्यन्याभिधानेन पराजयवचने^{१०} नाधिकस्य पुनरुक्तस्य च प्रतिज्ञादेर्वचनस्य च निग्रहस्थानत्वं व्याख्यातं । कथमित्याह । तदपि हीत्यादि । अनेनैतदाह । यद्युक्तयुक्तमक्षपादेन किञ्चि^{११}न्निग्रहस्थानमुक्तन्तदस्माभिरसाधनाङ्गवचनपदेनैव संगृहीतमिति यद्येवं प्रतिज्ञादेर्वचनस्य चेति किमर्थयुक्तन्नहि प्रतिज्ञोपनयनिगमनानां वचनन्निग्रहस्थानमक्षपादेनोक्तं । प्रत्युत तदवचनमेव निग्रहस्थानतया । यद्विष्टं हीनमन्यतमेनाप्यवयवेन न्यून (न्या० सू० ५।२।१२)मिति । एवं तर्हि दृष्टान्तार्थमेतद्यथा तस्याप्रतीत^{१२}प्रत्यायनशक्तिविकलत्वादसाधनाङ्गवचनपदेनाभिधानं । तथाधिकपुनर्वचनयो-
 78b रपीति । तत एव च द्वितीयश्चकार इव शब्दार्थं वर्तते । अन्यथा पुनरुक्तस्य चेत्ययं बोध्यर्थः स्यात् । केचित्तूत्तरञ्चकारन्न पठन्ति । तैः पुनरुक्तव्याख्यानमेव प्रतिज्ञादेर्वचनस्य चेत्येतद् व्याख्येयं । एवमपि न युक्तमक्षपादेनैव भिन्नस्य पुनरुक्तस्थानिष्टत्वान्नास्ति दोषः । पूर्व्वतुल्यधर्मतयाऽस्यापि पुनरुक्तेऽन्तर्भावितत्वात् ॥०॥

विधानमप्रतीतप्रत्ययतया न लक्षणात् साधनस्यासाधनाङ्गवचनमिति निग्रहस्थानमिति ।

स्वपक्षदोषाभ्युपगमात्परपक्षे तं दोषं^१ प्रसज्जाय मतानुज्ञा ३
(न्या० ५।२।२०) (१) यः परेण चोदितं दोषमनुद्धृत्य भवतोप्ययं
दोष इति ब्रवीति यथा भवांश्चौरः पुरुषत्वादिति उक्ते स तं प्रति ब्रूयाद्भू-
वानपीति । स स्वपक्षे दोषाभ्युपगमात्पर^२पक्षे तं दोषं प्रसज्जयन् परमत-
मनुजानातीति मतानुज्ञा निग्रहस्थानमिति (१) अत्रापि यदि पुरुषत्वाच्चौरो
भवानपि स्यान्न च भवता नैवमिष्टस्तस्मान्नायं चौर्यहे^३तुरिति यद्ययमभि-
प्रायः । तदा न क दोषोनभिमते तदात्मनि चौरत्वेन हेतुदर्शने दूषणात् ।

स्वपक्षदोषाभ्युपगमात् परपक्षदोषप्रसङ्गो मतानुज्ञा (न्या० सू० ५।२।२०)
(18b3) दोषपरि^४हारे वक्तव्ये दोषस्यापरिज्ञानात् परमतमनुजानात्यतो नि-
गृह्यते । तदाह परेण वादिना चोदितं पर्यनुयुक्तं दोषमनुवृत्त्या परिहृत्य भवतोप्ययं
दोष इति ब्र^५वीति । यथा भवांश्चौरः पुरुषत्वा(16b4) च्छवरादि(वदि)त्युक्ते
वादिना स प्रतिवादी तं वादिनं प्रतिब्रूयात् । भवानपि चौर इति सोपि
शब्दप्रयोगादात्मनश्चौर^६त्वमभ्युपगम्य परपक्षे तन्दोषमासज्जयन्नापादयत्यपरेण
वादिना यन्मतं प्रतिवादिनश्चौरत्वं तदनुजानाति । तथा हि ते न मुक्त संस[?]ज्ञा
यन्तावदात्मन^७श्चौरत्वं प्रतिपत्तुमन्यथा नापि तमभिदध्यात् । वादिनि तु
तदस्तिनास्तीति चिन्त्यमतो मतानुज्ञा निग्रहस्थानं । इदमाचार्यो निराकरोति ।
अत्रापि^८ (18b5) यद्ययमभिप्राय उत्तरवादिनः पुरुषत्वाच्चौरो भवानपि स्यादह-
मिव । न च भवतात्मैवं चौरत्वेनेष्टस्तन्नायं पुरुषत्वादिति चौर्ये साध्ये हेतुरचौ-
रेपि भव^९ति विपक्षभूते वृत्तेरनैकान्तिकदोषदुष्टत्वादिति । तदस्मिन्प्रतिवादिनोऽभि-
प्राये न कश्चित्तस्य दोषो मतानुज्ञालक्षणोऽन्यो वा । कस्मादनभिमते चौरत्वे न
रु^{१०}पेण तस्य वादिन आत्मनि विपक्षभूते हेतोः सत्त्वप्रदर्शनेन प्रकारेण दूषणात् ।
विदग्धभङ्गाव्यभिचारोद्भावनादिति यावत् । औद्योतकरं^{११} चोद्यमाशङ्कते^{१२} 79a
प्रसङ्गमन्तरेण भवानपि स्यादित्येवमाज्जसेनैव मृजूनैव क्रमेण किञ्च
व्यभिचारितो हेतुस्त्वय्यपि अचौरे वर्तते पुरुषत्वमतोऽनैकान्तिकत्वमिति ।
तस्माद्यत^{१३} एवासावकौटिल्ये कर्तव्ये कौटिल्यमाचरति तत एव निगृह्यत इति ।

^१ निग्रहस्थानप्राप्तस्यानिग्रहः—इति न्या० भा० पाठः ।

^२ न्यायवार्तिके ५।२।२१ (पृष्ठ ५५९)

प्रसङ्गमन्तरेण—मेनैव किञ्च व्यभिचारित इति चेत् । य^६ त्किञ्चिदेतत् । सन्ति ह्येवंप्रकारा अपि व्यवहारा लोके इति । अथ तदुपक्षेपमभ्युपगच्छ-
त्येतदप्युत्तराप्रतिपत्तौ न तत्साधने निग्रहो नापरत्र स्वदोषोप^७क्षेपात्तत्सा-
धननिर्दोषतायां हि तदभ्युपगम एवोत्तराप्रतिपत्तिरिति तावतैव पूर्वमाप-
न्ननिग्रहस्य परदोषोपक्षेपस्यानपेक्षणीयत्वादिति ॥

^१निग्रहप्राप्तस्यानिग्रह^८(ः) पर्यनुयोज्योपेक्षणं (न्या० ५।२।२१) (१)
पर्यनुयोज्यानामनिग्रहोपपत्त्या चोदनीयः तस्योपेक्षणं निग्रहप्राप्तौ सत्यननु-
योगः । एतच्च कस्य पराजय इत्यनुयुक्तया पर्षदा वक्तव्यं न^९ खलु निग्र-

आचार्य आह । यत्किञ्चिदेतद(18b6) द्योतकरं वचो यस्मात् सन्ति ह्येवं
प्रकारा वैदग्ध्यप्रवर्तिता व्य^२वहारा लोके । तथा हि मातरो भावत्क्यो बन्धव्यः
स्त्रीत्वादितरबन्धकीवदित्युक्ताः पशुपालादयोपि जडजनडगमादिजनसाधारणं
वैदग्ध्यमनुसर^३तः प्रत्यवतिष्ठन्ते । तावकीनापि माता तथा स्यादिति न च तेऽनेन
प्रकारेण स्वस्याः स्वस्या मातुर्वन्धकीत्वं प्रतिपद्यन्ते । अपि तु भङ्ग्या हेतुव्यभि^४चार-
चोदनाया परं प्रतिवदन्ति । तस्मादेवं बालहालिकादिलोकप्रकटमपि व्यवहारालोक-
मपसारयता यदि परमुद्योतकरत्वमेवोद्योत^५करेण उद्योतितमात्मनः । अथोच्यते
नैवासौ भंग्या व्यभिचारमादर्शयत्यपि तु तस्य साधनस्य सम्यक्त्वमभ्युपगम्यैव तेन
दोषेण परमपि^६ कलङ्कयतीत्यत आह । अथ तदुपक्षेपः (ः) पुरुषत्वाद् भवादिचौर इत्ये-
नमभ्युपगच्छत्येव तदाप्यसौ तत्साधन उत्तराप्रतिपत्त्यैव निग्रहार्हो नापरत्र^७ वादिनि-
स्वदोषस्य चौरत्वस्योपक्षेपात् । निग्रहार्ह इति वर्तते । इदमेवोपोद्बलयति ।
तत्साधननिर्दोषतायां(18b8) ह्यङ्गीकृतायामिति शेषः । तस्योपक्षेप^८स्याभ्युपगम
एव यः स एवोत्तराप्रतिपत्तिरिति तावतैवोत्तराप्रतिपत्तिमात्रेणैवापरत्र दोषप्रसञ्ज-
नात् । पूर्वसाधननिग्रहस्य सतः प्रतिवादि^९नः आपन्नः प्राप्तो निग्रहो येन तस्येति
चेति विग्रहः । परदोषोपक्षेपस्य मतानुज्ञालक्षणस्यानपेक्षणीयत्वात्पराजितपराजया-
भावादिति भावः ॥०॥

79b

निग्रह^१प्राप्तस्यानिग्रहः पर्यनुयोज्योपेक्षणं (18b9) पर्यनुयोज्यो नाम निग्रह-
प्राप्तस्यो(पे)क्षणमिन्नग्रहप्राप्तोसीत्यनभिधानं । कः (ः) पुनरिदं पर्यनुयोज्योपेक्षणं
निग्रहस्थानं^२ चोदयति । न तावत् पर्यनुयोज्य इति युक्तं । असम्भवात् । न ह्यस्ति
सम्भवो यत् परदोषप्रतिपादनार्थमात्मनो दोषवत्त्वमसावभ्युपेति । निग्रहप्राप्तः सन्न

^१परपक्षे दोषप्रसङ्गो—इति न्या० भा० पाठः ।

हप्राप्तः स्वकौपीनं विवृणुयादिति । अत्रापि यदि साधनवादिनं निग्रहप्राप्त-
मुत्तरवादी न पर्यनुयुक्ते, अप्रतिभैवास्योत्तराप्रतिपत्तेरिति न पर्यनुयोग्यो-
पे^{१०}क्षणं पृथग्निग्रहस्थानं न्यायचिन्तायां पुनर्नद्वयोरेकस्यापि अत्र
जयपराजयौ । साधनाभासेनार्थाप्रतिभासनात् भूतदोषाभिधानाच्च ।
अथ कश्चिद्दोषमुद्भावयति कश्चिन्न तदा^१ निग्रहमर्हति । उत्तरप्रतिपत्तेः ।
अर्हत्येव सतो दोषस्यानुद्भावनादिति चेत् । न । सत इति कृत्वा
सर्वे दोषा अवश्यवक्तव्या अवचनेन वा निग्रहः । एकेनापि तत्साधन-
विघातादे^२कसाधनवचनवत् । यथैकस्यार्थस्यानेकसाधनसद्भावे

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^३हमनेनोपेक्षितो निग्रहस्थानस्यापरिज्ञानात् । तस्मादयन्दोषवानिति नाप्युपेक्ष इति
युक्तं । यस्मादसौ न जानात्येवार्थं निग्रहप्राप्त इति । तथा^४ ह्यपरिज्ञानादेवासौ नानु-
युक्ते निग्रहं प्राप्तोसीति । परिज्ञाने वा कथमुपेक्षेत । उपेक्षणे वा समचित्तः कथमेवं
प्रकटयेदयं स्योपेक्षितः^५ स दोषस्ततो मम पर्यनुयोज्योपेक्षणं निग्रहस्थानमिति ।
न चान्यस्तृतीयः कश्चिद्विहानुषङ्गी तत्कनेदं चोदनीयमित्येतत् सर्व्वमाशङ्क्य
पक्षिल^६ स्वामी ब्रूते । एतच्च पर्यनुयोज्योपेक्षणं वक्तव्यञ्चोदनीयङ्कस्य पराजय
इत्येवं वादिप्रतिवादिभ्यां प्रगुणा तदन्येर्वा पर्यनुयुक्तया पृष्टया सत्या परिषदा^७
प्राश्निकैर्वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः । च शब्दोऽवधारणार्थः । एतदेव (? एवमेव) अन्यानि निग्रह-
स्थानानि वादिप्र (ति) वादिभ्यामेवोद्भाव्यन्ते । एतत्पुनः प्राश्निकैरेव । किं पुनः कार-
^८णं ताभ्यामेव नोच्यत इत्याह । न खलु निग्रहप्राप्तः स्वकौपीनं स्वदोषं विवृणुयात्
(18b10) प्रकाशयेत् । अत्रापि त्याग्याचार्यः । यदि तु न्यायश्चिन्त्यते तदानैकस्यापि^९
जयपराजयौ न्याय्यौ । कथं वादिनो जय इत्याह साधनाभासेन जिज्ञासितस्यार्थस्या-
प्रतिपादनात् । अत एव न प्रतिवादिनोपि पराजयो वादिविवक्षितार्थसिद्धयपेक्षया
प्रतिवादिनः पराजयव्यवस्थापनात् । प्रतिवादिनस्तर्हि किं जय इत्याह (1) भूते
दोषानभिधानाच्च (19a1) । अतएव च न वादिनः पराजयस्त^३दूषणापेक्षया
तद्व्यवस्थितेः । अथोत्तरपक्षवाद्यनेकदोषसद्भावेपि वादिप्रोक्तस्य साधनस्य
कश्चिद्दोषमुद्भावयति कश्चिन्न । न तदासौ^४ निग्रहमर्हति । किङ्कारणमुत्तरस्य
प्रतिपत्तेरभिधानादित्यर्थः । पर आह । अर्हत्येव निग्रहं सर्व्वेषां दोषाणामनु-
द्भावनात् । आचार्य आह । न खलु^५ भोः सन्त इति कृत्वा सर्व्वे दोषा अवश्यं
वक्तव्याः प्रतिवादिना । अवचने वा दोषान्तरस्य निग्रहो भवति नेति वर्तते ।
कस्मात् सर्व्वे दोषा नोद्भाव्यन्त इत्याह । एकेनापि (19a2) दोषेणासिद्ध-
त्वादिनोद्भावितेन न तस्य वादिप्रयुक्तस्य साधनस्य विघातात् । साध्यसिद्धि-
प्रत्यसमर्थत्वप्रतिपादनादित्यर्थः । भावसाधनो वा साधनशब्दः । अत्रैव दृष्टान्त-

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प्येकेनैव साधनेन तन्निष्ठेन सत्त्वोपादानमिति । न दोषमुद्भाव(य)-
न्नेवापरस्यानुद्भावान्निग्रहार्हः । अथ पूर्वपक्षवादी उत्तरपक्षवादिनं
निग्रहप्राप्तं न निगृह्णाति तदा तयोर्न्यायेनैकस्यापि पूर्ववज्जयपराजयौ दोषा-
भासं ब्रुवाणमुत्तरवादिनं स्वसाधनादनुत्सारयन्न समर्थितसाधना-
ङ्गत्वात् जयो वादिनः । सर्वदोषासम्भवप्रदर्शनेन साधनाङ्गासमर्थ-
नात् । नाप्युत्तरवादिनो उभयदोषप्रतिपादनात् । तस्मादेवमपि न
पर्यनुयोगोपेक्षणं नाम पराजयाधिकरणमिति ॥ ॥

अस्थाने^१ निग्रहस्थानानुयोगो निरनुयोज्यानुयोगः (न्या० ५।२।२२) ।
निग्रहस्थानलक्षणस्य मिथ्याव्यवसा(या)दनिग्रहस्थाने निगृहीतोसी^२ति

माह । एकसाधनवचनवदिति (1923) । यथेत्याद्यस्यैव विभागः । एकस्यार्थस्य
क्षणिकत्वादेः प्रतिपादनायानेकस्य^३ साधनस्य सत्त्वकार्यत्वप्रयत्नोत्पत्त्यादेः सद्भावेपि
सत्येकेनैव सत्त्वादीनामन्यतमेनोपात्तेन तस्य क्षणिकत्वादेरर्थस्य सिद्धेर्निश्चयात्
81a सर्वेषां साधना^४नामुपादानं । तथैकेनापि दोषेण तत्साधनविधाताज्ञ सर्वोपादान-
मितीदन्तुष्टान्तेन साम्यं । इति तस्मान्नोत्तरपक्षवादी पूर्वमेकं दोषमुद्भावयन्नेवापर-
स्य दोषान्तरस्यानुद्भावान्निग्रहार्हः । पूर्ववदिति साधनाभासेनाप्रतिपादनात् ।
भूतदोषानभिधानाच्च ।

ननु च कथं वादिनो जयो यावता न तेन साध^५नाभासः प्रयुक्तः । प्रतिवादी
त्वसन्तं दोषमुद्भावयतीत्यत आह । दोषाभासं ब्रुवाणमुत्तरपक्षवादिनं (1824)
स्वसाधनात्सकाशादनुसारयतोऽनिवर्त्तयतस्त^६दुक्तदूषणाभासत्वेनाप्रतिपादयत इति
यावत् । वादिनो न जयः कस्मादसमन्वितसाधनाङ्गत्वात् । असमन्वितसाधनाङ्गं
येन तस्य भावस्तत्त्वं । एतदेव कुत इत्याह (1) सर्वदोषाभावप्रदर्शनेन साधनाङ्गसम-
र्थनात् (1925) । इत्थम्भूतलक्षणे करणे वा तृतीया (पाणिनि २।३।२९) ।
असमर्थितत्वात् साधना^७भास एव तेन प्रयुक्त इति संक्षेपार्थः । नाप्युत्तरपक्षवादिनो
जय इति वृत्तिः । तस्मादेवमपीति यदि पूर्वपक्षवाद्युत्तरपक्षवादिनं^८ न निग्रहप्राप्तं
निगृह्णाति न केवलमुत्तरवादिसम्बन्धेनेत्यपि शब्दः ॥ ० ॥

निरनुयोज्यस्यानुयोगः (1926) । अनिग्रहप्राप्ते निगृहीतोसीत्यभिधानं । किं^९
पुनरेवं ब्रूत इत्याह (1) निग्रहस्थानलक्षणस्य मिथ्याव्यवसायाद्य (1926) थोक्तस्य
निग्रहस्थानलक्षणस्य सन्यगपरिज्ञानादित्यर्थः । एवञ्चाप्रतिपत्तितो निगृ^{१०}ह्यते ।

परं ब्रुवन्निरनुयोज्यानुयोगाभिगृहीतो वक्तव्यः। अत्रापि यदि तस्साधनवादि-
नमभूतैस्तदोषैरुत्तरवाद्यभियुज्जीत । सोऽस्थाने निर्दोषे निग्रहस्थानस्य
नियो^७कोद्भावयिता न भवति । तथा भूतदोष(१)द्भावनालक्षण-
स्योत्तरस्याप्रतिपत्तेरितरेणोत्तराभासत्वे प्रतिपादितेऽप्रतिभयैव निगृहीत
इति नेदमतो निग्रहस्थानान्तरं । अथो^८त्तरवादिनं साधनदोषमुद्भावयन्त-
मपरो दोषाभासवचनेनाभियुज्जीत तस्य तेन भूतदोषत्वे प्रतिपादिते
साधनाभासवचनेनैव निगृहीत इति । एवम^९पि नेदं हेत्वाभासेभ्यो 19b
भिद्यते । अवश्यं हि विषयान्तरव्याप्त्यर्थं हेत्वाभासा निग्रहस्थानत्वेन
वक्तव्यास्तदुक्तावपरोक्तिरनर्थकेति ॥ ॥

सिद्धान्तमभ्युपेत्यानियमात् कथाप्रस^१ङ्गोऽप्रसिद्धन्तः (न्या० ५।२।

अत्रापीत्याद्याचार्यः । यदि तस्य साधनस्य वादिनमभूतैरलीकैर्दोषैः सव्यभिचारा-
दिवोषबुद्धं त्वया साधनं प्रयुक्तं ततो निगृहीतोसीत्येवम^{१०}भियुज्जीत । तदा सोऽस्था-
नेऽस्य व्याख्यानं निर्दोषनिग्रहस्थानस्य अस्य विभागादेवास्येति । अभियोक्तेत्यस्य
विवृतिरुद्भावयितेति । तथा चालीकदोष^१स्याभिधायित्वे सति दोषोद्भावलक्षण-
स्योत्तरस्याप्रतिपत्तेरभिधानादप्रतिभयैव करणभूतयोत्तरवादी निगृहीत इति कृत्वा
नेदन्निरनुयो^{११}ज्यानुयोगाभिधाननिग्रहस्थानमतोऽप्रतिभानिग्रहस्थानात्सकाशांश्च नि-
ग्रहस्थानान्तरं । कदा चायमप्रतिभया निगृह्यत इत्याह (१) इतरेण (19a8)
वादि^{१२}ना तदुक्तस्योत्तराभासत्वे प्रतिपादिते अन्यथा न द्वयोरेकस्यापि पूर्ववज्जयपरा-
जयावित्याकृतं । एवं प्रतिवादिसम्बन्धेनास्यापृथग्वच^{१३}नं प्रतिपाद्य वादिसम्बन्धेना-
प्याह (१) अथोत्तरवादिनं भूतं सत्यं साधनदोषं सव्यभिचा(रा)दिकमुद्भावयन्त-
मपर इति पूर्वपक्षवादी दोषाभा^{१४}सवचनेनाभियुज्जीत । जात्युत्तरमनैकान्तिकाद्या-
भासं त्वया प्रयुक्तं । तस्मान्निगृ(ही)तोसीत्येवं यद्यभियुज्जीतेत्यर्थः । तदा तस्योद्-
भावितस्य दो^{१५}षस्य व्यभिचारादेस्तेनोत्तरवादिना भूतदोषत्वे प्रतिपादिते जात्यु-
(त्तर)वत्त्वे परिहृत इति यावत् । साधनाभासवचनेनैव वादी निगृह्यते इति ॥
तस्मादेवमपि प्र^{१६}तिवादिसम्बन्धेनापि नेदं हेत्वाभासेभ्यो भिद्यत इति पृथग्वार्थं ।
अस्यैवोपोद्बलनमवश्यं हि द्वाविंशतिनिग्रहस्थानवादिना हेत्वाभासाः पृथग् निग्रह-
स्था^{१७}नत्वेन वक्तव्याः । किमर्थमित्याह । विषयान्तरप्राप्त्यर्थं (19b1) निरनुयो-
ज्यानुयोगादिभिर्भिन्नग्रहस्थानैरनाकान्तसङ्ग्रहमपीति अन्यथा द्वाविंशतित्वं निग्र-
हस्था^{१८}नानामभ्युपगमम्विरुद्धत इत्यभिप्रायः । तथा च तदुक्तौ तेषां हेत्वाभासानां 81b
निग्रहस्थानेनोक्तौ सत्यामपरोक्तिः । अपरस्य निरनुयोज्यानुयोगस्योक्तिर्निर(f)
र्थका^{१९} हेत्वाभासवचनेनैव संगृहीतत्वात् ॥०॥

२३) । कस्यचिदर्थस्य तथाभावं प्रतिज्ञाय प्रतिज्ञातार्थविपर्ययात्कथाप्रसङ्गं कुर्वतोऽपसिद्धान्तो विज्ञेयः । यथा न सतो विनाशो नासदुत्पद्यत इति सिद्धान्तमभ्युपेत्य पक्षमवस्थापयति । एकान्त(१) प्रकृतिर्व्यक्ताव्यक्तविकाराणामनुपदर्शनात् । मृदर्थपानां [? न] शरावादीनां दृष्टमेकप्रकृतिकत्वं तथा चायं व्यक्तभेदः । सुखदुःखमोहसम^३न्वितो गृह्यते तत्सुखादिभिरेकप्रकृतिरिति । स एवमुक्तवान् पर्यनुयुज्यते । अथ प्रकृतिर्विकार इति कथं लक्षयितव्यं (१) यस्यावस्थितस्य धर्मान्तरनिवृत्तौ^४ धर्मान्तरं प्रवर्तते

सिद्धान्तमभ्युपेत्यानियमात् कथाप्रसङ्गोऽपसिद्धान्त इति (१९६१) सूत्रं सिद्धान्तमभ्युपेत्य पक्षपरिग्रहं कृत्वाऽनियमात् पूर्वप्रकृतार्थोपरोधेन शास्त्रव्यवस्थामनाद्यूयेति यावत् । कथाप्रसङ्गोऽर्थान्तररोपवर्णनं । कस्यचिदर्थस्येति धर्मिणो धर्मान्तरं प्रतिज्ञाय प्रतिज्ञातार्थ^२विपर्ययो विरोधः । इदं उदाहरणेन स्पष्टयति । यथा न सतो वस्तुनो विनाशो (१९६२) निरन्वयः केवलं तिरोभावमात्रं भवति नासत् खरविषाणतुल्यमुत्पद्यते । किन्तु हर्षाविर्भावतः । सदेवोत्पद्यत इत्येवं कापिलः सिद्धान्तव्यवस्थामादृत्य पक्षङ्करोति । एका प्रकृतिर्व्यक्तस्याव्यक्तलक्षणा । व्यक्तस्येति म^१हदादेः । अत्र हेतुमाह विकाराणां शब्दादीनामन्वयदर्शनात् । मृद्वन्वयानामित्यादिदृष्टान्तः । तथा चायमित्युपनयनः [? पनयः] । सुखदुःखमोहसमन्वित (१९६३) इति^५ सुखादिमयत्वं दर्शयति । दर्शितञ्च सुखादिमयत्वं व्यक्तस्य पूर्वं यथासांख्येनाभिमतं । तत्तस्मात् सुखादिभिरेकप्रकृतिरित्ययं व्यक्तभेदः । इति निगमनं^६ सुखादिभिरितीत्यंभूतलक्षणे तृतीया । सुखादिप्रकारा सुखादिलक्षणा । एका प्रकृतिरस्येत्यर्थः । अन्ये पठन्ति । एका प्रकृतिर्व्यक्ता व्यक्तविकाराणामन्वयदर्शनादिति । एवञ्च व्याचक्षते । एका प्रकृतिरभिज्ञा सर्वात्मस्वभावा व्यक्ताव्यक्तविकाराणामन्वयदर्शनात् । ये व्यक्ता विकारा महदादयो ये चाव्यक्ताः प्रधानात्मनि व्यवस्थितास्तेषा^७मप्यन्वयदर्शनादिति । अपरे तु पठन्ति । एका प्रकृतिरव्यक्ता । व्यक्तविकाराणामिति व्यक्तरूपाणां विकाराणामिति चाहुः । प्रकृतार्थविपर्य(ये)णयं यथा प्रवृत्तेति प्रदर्शनाऽ^८र्थमाह (१) स कापिल एवमुक्तवान्पर्यनुयुज्यते (१९६४) । अथ प्रकृतिर्विकार इत्येतदुभयङ्कथं लक्षयितव्यं । प्रतिपत्तव्यमिति । स एवमनुयुक्तः प्राह । यस्यावस्थितस्य धर्मान्तरनिवृत्तौ^९ धर्मान्तरमप्रवर्तते सा प्रकृतिरवस्थितरूपा । यत्तत्प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिसद्धान्तरं स विकार इति लक्षयितव्यं । परमुक्तवान् साङ्ख्यः प्रकृतार्थपरित्यागदोषेणोपपाद्यते । सोयम्वादी प्रकृतार्थविपर्ययादनियमात् कथाम्प्रसज्ययति । पूर्वप्रकृतं परित्यजतीत्यर्थः । कथमित्याह

सा प्रकृतिः । यत्तद्वर्मान्तरं स विकार इति सेयं प्रकृतार्थविपर्यया-
दनियमात् कथां प्रसज्यति । प्रतिज्ञातश्चानेन नासदाविर्भवति^५ न
सत्तिरोभवतीति सदसदतोश्च तिरोभावाविर्भावान्तरेण न कस्यचित्प्र-
वृत्त्युपरमः प्रवृत्तिर्वेत्येवं प्रत्यवस्थिते यदि सत आत्महानमसत-
श्चात्मलाभ^६मभ्युपैत्यपसिद्धान्तो भवति । अथ नाभ्युपैति पक्षोऽस्य न
सिध्यतीति । इहापि न कश्चिदनियमात्कथाप्रसङ्गः । यत्तेनोपगतत्रास-
दुत्पद्यते न सद्विनश्यतीति तस्य समर्थ^७नापदमुक्तमेकप्रकृतिकमिदं
व्यक्तमनुपदर्शनादिति । तत्रैका प्रकृतिः सुखदुःखमोहस्तदविभक्तयो-

(1) प्रतिज्ञातं खल्वनेनेति (19b5) पूर्वोक्तं स्मर^५यति । यद्येवङ्को दोष इत्याह ।
सदसतोरित्यादि । सतस्तिरोभावमेकान्तेन विनाशमन्तरेण न कस्यचिद्वर्मान्त्य
प्रवृत्त्युपरमः सिध्यति । केन चिद्विरूपेणावस्थाने सति स तिरोहितोऽङ्गस्तस्या-
वस्थितस्यात्मभूतः परभूतो वा भवेत् । आत्मभूतत्वे तिरोहितादव्यतिरेकात्
तिरोहितवदवस्थितस्याप्यनवस्थानं^७ अवस्थितवच्च तदव्यतिरेकतस्तिरोहितस्या-
प्यवस्थानमासं[?]क्यते । परभूतत्वेपि कथमनन्वयो न विनाशो न ह्यन्यस्या-
वस्थानेऽन्यदवतिष्ठते । अन्यो वान्यस्यान्वयश्चैतन्यस्याऽपि घटान्वयप्रसङ्गात् । तथा
नासत आविर्भावमुत्पादमन्तरेण कस्यचिद्वर्मान्त्य प्रवृत्तिर्वा सिध्यति ।

ननु च विद्यमानमेव धर्मान्तरमाविर्भाव्यते । ग्रहणविषयभा^८वमापाद्यते । 82b
न विद्यमानस्य क्रियास्त्युपादानमिति उपलब्धिर्वा विद्यमानत्वात् । न कारक-
जन्यत्वमित्येवं प्रत्यवस्थितः प्रतिषिद्धः साङ्ख्यः । क्वचित् सप्तम्यापद्यते । तत्र
प्रत्य^१वस्थिते प्रतिवादिनि सतीति व्याख्येयं । यदि स कापिलः सतो धर्मस्यात्म-
हानमसतश्चात्मलाभमभ्युपैति तदानीमपसिद्धान्तो भवति । अभ्युपगमविरुद्धस्य
प्रतिज्ञा^२नादपसिद्धान्तसंज्ञकं निग्रहस्थानमस्य भवतीत्यर्थः । अथ सत आत्म-
हानमसतश्चात्मलाभमभ्युपैति । एवमप्येकप्रकृतिविकाराणामिति योयं पक्षः
पूर्वप्रतिज्ञातः सोऽस्य^३न सिध्यति प्रकृतिविकारलक्षणस्यानवस्थितत्वात् । तथा हि
तयोर्लक्षणं यस्यावस्थितस्येत्यादिनोक्तं । तस्य चायोगः । सदसतोश्चे (19b6)
त्यादिना प्रतिपा^(f)दत इत्येतावा^४न्यरग्रन्थः । अत्र सम्प्रत्याचार्यः प्रतिविधत्ते ।
इतोपि प्रतिविदध्मह इति शेषः । न कश्चिदनियमात् सिद्धान्तनीतिविरोधात्
साङ्ख्यस्य प्रसङ्गः । तस्माद्यत्तेनोपग^५तं नासदुत्पद्यते न स(त्)तिरोभवतीति
तस्य समर्थनायेदमुक्तं । किमुक्तमित्याह (1) एकप्रकृतिकमिदं व्यक्तमन्वय-
दर्शनादिति (19b8) । तत्रैकेत्येतदेव विभजति । तदवि^६भक्तयोनिमिदं

निकमिदं व्यक्तं तदन्वयदर्शनात् । व्यक्तस्य तत्त्वभावताऽभेदोप^८लक्षि-
रिति । सुखादीनामुत्पत्तिविनाशाभ्युपगमाभावात् सर्वस्य तदात्म-
कस्य नोत्पत्तिविनाशाविति सिद्धं भवति । अत्र तदुक्तस्य हेतोर्दोषमनुभाव्य
20a विकारप्रकृतिलक्षणं^९ पृच्छन् स्वयमयं प्रकृता (?) सत्त्वेनानियमात्
कथां प्रवर्त्तयति । तत्रेदं स्याद्वाच्यं व्यक्तं नाम प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिधर्मकं न
तथा सुखादयः । व्यक्तस्य सुखाद्यन्वये सुखादिस्वभावता प्रवृत्तिनि-
वृत्तिधर्मतालक्षणमवहोय (ते) इति । न तद्वितसुखादिस्वभावता-
व्यक्तलक्षणविरोधादिति । सुखाद्यन्वयदर्शनादित्यसिद्धो हेतुरिति । एवं हि

व्यक्तं । ते सुखादयोऽविभक्ताः अपृथग्भूता योनिः स्थानसधिकरणं यस्य
व्यक्तस्य तत्तदविभक्तयोनिकं किङ्कारणं तदन्वयदर्शनात् । तैः (:) सुखादिभि-
रन्वयदर्शनात् तादात्म्योपलम्भात् । ततः किं सिद्धमित्याह व्यक्तस्य तत्त्व-
भावता सुखादिस्वभावता । तत्र स्वभावेनैव कथं सिद्धितेत्याह । अभेदोपलब्धे
(19b8) रिति । सुखादिभिः^८ शब्दादीनामनानात्पदर्शनादिति यावत् । एवमपि
किं सिद्धमभवतीत्याह । सर्वस्य (19b9) शब्दादेर्विकारप्राप्तस्य सुखाद्या-
83a त्मकस्य नोत्पत्तिविनाशाविति सम्भवति । कस्मादि^१त्याह (1) सुखादीनामुत्पत्ति-
विनाशाभावात् । सुखाद्यव्यतिरेकात्तदात्मवच्छब्दादयोपि नित्याः सिद्धा भवन्ति ।
तथा च यत्पूर्वमभ्युपगतं न श_१(?स)तो विनाशो नासदुत्पद्यत इति । तत्समर्थितं
भवति । अत्रैवं कापिलेन स्वोपगमे समर्थिते सति तदुक्तस्य तेन साङ्ख्येनोक्तस्य
हेतोरन्वयदर्शनस्य दोषमसिद्धताधिकमनुद्भाव्य स एवमुक्तवान् पर्यनुसृज्यते ।
अथ प्र^१कृतिर्निर्विकार इति कथं लक्षयितव्यमित्येवं विकारप्रकृत्योर्लक्षणं पृच्छन्
स्वयमयमक्षपादः प्रकृतासम्बन्धेनानियमात् प्रकृतार्थोपरोधात् कथाम्प्रवर्त्त^१यति ।
यस्मात् प्रकृतिविकारयोरिह लक्षणं न प्रकृतमेव तत्किन्तदभिधाय पर्यनुसृज्यते
तस्मादप्रस्तुतपर्यनुयोक्तृत्वादक्षपाद एव निग्रहार्ह इति^१ भावः । किन्तु हर्चत्रोत्तरसम्बद्ध
वाक्यमित्याह (1) तत्रान्वयदर्शनहेताविदं स्यात् वाच्यं (20a1) । व्यक्तज्ञान प्रवृत्ति-
निवृत्तिधर्मकं न तथा व्यक्तवत् सुखादयः प्रवृत्तिनि^१वृत्तिधर्मका इति लिङ्गवचन-
परिणामेन सम्बन्धः । तथा च व्यक्तस्य सुखाद्यन्वयेऽस्य व्याख्यानं सुखादिस्वभाव-
तायां सत्यां प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिधर्मतालक्ष^१णं व्यक्तस्यावहीयते । तदव्यतिरेकेण तेषा-
मपि सदावस्थानात् । इति तस्मान्न तद्रहितसुखादिस्वभावता व्यक्तस्य । ताभ्या-
म्प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिभ्यां रहितास्तथोक्तास्ते च सु^१खादयश्च । ते स्वभावो यस्य तस्य
भावस्तद्रहितसुखादिस्वभावता । कस्मादित्याह (1) व्यक्तलक्षणविरोधादि (20a2)-

तस्य साधनदोषोद्भावनेन पक्षो दूषितो भवति । सोऽनुपसंहृत्य साधनदोषकथां प्रतारयन् स्वदोषं परत्रोपत्तिपति । अयमेव दोषोऽनेन प्रकारेणोच्यत इति चेत् । एष नैमित्त [? ति] कानां विषयो न लोकः^३ शब्दैरप्रतिपादितमर्थं प्रतिपत्तुं समर्थं इति । स एवायं भण्डालेख्यवि-
[? भण्डालेख्य] न्यायः । अत्रापि यथोक्तेन न्यायेन पूर्वकस्यासाधनाङ्ग-

ति व्यक्तस्य लक्षणं प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्तिधर्मकत्वं तस्य तद्विपरीतः ।^४ सुखादिभिः परस्पर-
परिहारस्थितिलक्षणो विरोधः । तथा च साधनस्य सदावस्थितरूपसुखादिव्यवभाव-
मिव ते व्यक्तं प्राप्नोति तद्विपरीतधर्मत्वात् । क्षेत्रज्ञवत्^५ न च सुखादिव्यक्तयोरेक-
स्वभावता । परस्परविरुद्धधर्माध्यासितत्वात् । सत्त्वरजस्तमसामिव चैतन्यानामिव
वा । एवञ्च व्यक्तस्य सुखादिव्यवभावतायोगे सुखाद्यन्वयदर्शन^६ सिद्धो हेतुः । कस्मा-
दिवं सम्बद्धं दूषणमित्याह । एवं हि तस्य साङ्ख्यस्य साधनदोषोद्भावनेन हेत्वसि-
द्धताचोदनेनैकप्रकृतीवं व्यक्तमित्ययं पक्षो दूषितो भवति (20a3) । स पुनर्नैयाधिकः
साधने दोषभसिद्धताख्यमनुपसंहृत्यापदश्यं अप्रकृतप्रकृतिविकारलक्षणपर्यनुयोगेन
कथां प्रतानयत्यविमुञ्चं स्वदोषसम्यक्साक्षात्प्रसङ्गं परत्र साङ्ख्ये तपस्विन्यु-
पक्षिपति । पर आहायमेवासिद्धताख्यो दोषोनेन प्रकारेण प्रकृतिविकारलक्षण-
पर्यनुयोगद्वारेणास्माभिरप्युच्य^७त इति । आचार्य आह । एष नैमित्तिकानां (20a3)
ज्योतिर्ज्ञानविदां विषयः । नायं त्वद्वक्तस्य वाक्यस्यार्थ इति यावत् । यतो न लोकः
शब्दैरप्रतिपादितमर्थं प्रति^८पत्तुं समर्थः अर्थप्रकरणादिभिर्विनेत्यध्याहारः । तस्मात् स
एवायं (20a4) प्रतिज्ञाविरोधप्रस्तावे निर्दिष्टो भण्डालेख्यन्यायोत्राप्यपसिद्धान्तो
न केवलं तत्रेत्यसि^९पि शब्दः । यथा हि भण्डाः प्राकृतान् विस्मापयन्तः शीघ्रमूर्ध्वगन्ता-
कारामल्पीयसीं रेखांमालिख्य भणन्ति पश्यत तालमात्रेण हस्ती विलिखितोत्सामि-
रिति तत्र केचि^{१०}त् मन्दमतयस्तथैव प्रतिपद्यन्ते । केचिद् दुर्विदग्धधियः पर्यनुयुञ्जन्ते ।
ननु गोस्य कर्णपाददस्तादयः प्रतीयन्ते तत्कथमयन्तद्विकलो हस्ती भवतीति । ते पु
नराहुः^{११} । तद्यं न प्रतीयन्ते । अस्माभिस्तु समाप्तसकलकलः करेणुरयं लिखितः ।
तास्तस्य सकलाः कलाः सलिल इव मग्नत्वान्नोपलभ^{१२}[?भ्य]न्ते कुम्भकदेशमात्र-
न्निवदमस्योप^{१३}लभ्यत इति तथाजातीयकमेतत् परस्यापि धाष्टर्ध्विजृम्भितं । यदि 84a
नाम नायमर्थोऽस्माद् बाह्यात् प्रतीयते तथाप्यनेन प्रकारेणोच्यत इति । अपि चोच्य-
ताम^{१४}यमेवार्थेनेन प्रकारेण तथाप्यसिद्धस्य हेत्वाभासेष्वन्तर्भावात् तद्वचनेनैवा-
भिधानमिति नापसिद्धान्तः पथगुपादेयो भवेदित्येतदुपसंहारव्याजोनाह । यथो^{१५}क्तेन
न्यायेन (20a4) त्यादि ॥०॥

स्यासिद्धस्य हेतोरभिधाना^४ देव निग्रहो नापि नियमात्क्रथाप्रसङ्गादिति ।
इदमपि हेत्वाभासेष्वन्तर्भावाच्च पृथग्वाच्यं ॥ त् ॥

हेत्वाभासाश्च यथोक्ताः (न्या० ५।२।२४) । हेत्वाभासाश्च निग्रह-
स्थानानि^५ किम्पुनर्लक्षणान्तरयोगाद्धेत्वाभासा निग्रहस्थानभावमापद्यन्ते ।
यथा प्रमाणानि प्रमेयत्वमित्यत आह । यथोक्तहेत्वाभासलक्षणेनैव निग्रह-
स्थानता^६ च इति । अत्रापि यथोक्तत्वादिदं (?) मेव किन्ते यथालक्षितप्रमे-

हेत्वाभासाश्च यथोक्ता इति सूत्रं । इदमाक्षेपपूर्वकं वात्स्यायनो व्याचष्टे । किं
पुनरिति (20a6) हेत्वाभासलक्षणाद्यदन्यलक्षणं तेन सम्बन्धा^७ निग्रहस्थानत्वमा-
पद्यन्ते । किमिवेत्याह । यथा प्रमाणानि प्रमेयत्वं लक्षणान्तरवत्सा [? वसा] दापद्यन्त
(20a6) इति वक्तुं तानि हि प्रमिति क्रियायाः (:) कारणत्वात् । प्रमा^८णानि प्रमाणा-
न्तरेण तु यदा प्रमीयन्ते तदा कर्मत्वात् प्रमेयानि । तत एव पदार्थत्वात् प्राप्तः संशयः ।
अत्राह मुनिना यथोक्त इति । अस्यैव विवरणं ।^९ यथोक्तहेत्वाभासलक्षणेनैव निग्रह-
स्थानभाव इति । इदमुक्तम्भवति । सव्यभिचारविरुद्धप्रकरणस (म) साध्यसमातीत-
काला (न्या० सू० १।२।४) इति हेत्वाभासा इति प्र^{१०}भेदमुपक्रम्य यत्प्रत्येकं लक्षणमुक्तं ।
अनैकागिकः सव्यभिचारः (न्या० सू० १।२।५) सिद्धान्तमभ्युपेत्य तद्विरोधाद्विरुद्धं
(न्या० सू० १।२।६) । यस्मात् प्रकरणचिन्ता स निर्णयार्थमपदिष्टः प्रकरण^{११}समः
(न्या० सू० १।२।७) साध्याविशिष्टः साध्यत्वात् साध्यसमः (न्या० सू० १।२।८)
कालात्ययापदिष्टः कालातीत (न्या० सू० १।२।९) इति तेनैव लक्षणेनैषानिग्रह-
स्थानत्वं न पुनस्तत् लक्षणान्तरमपेक्ष्यत इति । अत्रापि^{१२} (20a7) त्याचार्यः ।
कथञ्चिच्चिन्त्यमित्याह । किन्ते यथा भवद्भिर्लक्षितप्रभेदास्तथैव ते भवन्त्याहो
स्विदन्यथेति (20a7) । लक्षितः प्रभेदो येषामिति विग्रहः । तत्तर्हि किन्तं (द्)
84b चिन्त्यत इत्याह^{१३} तत्तु चिन्त्यमानमिहातिप्रसज्यत इति न प्रतन्यते । इदमेवागूरितं ।
विदन्त्येव केचिदत्र हेत्वाभासा एव न युज्यन्ते केचित्तु हेत्वाभासा अपि न सङ्गृहीता
इत्यात्मिश्च विचारे हेत्वाभास^{१४}वार्तिकं सकलमवतारयितव्यमिति शास्त्रान्तरमेव
भवेत् । अवदातमतयस्त्वस्मद्विहितहेत्वाभासलक्षणविपर्ययेण दूरान्तरत्वात्तद्
वैसर्गं (?) । तस्मादुपेक्षै^{१५}व युज्यत इति । तथापि मन्दमतिविबोधनायापि शास्त्र-
मुच्यत इति । कालातीतप्रकरणसमयोस्तावद्धेत्वाभासत्वं यथा नोपपद्यते तथा वर्ण्यते ।
तत्र कालात्ययापदिष्टः कालातीतः तद्विह (।) बृद्धनैयायिकानामपास्य मत-
माचार्यदिङ्नागपादैर्भाषितत्वादिदानीन्तना वात्स्यायनादयोमुमेव स्थिपक्षमाहुः ।
तत्रैवम्भूमः ।^{१६} कालात्ययेन युक्तो यस्यार्थकदेशोऽपदिश्यमानस्य स कालात्ययापदिष्टः

कालातीत इत्युच्यते । निदर्शनं (१) नित्यः शब्दः संयोगव्यंग्यत्वाद्रूपवत् । प्रागूद्ध्वं^५ च व्यक्तेरवस्थितं रूपं प्रदीपघटसंयोगेन व्यज्यते । तथा शब्दो व्यवस्थितो भेरीकर्णसंयोगेन दारुपर्णयोगेन वा व्यज्यते । तस्मात्संयोगव्यंग्यत्वान्नित्यः^६ शब्द इति । अयमहेतुः कालात्ययापदेशात् व्यञ्जकस्य संयोगस्य कालं न व्यंग्यस्य रूपस्य व्यक्तिरत्येति सति प्रदीपसंयोगे रूपस्य ग्रहणं भवति । न निवृत्तसंयोगे^७ रूपङ्ग-ह्यते । निवृत्ते तु दारुपर्णसंयोगे दूरस्थेन शब्दः श्रूयते विभागकाले नेयं शब्दस्य व्यक्तिः संयोगकालमत्येतीति संयोगनिमित्ता भवति । कारणाभावाद्धि कार्या^८ भाव इति । नन्वयमनैकान्तिक एव । संयोगव्यंग्यत्वादिति । अनित्यमपि संयोगेन व्यज्यमानं दृष्टं यथा घट इति । न । संयोग व्यंग्यत्वेनावस्थानस्य साध्यत्वाच्च ब्रूमो^९ 85a नित्यः शब्द इति । अपि त्ववतिष्ठते शब्द इत्ययं प्रतिज्ञार्थस्तदा च संयोगव्यंग्यत्वादित्ययं हेतुरनैकान्तिको न ह्यनवस्थितं किञ्चित्संयोगेनाभिव्यज्यमानः (:) कथमिति^१ तदनेन प्रकारेण संयोगव्यङ्ग्यत्वमेव शब्दस्य प्रतिषिद्धयत इति नायमसिद्धाद् व्यावर्तते । अन्यथानेयं शब्दस्य व्यक्तिः संयोगिकालमत्येतीति न संयोगनिमित्ता^२ भवतीति । वचनस्य कोर्थ इति वक्तव्यं । स्याद् बुद्धिः सर्वदार्धमिण्यविद्यमानस्यासिद्धत्वं । अयन्तु न सर्वथा धर्मिण्यसिद्धो येनोत्पत्तिकाले संयोगव्यङ्ग्यत्वमस्ति । न^३ तूपलब्धिकाल इति । तदुक्तं । एकदेशासिद्धस्यापि असिद्धत्वपरिज्ञानात् । यथा नित्याः परमाणवो गन्धवत्त्वात् । श्वेतनाशच तरवः स्वापादिति । यश्चा^४ नित्यः शब्द इति प्रतिजानीते स कठारदारुसंयोगादेः शब्दस्योत्पत्तिमेव प्रतिपद्यते । न पुनरवस्थितस्याभिव्यक्तमिति व्यक्तमस्यान्यतरासिद्ध^५ त्वं । अथ संयोगे सत्युपलब्धेरिति हेत्वर्थाभ्युपगमान् नायमसिद्धो हेतुरिति समाधीयते । तथापि तैलतेजोवृत्तिसंयोगे कुलालमृत्पिण्डदण्डसंयोगे च सति दीपघटादयः समुपलभ्यन्ते । न च तेषान्तर संयोगाप्राप्त्यवस्थानमित्यनेनानैकान्तिक एव प्राप्नोतीति न कालातीतः । तदुत्तरकालमप्यवस्थाने साध्ये^७ समुदायान्तरव्यय(?) वादिनो विरुद्धः । सपक्षाभावादेव तत्र वृत्तेरभावात् । क्षणस्थितिधर्मवति च धर्मिणि । रूपादिके विद्यमानत्वात् । स्थिरभाववादिनन्तु प्रति^८ प्रतिबन्धवैकल्यं साधनवैफल्यञ्च । अनङ्गीकृतसिद्धान्ते तु न्यायवादिनि प्रतिवादिनि पूर्वपक्षप्रतिपादितो दोष इति । एवमुदाहरणान्तरे^९पि दूषणमुत्प्रेक्ष्य वक्तव्यमिति ॥०॥ 85b

यस्मात्प्रकरणचिन्ता स निर्णयार्थमपदिष्टः प्रकरणसमः । (न्या० सू० १।२।७) विमर्शाधिष्ठानौ पक्षप्रतिपक्षावनवसितौ प्रकरणन्तस्य चिन्तामविमर्शात् प्रभृति प्राङ्निर्णयात् परीक्षणं सा यत्र कृता स निर्णयार्थं प्रयुक्तोभयपक्षसाम्यात् प्रकरण^२मनतिवर्त्तमानः प्रकरणसमो न निर्णयाय कल्प्यते । कस्मात्पुनः प्रकरणचिन्ता तत्त्वा-^३पलब्धेः । यस्मादुपलब्धे तत्त्वर्थे निवर्त्तते चिन्ता तस्मात्सामान्येनाधिग^४तस्य या

विशेषतोऽनुपलब्धिः सा प्रकरणचिन्तां प्रयोजयतीति । उदाहरणमनित्यः शब्दो नित्यधर्मानुपलब्धेः । अनुपलभ्यमाननित्यधर्मक्रमनित्यम्बु^४ष्टं स्थात्यादि । यत्र समानो धर्मः संशयकारणहेतुत्वेनोपादीयते संशयसमः सव्यभिचार एव । या तु विमर्शस्य विशेषापेक्षतोभयपक्षविशेषानु^५पलब्धौ सा प्रकरणम्प्रवर्तयति । यथा च शब्दे नित्यधर्मो नोपलभ्यते तथानित्यधर्मोऽपि । सेजनुभयपक्षविशेषानुपलब्धिः प्रकरणचिन्ताम्प्रयो^६जयति कथम्विपर्यये प्रकरणनिवृत्तेः । यदि नित्यधर्मः शब्दे गृह्येत न स्यात्प्रकरणं । यदि (न) नित्यधर्मो गृह्येत एवमपि निवर्तते प्रकरणं । सोऽयं हेतु^७रुभौ पक्षौ प्रवर्तयन्तान्तरस्य निर्णयाय कल्प्यत इति । न त्वयं साध्या-
विशिष्ट एव । नाविशिष्टः । तस्यैव प्रकरणप्रवृत्तिहेतुर्द्धर्मस्य हेतुत्वेनोपादानात् । यत्र^८ साध्येन समानो धर्मो हेतुत्वेनोपादीयते स साध्याविशिष्टः । यत्र पुनः प्रकरण-
86a प्रवृत्तिहेतुरेव स प्रकरणसम इति । अत्रापि नित्यानित्यधर्मानुपलम्भ^९यादेव प्रकरणचिन्ता । न त्वेकस्मात् । विपर्यये प्रकरणनिवृत्तिरिति वचनात् । तद्यदि नित्यानित्यधर्मानुपलब्धेरिति हेतुः स्यात् । स्यात् प्रकरणसमः । तदेकधर्मानु^{१०}प-
लब्धेस्तूपादाने कथं प्रकरणसम इत्यभिधानीयं । उभयधर्मानुपलम्भोपादानेऽपि सपक्षविपक्षयोरनुवृत्तिव्यावृत्तयोरनिश्चयादसाधारणानैकान्तिको^{११} भवतीति कथ-
मस्य हेत्वा (भा) सान्तरत्वं । भवतु नामैकधर्मानुपलब्धिरेव हेतुः प्रकरणसमः । तथापि नित्यशब्दवाच्यवश्यमेव व्यामोहान्नित्यधर्मान् प्रतिपद्यत^{१२} इति प्रतिवाच्य-
सिद्धीयं भवति । अथ प्रमाणेन नित्यधर्मप्रतिषेधाश्रित्यधर्मानुपलब्धिः प्रति-
पाद्यते । तदपि निश्चायकत्वात् सम्यग्ज्ञानहेतुरेवायं^{१३} इति कथं हेत्वाभासः प्रक-
रणसमः । तदा हि विशेषोपलब्धिरेव हेत्वर्थो व्यवतिष्ठते । विशेषाच्च नित्यस्य कृतकत्वादयः । न च तत्कृता प्रकरणचिन्ता^{१४} विपर्यये प्रकरणनिवृत्तेरिति वचनात् । अपि च नित्यधर्मानुपलब्धेरिति किमयं प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः किम्वा प्रतियोगिध्वानं (१)
यदि प्रसज्यप्रतिषेध^{१५}स्तदा प्रमेयत्वादिवत् साधारणानैकान्तिकोऽयं नित्यधर्मानु-
पलब्धिः प्रतिषेधमात्रस्यानित्यत्वरहितेऽसत्त्वपि सम्भवात् । अथ प्रतियोगि-
ध्वानान्तदाप्यनन्तरो^{१६}दितया युक्त्या हेतुप्रतिरूपत्वायोगः । अन्यस्तद्वन्वयेवं सूत्र-
द्वयं व्याचष्टे । यो हेतुर्हेतुकालेऽपदिष्टोऽत्येत्ययैति । कस्मादपैति । प्रत्यक्षेणाग-
मेन उभयेन वा^{१७} पीड्यमानः स कालमतीत इति काङ्क्षतीत इत्युच्यते । कुतः पुनः प्रत्यक्षागमविरोधो लभ्यत इति चेत् । चतुर्लक्षणो हेतुरिति वचनात् । तथाहि
86b पूर्ववच्छेष^{१८}वत्सामान्यतो दृष्ट (न्या० सू० १।२।५)ञ्चेत्यत्र चतुरूपो हेतु-
रिष्टः । पूर्ववन्नाम साध्ये व्यापकं । शेषवदिति तत्समानेति । सामान्यतरञ्च दृष्ट-
ञ्च शब्दादविरुद्धञ्चेति । तथा भाष्यवचनमप्यस्ति । “यत्पुनरनुमानं प्रत्यक्षा-
गमविरुद्धं न्यायाभासः स” इति । तदेवं त्रैरूप्ये सति प्रत्यक्षागमाभ्यां यो बाध्यते

दास्तथैवाहो(स्वि)दन्यथै(वे)ति । तत्ते चिन्त्यमानमिहातिप्रसज्यत

स कालात्ययापदिष्टः । स च त्रिधा भिद्यते प्रत्यक्षविरुद्ध आ^२गमविरुद्ध उभयविरुद्ध-
श्चेति (१) प्रत्यक्षविरुद्धो यथा अनुष्णोऽग्निर्द्रव्यत्वादुदकवत् । आगमविरुद्धो यथा
ब्राह्मणेन सुरा पातव्या द्रवत्वात् क्षीरवत् । उभयविरुद्धो यथाऽ^३रश्मिवच्चक्षुरिन्द्रिय-
त्वाद् घ्राणादिवदिति । न चायं किल पक्षविरोधः पक्षविरोधस्य प्रतिक्षेपादिति ।
तदेतत् त्रैलोक्यलक्षणानवबोधवैशद्यं (१) त्रैलोक्यं हि यदा^४ स्वं प्रमाणैः परिनिश्चितं
पक्षधर्मत्वादिकं त्रयं च यत्र बाधा तत्र प्रतिबन्धोस्ति । बाधाविनाभावयोर्विरो-
धात् । अविनाभावो हि सत्येव साध्यधर्मे हेतोर्भावः^५ कथञ्चासौ तल्लक्षणे धर्मिणि
हेतुः स्यान्न चात्र साध्यधर्म इत्यादिकमत्राबाधितविषयत्वदूषणानुसारेण वक्तव्यं ।
यत्र पुनरियं बाधोदाहृता न^६ तेषां त्रैलक्षण्यं मनागप्यस्ति प्रतिबन्धवैकल्यात् ।
अभ्युपगतपक्षप्रयोगस्य च पक्षदोष एवायं युक्तः । यत्पुनः पक्षदोषत्वपरिहाराय
बह्वस्मबद्धमुद्ग्राहि^७तं तदत्यन्तमसारमिति नेहावसीयते ॥०॥

यस्मात्प्रकरणचिन्तेति प्रकरणं भाष्ये निरूपितं । तस्योदाहरणं । अणुरण्व-
न्तरकार्यत्वं प्रतिपद्यते^८ नवेति चिन्तायाङ्कश्चिदभिधत्ते । अणुरण्वन्तरकार्यो
रूपादिमत्वात् तद्द्व्यचणुकादिवदिति । योसावणोरणुः कारणत्वेनोपादीयते तत्रापि
रूपादिमत्वमस्तीति^९ चिन्ता किमियं रूपादिमत्वादण्वन्तरकार्यो न वेति चिन्ता- 87a
याञ्च यदि तस्याप्यण्वन्तरकार्यत्वं रूपादिमत्वादिति वक्ति तदा तस्यापि रूपादि-
मत्वमस्तीति पुनरपि चिन्ता^१ तदेवमनवस्थारूपं प्रकरणं प्रवर्त्तयतीति प्रकरणसम
इत्युच्यते । अथाणुरण्वन्तरकार्यत्वं न प्रतिपद्यते रूपादिमत्वे सति तदानेकान्तिको
हेतुरिति तस्माद् भि^२द्यतेऽनेकान्तिकात् प्रकरणसमः । न चायम्विरुद्धोऽविपर्यय-
साधकत्वात् । नासिद्धः पक्षधर्मत्वदर्शनात् । न कालात्ययापदिष्टः प्रत्यक्षागमाभ्या-
मबाध्यमानत्वात् ।^३ अतोऽर्थान्तरमिति । अथवा प्रदेशे करणं प्रकरणञ्चेति कारण-
सिद्धिरित्यर्थः । प्रदेशे सिद्धिरितीयं चिन्ता यस्माद्धेतोरपदिष्टा भवति स प्रकरण-
समः^४ स प्रदेशसाधकत्वात् समः । यथैकदेशेऽसाधकत्वन्तथेतत्रापीत्यसाधकत्व-
सामान्यात् समः । तस्मादेकदेशवर्त्ती धर्मः प्रकरणसमः । तद्यथा पृथिव्यप्तेजोवा^५
ध्वाकाशन्यनित्यानि सत्तावत्वादिति । अत्रापि यद्यक्षपादमतानुसारी तावदेवं
प्रमाणयति । परमाणुः परमाण्वन्तरपूर्वको रूपादिमत्वाद् द्व्यचणुकादिवदि^६ति तदा
तस्याभ्युपेतविरोध इति नायमतीतकालाद् भिद्यते । अथ बौद्धः करोति । तदापि
हेतोरसिद्धिः परमाणूनां रूपादिव्यतिरेकेणानभ्युपगमात् । अयोगाच्च^७ द्व्यद्विनाञ्चा-
भावाद्भुभयविकलो दृष्टान्तः । यदाप्यनपेक्षितसिद्धान्तो न्यायवादी ब्रूते तदापि

87b द्वितीयपक्षोदितदोषानिवृत्तिरिति नायमसिद्धाद्व्यावर्तते । योऽप्यनुमेयैकदेशवर्त्ती धर्मः पृथिव्यादीन्यनित्यानि गन्धवत्त्वादिति अयमप्यपसिद्धान्तान्तर्भूत एवेति न पृथग्वाच्यः । नासिद्धः पक्षैकदेशधर्मत्वात् । सपक्षैकदेशवर्त्तित्व^० इति चेत् विषमोयमुपन्यासः । सपक्ष एव च सत्वमित्यत्र हि समुच्चीयमानावधारणमेव न सकलसपक्षधर्मतां साधनस्य प्रतिपादयति । अनुमेये सत्ववचनं पुनरयोगव्य^१वच्छेदेन नियन्तृभूतमशेषसाध्यधर्मधर्मतायाः प्रतिपादकमित्यनेनैव पक्षैकदेशासिद्धभेदानामपहोः कृत इत्यपार्थकं यत्नान्तरमिति यत्किञ्चिदेतत् ॥०॥

भावि^२विक्तोप्यत्रैव खररवे पतितः । प्रकरणसममन्यथा समर्थयति । यस्माद्धेतोः (:) प्रकरणचिन्ता विपक्षस्यापि विचारः पश्चाद् भवति स एवं लक्षणो हेतुनिर्णयाय योपदिश्यमानः प्रकरणसमो भवति । प्रकरणे साध्ये समस्तुल्यः सत्त्वे ऽसत्त्वे वा यथा सत्सर्वज्ञमितरतद्विपरीतविनिर्मुक्तत्वाद् रूपादिवदिति । यस्मादयं हेतुरुभयत्र समानो योप्यस^३त्वं साधयति तस्यापि समानः । कथमसत्सर्वज्ञत्वमितरतद्विपरीतविनिर्मुक्तत्वात् खरविषाणवदिति । न चायं किलोभयधर्मत्वेऽप्यनैकान्तिको विपक्षवृत्तिर्वैकल्या^४त् । तदिदमाचार्येण स्वयं प्रमाणविनिश्चये^{*} प्रतिसि^५[?षि]द्धं । कम्पुनरत्र भवान् विपक्षं प्रत्येति साध्याभावं । कथमिदानीं हेतुं विपक्षवृत्तिरुभयधर्मणैवेत्यादिना । अर्थग्रहण^६व्याख्याने च यदुक्तं तदत्रापि वक्तव्यं । विशेषेण दूषणञ्चास्य प्रपञ्चेनोक्तमेव । एवं प्रकरणसमातीतकालयोरनुपपत्तिः । साध्यव्यभिचारस्य तु युज्यते हेत्वाभासत्वं^७ न तु यथा भवतामभ्युपगमः । तथा हि भवन्तः सन्दिग्धविपक्षव्यावृत्तिकस्यानैकान्तिकत्वं न प्रतिपद्यन्ते । अदर्शनमात्रेणैव व्यतिरेकसिद्धयभ्युपगमात् । अत एव च भवद्भि^८रपगतस^९[?श]ङ्कैरेवं प्रयुज्यते प्राप्यकारिणी चक्षुःश्रोत्रे बाह्येन्द्रियत्वात् घ्राणादिवत् । सविकल्पं प्रत्यक्षं प्रमाणत्वादनुमानवदित्यादि । न चादर्शनमात्रेणैव विना प्रति-
88a बन्धे^{१०}न व्यतिरेकसिद्धिरिति प्रतानितमन्यत्र ।

आत्ममृच्चेतनादीनां यो भावस्याप्रसाधकः ।

स एवानुपलम्भः किं हेत्वभावस्य साधक (४५) इत्यादिना ।

तथा सपक्षविपक्षयोः सन्दि^{११}ग्धः सदसत्वस्यापि सम्यग्ज्ञानहेतुत्वमेव युष्माभिरिष्यते नानैकान्तिकत्वं यथा सात्मकं जीवच्छरीरम्प्राणादिमत्त्वादिति । अस्य च तद्भावः प्रतिपादितः प्रमाणविनिश्चया^२ दौ विरुद्धप्रभेदस्तु भारद्वाजविहितः प्रति-

*आचार्यधर्मकीर्तिप्रणीतेषु सप्तसु न्यायप्रबन्धेष्वन्यतमो ग्रन्थः (bStan-h gyur, mdo.XCV. II)

ज्ञाविरोधप्रस्ताव एव निराकृतः। साध्यसमेपि धोयमन्यथासिद्धो वर्ण्यते यथा-
 ऽनित्याः परमाणवः क्रियावत्वाद् घटादिवदि^३ति अयमपि किल साध्यसमो यस्मात्
 मूर्तिक्रियारूपविमत्वाद्गूणां क्रियावत्त्वं नानित्यत्वादिति। स नोपपद्यते। धर्मिणि
 सिद्धत्वाद्वाहि धर्मिणि विद्यमान एवासिद्धो^४ हेतुर्युज्यते। सर्वहेतूनामसिद्धताप्रसङ्ग-
 गात्। नैतदेवज्ञहि पक्षेस्तीत्येतावता पक्षधर्मत्वं। साध्यवशेन हि धर्मिणः पक्षधर्मत्व-
 मिष्यते। केवलस्य साध्यत्वा^५त् (१) न च साध्यो धर्मो यदि धर्मिणि तेन साधनेन
 विना न सम्भवति तस्य च साधनस्य साध्यधर्मभावे धर्मिणा सम्भवस्ततो हेतोः
 पक्षधर्मत्वं। यदा पुनरन्यथापि^६ साधनायोपात्ते धर्मिणि धर्म उपपद्यते तदा हेतुत्वमे-
 वञ्च विशिष्टमेव सत्त्वं पक्षधर्मत्वेन विवक्षितं। अन्यथासिद्धत्वं युक्तमेव साध्यसमं।
 तदिदमत्र प्रतिविधानं^७ यदि खलु साध्यधर्मभावे धर्मिणि असम्भवो हेतोरेवं विध-
 मेव सत्त्वं पक्षधर्मत्वेन विवक्षितं न तु भावमात्रं तदा किन्तदित्यर्थभूतं पक्षधर्मत्वम-
 विज्ञातमेवानुमेयप्रकाश^८कमाहोस्वित् परिनिश्चितमेवेति प्रकारद्वये यद्विज्ञातं
 प्रकाशकं तदाज्ञापकहेतुन्यायमतवर्तते (१) ज्ञापको हि हेतुः स्वात्मनि ज्ञानापेक्षो
 ज्ञाप्यमर्थं प्रकाशयति। सत्ता^९मात्रेण च हेतवो विप्रतिपत्तिनिराकारणपटवः सन्तीति 88b
 प्रतिवादिनां परस्परपराहतं प्रवचनानात्वं न भवेत्। विज्ञातस्यापि गमकत्वे
 प्रमाणाद्वा तस्य परिनिश्चयः प्र^१माणाद्वा। न तावदप्रमाणस्य भूतार्थनिश्चयहेतुत्वा-
 भावादप्रमाणाद् गतिरन्यथा प्रामाण्यमेवावहीयते। यस्मादिदमेव प्रमाणस्य प्रमा-
 णत्वं यद्यथावस्थितवस्तुप्रका^२शकत्वं। तच्चेदमप्रमाणस्याप्यस्ति तदा कथं तद
 प्रमाणात्साध्ये धर्मिणि विना साध्यधर्मेणासद्भूणोर्हेतोः सत्त्वम्पक्षधर्मत्वेनाधि-
 गम्यते^३ तदापि यत एव प्रमाणाद्धेतोः सिद्धिस्तत एव साध्यधर्मस्यापीयं जायत इति
 किमर्थमयमकिञ्चित्करो हेतुरूपादीयते। न च हेतोरेव केवलस्य ततः सिद्धि^४ (ः)
 साध्यधर्मस्य तु नेति युक्तम्बक्तुं। हेतोरपि ततोऽसिद्धिप्रसङ्गात् तथा ह्येवमयं
 हेतु (ः) तत्र धर्मिणि सिध्यति यद्यनेन साध्यधर्मेण विनेह नोपपद्यते सहैव तू^५प-
 पद्यत इति सिध्येत्। तथा च कथन्तत एव प्रमाणात्साध्यधर्मस्यापि न सिद्धिः
 सञ्जातेति चिन्तनीयमेतत्। एवञ्च तेनैव प्रमाणेन सहास्य साध्यधर्मस्य^६। गम्य-
 गमकभावो न त्वनेन हेतुनेति महदनिष्टमापद्यते। एवम्विधपक्षधर्मत्वसमाश्रयणे
 च यावत् साध्यस्यासिद्धिस्तावद्धेतोरपि यावच्च हेतोरसिद्धिस्तावत्सा^७ध्यस्यापीति
 परस्पराश्रयप्रसङ्गः। पक्षधर्मत्वनिश्चयवेलायाञ्च साध्यधर्मसिद्धिः सम्पद्यत इति
 व्यर्थमुत्तरलिङ्गरूपानुसरणमित्यञ्च न द्विलक्षणश्चतुर्लक्षणः पञ्च^८लक्षणश्च
 हेतुर्वक्तव्यः। अस्मन्मते तु धर्मिणि सत्त्वमात्रं विज्ञाय च तदुत्तरकालमन्वयव्यति-
 रेकयोर्विज्ञानमन्वयव्यतिरेकौ वा सर्वोपसंहारेण विज्ञायत उत्तरकालं^९ धर्मिणि 89a
 सत्त्वमात्रं विज्ञातमतश्चानन्तर्येणैव तत्सामर्थ्यात्साध्यधर्मस्य [तत्र प्रतीतिरूप-

इति प्रतन्यते । हेत्वाभासाश्च यथान्यायन्निग्रहस्थानमिति एतावन्मात्र-
मिष्टमिति ॥

लोकेऽविद्यातिमिरपटलोल्लेखनस्तत्त्ववृष्टे
वादन्यायः परहितरतैरेष सद्भिः प्रणीतः ।
तत्वालोकं तिमिरयति तं दुर्विदग्धो जनोय-
न्तस्माद्यत्नः कृत इह मया तत्समुद्घातनाय ॥ त् ॥ (३)

पद्यते (१) तेनेदमत्र सकलं दोषजालं नभसीवामले जले नावस्थानमलं लभत
इत्यलमप्रतिष्ठितमिथ्याप्रलपैरिति विरम्यते ।

यद्येवं किं पुनरत्रेष्टमिष्टमित्याह । हेत्वाभासास्तु यथान्यायमित्यादि (2a7)
ये न्याया हेत्वाभासास्तदुक्तिन्निग्रहस्थानम्भवति । ते च येस्माभिरुक्ताः ॥

एकाप्रसिद्धिसंदेहेऽप्रसिद्धव्यभिचारभाक् ।

द्वयोर्विवरुद्धोसिद्धौ च संदेहव्यभिचारभागि (४६)ति ।

ननु चायं वादन्यायमार्गः सकललोकानिवन्धनबन्धुना वादविधानादाचार्यः^३
वसुबन्धुना महाराजपथीकृतः (१) क्षुण्णश्च तदनु महत्यां न्यायपरीक्षायां कुमति-
मतमन्तु [मत्त] मातङ्गशिरःपीठपाटनपटुभिराचार्यदिग्नागपादैस्तत्किमिव पुनश्च-
विवृतच^४र्व्वणमास्थितं त्वयेति । एतच्चोद्यपरिहारपरमिमं श्लोकमुपन्यस्यतिपन्यस्यते
लोके (20a8) इत्यादि । तिमिरञ्च पटलञ्चेति तिमिरपटलं अविद्यैव तिमिरपटलम-
विद्यातिमिर^५पटलं भूतार्थदर्शनविबन्धकत्वात् । तस्योल्लेखनो वादन्याय इति
सम्बन्धः (१) उल्लेखनशब्दः कर्तृसाधनः । कस्य पुनरविद्यातिमिरपटलमित्याह । तत्त्व
वृष्टेस्त^६त्वदर्शनस्य । प्रज्ञालोचनस्येत्यर्थः । य एष समनन्तरमावेदितो वादन्यायः ।
सद्भिः पूर्वाचार्यैः परहितरतैः करुणापारतन्त्र्याल्लोकान् सम्यग्वर्त्तमानि व्यवस्थाप-
यितुं प्रणीतः परां प्रसिद्धिं नीतो लोके सुष्ठु स्फुटीकृत इत्यर्थः । न तु परस्पद्व्या-
नापि यशःकामतादिभिः । त [? य] द्येवन्तहि तदवस्थितं चोद्यमित्यत आह ।
तत्त्वस्यालोकमुद्योतम्वा^७दन्यायमाचार्यैरूपदिष्टं (१) तिमिरयत्यन्धकारीकरोति
कुदूषणतमसा प्रच्छादयतीति यावत् । कः पुनरसावतिसाहसिको यो महानागैः क्षुण्णं
पन्थानं रोद्धुमीहत इत्याह^८ दुर्विदग्धः सम्यग्विवेकरहिततया जनोयमुद्योतकर-
प्रीतिचन्द्र (?) भाविक्वत्प्रभृतिः । यतश्च एवं तस्माद्यत्नः कृत इह वादन्यायप्रकरणे
मया तस्य महद्भिरुद्भावितस्या^९न्तराजतैरवधूतस्य समुज्ज्वलनाय । कुदूषणपरि-
हारेण तन्नीत्युद्योतनेन मम व्यापृतत्वान्न मया पिष्टं पिष्टमिति संक्षेपार्थः ॥

वादन्यायो नाम प्रकरणं समाप्तं (॥)

कृतिरियमाचार्यधर्मकीर्तिचरणानां ॥ त् ॥

अलेखि वागीश्वरेणेति^९ (॥)

अनर्घं (?) वनितावगाहनमनल्पधीशक्तिना^२

प्यदृष्टपरमार्थसारमधिकाभियोगैरपि ।

मतं मतिमतः स्फुटम्प्रतिविभज्य सम्यग्मया

यदाप्तमकृशं शुभम्भवतु तेन शान्तो जनः ॥ (४७)

अहञ्च

नैरात्म्यबोधपरिपाटि^३तदोषशैलसम्बुद्धभारवहनक्षमभूरिशक्त-

मञ्जुश्रियः श्रियमवाप्य समस्तसत्त्वसर्वावृत्तिक्षयविधानपटुर्भवेयं ।

महारयेनैव न किञ्चिदत्र त्यक्तम्वि^४विकृतं न विभज्यमेव ।

तथापि मन्दप्रतिबोधनार्थमालोक एष ज्वलितः प्रदीपः ॥ (४८)

लोकेऽविद्यातिमिरपटलोलेखनस्तत्त्वदृष्टे

वादन्यायः परहितरतैरेष सम्य^५(क्) प्रणीतः ।

तत्त्वालोकं तिमिरयति तं दुर्विदग्धो जनोयन्

तस्माद् यत्नः कृत इह मया तत्समुज्ज्वालनायेति ॥ (४९)

विपञ्चितार्था नाम वादन्यायटीका समाप्ता ॥ ॥^६

कृतिरियं सान्तरिक्ष [? शान्तरक्षित]पादानामिति ॥

सम्बत आचू२(272 N. E.—1152 A.D.)श्रावणकृष्ण एकादश्यां लिखितं
मया । राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकः श्रीमदानन्ददे^७वपादीयविजयराज्ये
शुभदिने ॥

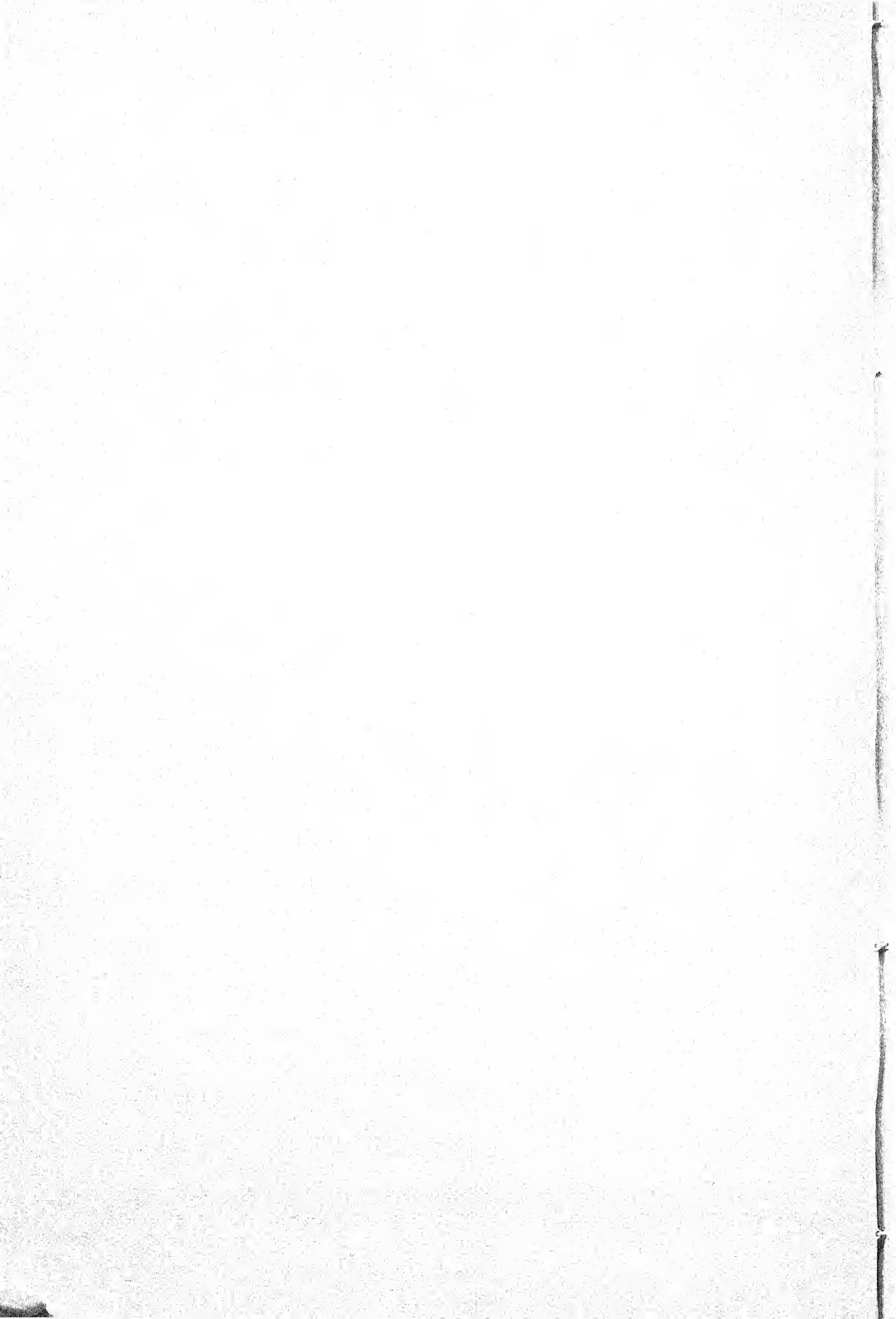
ग्रन्थस्यास्य प्रमाणञ्च निपुणैर्ब्रह्मशताऽधिकं ।

सहस्राद्वितयं सम्पत् [?म्यक्] संख्यातम्पूर्व्वशुरभिः [?सूरभिः] ॥०॥

शुभमस्तु सर्व्वजगतां इ^८.....

.....सर्व्वैः रक्षितव्यम्प्रयत्नत इति ॥

नमः सर्व्वज्ञाय ॥^९



B. नामानुक्रमणी

- अक्षपादः ३, २६, १०१ १०७, १२५, १३३,
 १३८ (महर्षिः महामुनिश्च द्रष्टव्यौ)
 अपभ्रंशः (भाषा) १०६
 (अभिधर्मकोशः) ३७, ८०, ८३
 अश्वघोषः ६७ (राष्ट्रपालनाटककारः)
 आक्षपादः ८५, ११४, ११६, (नैयायिकोऽपि
 द्रष्टव्यः)
 आख्यायिका ११५
 आचार्यः (धर्मकीर्तिः) ४०, ४७, ५४
 आनन्ददेवः १४२ (नयपालराजः)
 आन्ध्र (भाषा) १०६
 अबिद्धकरणः ३५, ४०, ७७, १०८
 आर्य (भाषा) १०४
 उद्योतकरः ८७, ८९, ९४, १०२, १०८, १२७,
 १४१, (भारद्वाजोऽपि द्रष्टव्यः)
 औद्योतकरं (मतं) १२६, १२७
 कणभक्षः (कणादः) २६, (कणभुगपि द्र०)
 कणभुग् (कणादः) ३९
 कपिलः (भगवान्) ५१ (सांख्यकारः)
 कश्मीर (देशः) ४२
 कणादः ७१, ९२
 कपिलः (सांख्यानुगः) ४२, ४८, ४९, ५३,
 ९६, १३१, १३३
 कपिलं (मतं) ५७
 कुमारिलः ८४, १०३
 जैमिनिः १३, ६७, ६८
 जैमिनीयः (मीमांसानुगः) ११४
 ताथागतः (बौद्धः) १०६
 दिङ्नागः १३५, १४१
 द्रमिड (भाषा) १०६
- द्वादशलक्षणं ११४ (मीमांसाऽपि द्र०)
 धर्मकीर्तिः २४
 नाटकं ११५
 निग्रंथवादः (जैनमतं) ५१
 नैयायिकाः ९४ (आक्षपादोऽपि द्र०)
 नैयायिकाः । बृद्ध—१३५
 न्यायविन्दुः २०, ७०
 पक्षिलः १०९, १२८ (स्वामी), (वात्स्यायनः,
 भाष्यकारश्च द्र०)
 (पाणिनिः) २, ३३, ५९
 प्रमाणविनिश्चयः (धर्मकीर्तौग्रंथः) २०, ५२, १३९
 (प्रमाण) समुच्चयः (दिङ्नागस्य) ६५
 प्राकृत (-भाषा) १०६
 प्रीतिचंद्रः (?) १४१ (ब्राह्मण आचार्यः)
 बिन्ध्य (गिरिः) ३२
 बौद्धः ६७, ६८, ८३, ९२, १३८, (ताथागतो-
 ऽपि द्र०)
 भण्डालेख्यन्यायः १३४
 भण्डालेख्यन्यायः ८९
 भारद्वाजः (उद्योतकरः) ७१, ७४, ७५, ८०,
 ८७, १००, १०२, १०७, १३९, (उद्योतकरः
 वार्तिककारश्चापि द्र०)
 भाविर्विक्तः ८७ (भाष्यटीकाकारः), ९५, १३९,
 १४१
 भाष्यकारः १०९, (वात्स्यायनोऽपि द्र०)
 मलयः २३, २८ (गिरिः)
 महर्षिः (अक्षपादः) ११२, (अक्षपादोऽपि द्र०)
 महाभाष्यं (व्याकरणं) १०५
 महामुनिः १२२, (अक्षपादोऽपि द्र०)
 महासम्मतः (राजा) २५

मालवक(देशः) ४२
मीमांसकः ९२
मीमांसा ६८, ६९, (द्वादशलक्षणमपि द्र०)
योगाचारः ८५, ८६
राष्ट्रपालं (नाटकं) ६७
वसुबंधुः १४१
वात्स्यायनः ११०, १३५, (पक्षिलो भाष्यकार-
श्चापि द्र०)
वादन्यायः (ग्रंथः) १४१
वादविधानं (वसुबंधुग्रंथः) १४१
वार्तिककारः ७४, १०८, (भारद्वाज उद्योत-
करोऽपि द्र०)

वैशेषिकं (शास्त्रं) ६७, ८१, ११४
शंखः (राजा चक्रवर्त्ती) २५
(शवरभाष्यं) ६९
सनकादिः १०२, १०३
सांखीयं (मतं) ४७
सांख्यः ४७, ५०, ९६, १३१, १३२, १३३, १३४
(कापिलमपि द्र०)
सिंहल(देशः) १०४
सुमेरु(गिरिः) ३२
हिमवान् (गिरिः) २८, ३२
हेतुविन्दुः (धर्मकीर्त्तोग्रंथः) ७

C. श्लोकानुक्रमणी

अतश्च । १५
 अतीताजात । ७२
 अनर्घ (?) वनिता । १४२
 अम्बम्बिति । १०२, १०३
 असाधनाङ्ग । २
 आत्ममृच्चेतना । १३९
 इष्टम्बिरुद्ध । १५
 एकप्रत्यवमर्श । ८३
 एकाप्रसिद्धि । १४१
 एतत् सांख्य । ४२
 एवं साधौ । १०३
 कामेष्टद्रव्यको । ८३
 गोशब्दे । १०४
 तत्र व्यक्तौ च । ८४
 तत्रानुमेय । ६६
 तत्रेति तर्क । ६६
 तद्भानहेतु । १०९
 तस्य शक्ति । ९३
 तस्य तस्यैकता । ८६
 तस्यैव प्रकृते । ६६
 त्रिरूपो हेतु । ९१
 त्वं राजा । ६८
 न किञ्चिदेक । ३९
 नाना सद्गुण । १
 नान्तरीयक । २३
 नेह धूमो । ६०

नैरात्म्यबोध । १४२
 पङ्क्तेन । ८६
 परमा चैक । ७२
 पाचकादिष्व । २७
 प्रत्यक्षादि(वि)रोधा । ९२
 प्रत्यये । ६४
 प्रथमे सिद्ध । २९
 भावानामैकदेश्य । २७
 मंत्र(१) हीनः । १०५
 यद्यथा । ३०
 येन येन हि । ८३
 येषाम्बस्तु । ३०
 लोके । १४१
 लोके विद्या । १४२
 वक्तुरेव । १००
 विप्रकीर्णश्च । ६५
 वृत्तौ वानेक । २७
 शास्त्राधिकार । २४
 शिष्टेभ्य । १०५
 सतो यदि । ५५
 सदकरणादु । ५७
 स्वात्मनि ज्ञान । ९३
 हेतुकार्य । ६०
 हसति । ११०
 हेतोः मान । ९२
 हेतोः साध्यान्व । ८४

D. चीनभाषोपलब्धानां न्यायग्रंथानां कर्तृकालक्रमेण सूची

संख्या	कर्त्ता A.C.	संख्या	ग्रन्थः	Nanjio's	भाषान्तरकारः	भाषान्तरकालः A.C.
१	नागार्जुनः २५०	१	उपायहृदयं*	1257	चिन्चि-आये	472
		२	विवादशमनशास्त्रं†	1251	विमोक्षप्रज्ञः	541
		३	न्यायद्वारस्तर्कशास्त्रं	1224	Hiouen-tsang	648
		४	"	1223	I-tsing	711
२	असंगः 400	१	‡ प्रकरणार्थवाचाशास्त्रकारिका	1202	Hiouen-tsang	645
३	वसुबंधुः 400	१	तर्कशास्त्रं	1252	परमार्थः	550
४	शंकरस्वामी 450	१	न्यायप्रवेशः §	1216	Hiouen-tsang	647

* उपायकौशल्यहृदय—इति Nanjio.

† इयमेव भोटभाषान्तरीकृता विग्रहव्यावर्तनीकारिका (Stan. mdo. XVII. 5; G.O.S. XLIX.) प्रतिभाति

नामसारूप्यात् ।

‡ वादप्रकरणं, वादप्रकरणकारिका वा भवितुमर्हति ।

§ अयमेव भोटभाषान्तरे (Stan. mdo. XCV. 8) दिङ्मागस्य कृतिः ख्याते ।

E. भोटभाषोपलब्धानां न्यायग्रंथानां कर्तृकालक्रमेण सूची

संख्या	कर्ता A.C.	संख्या	ग्रंथः	टीकाकारः	सत्तन्-अयुरु मदो	भाषान्तरकारः		
						भारतीयः	भोटदेशीयः	कालः A.C.
१	नागार्जुनः 250	१	विग्रहव्यावर्तनी कारिका	नागार्जुनः (वृत्तिः)	XVII. 5	ज्ञानगर्भः	दृपल्-बुच्चेगस्	840
					XVII. 10	"	देवेन्द्ररक्षितः	"
					XCV. 1	कनकवर्मा	दद्-गडि-शेस्-रब्	1050
२	दिङ्नागः 425	१	प्रमाणसमुच्चयः	दिङ्नागः	XCV. 2	मणिभद्ररक्षितः	(श-म.) सेङ्ग-न्यल्	1080
				"	XCV. 3	कनकवर्मा	दद्-गडि-शेस्-रब्	1050
				जिनेन्द्रबुद्धिः 700 (टीका)	CXV.		(दृपजस्) बलो-गोस्- बर्तन्-प	1300

३	चंद्रगोमी 575	२	आलम्बनपरीक्षा	विङ्मनागः (वृत्तिः)	XCV. 4			
४	धर्मकीर्तिः 625			विनीतदेवः 775 (टीका)	XCV. 5			
		३	त्रिकालपरीक्षा		CXII. 5	शाक्यसिंहः	द्वपल्-बुवेगस्	840
		४ क	न्यायप्रवेशः		XCV. 6	शान्त्याकरगुप्तः	(प-छव) छुल्-खिमस्- ग्यल्	1100
		४ ख	"		XCV. 7	सर्वज्ञरक्षितः (कश्मीर-)	अगस्-प-र्यल्-मुछन् (1147-1216)	"
		५	हेतुचक्रद्वय(हि)मरुः		XCV. 8	धर्मरत्नः (चीन-)	(स-स्वय) गशेगन्-सुतोन्	1250
		१	न्यायसिध्यालोकः		XCV. 9	ज्ञांतरक्षितः (740-840)	धर्मालोकः	840
		१	प्रमाणवार्त्तिकं		CXII. 6	श्रीसिंहः	वैरोचनरक्षितः	"
		१			XCV. 10	सुभूतिश्रीशान्तिः	दुगे-वडि-बुलो-ओस्	1050

^१ Hiouen-tsang चीन-भाषान्तरतो भोटभाषायामनुदितः ।

संख्या	कर्ता A.C.	संख्या	ग्रंथः	टीकाकारः	सत्सङ्ग्रह- महो	भाषान्तरकारः		
						भारतीयः	भोटदेशीयः	कालः A.C.
				धर्मकीर्तिः (वृत्तिः) ^१	XCV. 16	सुभूतिश्रीशान्तिः	दग्गे-वडि-ब्लो-गोस्	1050
				देवेन्द्रमतिः 650 ^२ (पंजिका) ^३	XCVI	"	"	"
				शाक्यमतिः 675 ^२ (टीका) ^३	XCVII, XCVIII	"	"	"
				प्रज्ञाकरगुप्तः 700 (वार्त्तिकालंकारः) ^३	XCIX, C	भव्यराजः	(झाँग) ब्लो-लुदन्- शेस्-रब्	1076— 92 A.C.
				यमारिः 750 (वा- त्तिकालंकारटीका)	CIV, CV, CVI, CVII	सुमतिः	"	"

^१ प्रथमपरिच्छद एव । ^२ देवेन्द्रबोधिशक्यबोधी इति विद्याभूषणमहाशयाः History of Indian Logic, pp. 319, 320.
^३ द्वितीय-तृतीय-चतुर्थपरिच्छदेष्वेव ।

२	प्रमाणविनिश्चयः	^१ जय (नन्तः) ९५० (टीका)	CI. CII	दीपकरक्षितः ^२	व्यङ्ग-छुब्-शेस्-रब्	१०८०
		रविगुप्तः ७२५ (टीका) ^३	XVII ^१ . ३			
		" (टीका ^४)	CIV. I			
		शंकरानन्दः ८०० (,,)	CIII			
			XCV. II	परहितभद्रः (करमीर-)	(डॉग)बलो-छुदन्- शेस्-रब्	१०७६-९२
		धर्मोत्तरः ७२५ (टीका)	CIX, CXI.	"	"	"
		ज्ञानश्रीभद्रः १०७६ (,,)	CX. 2	ज्ञानश्रीभद्रः	(स्युङ्ग-गो)छोस्- किय-बुचोन्	१०७६

^१ जित इति विद्याभूषणमहाशयः ibid. p. ३३८

^२ विक्रमशिलाविहारीयः ।

^३ द्वितीयपरिच्छेद एव ।

^४ तृतीयपरिच्छेद एव

संख्या	कर्ता A.C.	संख्या	ग्रंथः	टीकाकारः	स्तम्-ज्युर मदो	भाषान्तरकारः		
						भारतीयः	भोटदेशीयः	कालः A.C.
		३	न्यायविन्दुः		XCV. 12	परहितभद्रः	(डॉग) ब्रलो-खदन्- शेस्-रब्	1076—92
				धर्मोत्तरः (टीका)	CXI. 2	ज्ञानगर्भः	धर्मलोकः	845
				विनीतदेवः 775(,,)	CXI. 1	जिनमित्रः	ये-शेस्-सदे	862
				कमलशीलः 840(,)	CXI. 3	विशुद्धसिंहः	दुपल्-बूवेगस्	845
				जिनमित्रः 862 (पिडार्थः)	CXI. 4	सुरेन्द्रबोधिः	ये-शेस्-सदे	862
		४	हेतुविन्दुः		XCV. 13	प्रज्ञावर्मा	दुपल्-बूवेगस्	845
				विनीतदेवः	CXI. 5	"	"	"
				अर्चटः 825 (विवरणं)	CXI. 6			

x]

वादन्यायः

[J.B.O.R.S.]

५	संबंधपरीक्षा	धर्मकीर्तिः (वृत्तिः)	CXV. 14	ज्ञानगर्भः	तैम्-म्वडि-स्वयोद्ध	845
		विनीतदेवः (टीका)	XCV. 15	"	"	845
		शंकरानन्दः 800 (वृत्तिः)	CXII. 1	परहितभद्रः	द्वेडि-वडि-वो-जो	1080
६	वादन्यायः		CXII. 2	ज्ञानश्रीभद्रः	द्वेडि-वडि-वलो- ग्रीप्	1050
		शांतरक्षितः (टीका)	XCV. 16	कुमारश्रीभद्रः	अफगस्-प-शेस्-रव्	1080
		विनीतदेवः (टीका)	CVIII. 2			
७	सन्तानान्तर- सिद्धिः ^१		CXII. 3	विशुद्धसिंहः	द्वपल्-व्वेगस्	845
		विनीतदेवः (टीका)	XCV. 17	"	"	"
			CVIII. 1			

^१ तंत्रान्तरसिद्धिरिति तु प्रमादपाठः ।

संख्या	कर्ता A.C.	संख्या	ग्रंथः	टीकाकारः	सत्सङ्ग्रह- सूची	भाषान्तरकारः		
						भारतीयः	भोटदेशीयः	कालः A.C.
५	प्रज्ञाकरगुप्तः 700	१	सहस्रलम्बनिर्णयः		CXII. 19	शान्तिभद्रः	(बो-सेङ्क-ङ्कर्) शाक्य-डोव्	1050
६	कल्याणरक्षितः 700	१	अन्यापोहविचारः		CXII. 10			
		२	ईश्वरभंग-कारिका		CXII. 11			
		३	सर्वज्ञसिद्धि- कारिका		CXII. 7	जिनमित्रः (कस्मीर-)	द्वपल-बुवेगस्	845
		४	बाह्यार्थसिद्धिः		CXII. 8	"	"	"
		५	श्रुतिपरीक्षा		CXII. 9			
७	धर्मोत्तरः 725	१	प्रमाणपरीक्षा		CXII. 12		(झोंग) बलो- लुदन्-बोस्-रब्	1076—92
		२	लघुप्रमाणपरीक्षा		CXII. 13		"	"

३	अपोहप्रकरणं	CXII. 14	भव्यराजः (कर्मर-)	(ङौग्) बलो- लृदन्-शोस्-रब्	1076-92
४	परलोकसिद्धिः	CXII. 15	"	(प-छब्) डिम- ग्रग्स्	"
५	क्षणभगसिद्धिः	CXII. 17	"	(ङौग्) बलो- लृदन्-शोस्-रब्	"
६	अपोहसिद्धिः	CXII. 18	विनयाकरः	ग्रग्स्-ऽब्बोर-शोस्- रब्	1040
७	शंकरानन्दः 800	CXII. 20	मनोरथः	(ङौग्) बलो- लृदन्-शोस्-रब्	1076—92
८	शान्तरक्षितः (740-840)	CXII. 21	भव्यराजः	"	"
९	धर्मधर्माविनिश्चयः	CXII. 1	गुणाकरश्रीभद्रः	शि-व-डौद्	1050
१०	जैतारिः 1000	CXIII. 2 CXIV	देवेन्द्रभद्रः	ग्रग्स्-ऽब्बोर-शोस्-रब्	"

मुक्ताकलशः 1000
(विवरणं)कमलशीलः 840
(पञ्जिका)

संख्या	कर्ता A.C.	संख्या	ग्रंथः	टीकाकारः	सत्तन्-अधुर् मूतो	भाषान्तरकारः		
						भारतीयः	भोटदेशीयः	कालः A.C.
११	रत्नाकरशान्तिः 1025	२	बालावतारस्तकः		CXII. 26	नागरक्षितः	मछोग्-दङ्क-पोडि-दो-जै	1080 (?)
		३	हेतुतत्त्वोपदेशः		CXII. 24	कुमारकलशः	शाक्य-डोद्	1050
		१	अन्तर्व्याप्तिः		CXII. 23	कुमारकलशः	"	1050
		२	विज्ञप्तिमात्रता- सिद्धिः		CXII. 22	शान्तिभद्रः (नेपाल-)	"	"
१२	रत्नवज्रः 1050	१	युक्तिप्रयोगः		CXII. 27	सुभूतिश्रीशान्तिः	लिङ्ग-ङे-डजिन्-वसङ्क पो	1070
१३	ज्ञानश्रीमित्रः 1075		कार्यकारणभाव- सिद्धिः		CXII. 29	कुमारकलशः	शाक्य-डोद्	1050
१४	दानशीलः ^१ 1200	१	युस्तकपाठोपाय- सिद्धिः		CXII. 16	दानशीलः		
१५	मोक्षाकर- गुप्तः 1208	१	तर्कभाषा		CXII. 28		(द्वपङ्कस्) ब्लो-गोस्	1300

^१ शाक्यश्रीभद्रण सह भोटदेशं गतः 1203 A.C. (Bu-ston II. p. 222 and J.A.S.B. 1889 LVIII.)

F. *उपलभ्यमानानां बौद्धन्यायग्रंथानां नामानुक्रमणी

संख्या	ग्रंथः	कर्ता	प्राप्तेः स्थानं
१	अन्तर्व्याप्तिः ST†	रत्नाकरशान्तिः	St. CXII. 3
२	अन्यापोहसिद्धिः T	कल्याणरक्षितः	St. CXII. 10
३	अपोहप्रकरणं T	धर्मोत्तरः	St. CXII. 14
४	अपोहसिद्धिः T	शंकरानन्दः	St. CXII. 20
५	अपोहसिद्धिप्रकरणं S	रत्नकीर्तिः	Bib. Ind.
६	अवयविनिराकरणं S	रत्नकीर्तिः	Salu VII. 8
७	अवयविनिराकरणं S	अशोकः	Bib. Ind.
८	आगमप्रामाण्यकारिका S		Ngor xxxviii. 5
९	आलम्बनपरीक्षा T	दिङ्नागः	St. XCV. 4
१०	आलम्बनपरीक्षा-टीका T	विनीतदेवः	St. CXII. 5
११	आलम्बनपरीक्षा-वृत्तिः T	दिङ्नागः	St. XCV. 5
१२	ईश्वरभंगकारिका T	कल्याणरक्षितः	St. CXII. 11
१३	उपायकौशल्यहृदयं CS‡	नागार्जुनः	N. 1257
१४	कार्यकारणभावसिद्धिः T	ज्ञानश्रीमित्रः	St. CXII. 29
१५	क्षणभंगसिद्धिः T	धर्मोत्तरः	St. CXII. 14

* संकेताः St.=Tibetan Stan-hgyur. mdo. (Cordier. Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain, Paris 1915) Bib. Ind.=Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta. For Salu Ngor, Saskya—See Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet (J.B.O.R.S.Vol. XXI) N.=Nanjio's Catalogue of Chinese Tripitaka.

† Bib. Ind. Calcutta. S=Found in Sanskrit. T=Tibetan. C=Chinese.

‡ Pre-Diñnāga Buddhist Text on Logic उपायहृदयं (G.O. S.No. XLIX)

संख्या	ग्रंथः	कर्त्ता	प्राप्तेः स्थानं
१६	क्षणभंगसिद्धिः S	रत्नकीर्त्तिः	Bib. Ind.
१७	क्षणभंगसिद्धिविवरणं *†	मुक्ताकलशः	St. CXII. 18
१८	चित्ताद्वैतप्रकरणं S	रत्नकीर्त्तिः	Śalu VIII. 7
१९	तत्त्वसंग्रहः ST†	शान्तरक्षितः	St. CXIII. 1
२०	तत्त्वसंग्रह-पंजिका ST†	कमलशीलः	St. CXIII. 2
२१	तर्कभाषा TS‡	मोक्षाकरगुप्तः	St. CXII. 28
२२	तर्कशास्त्रं CSS	वसुबंधुः	N. I 252
२३	त्रिकालपरीक्षा T	दिङ्नागः	St. xcv. 6
२४	धर्मधर्मिविनिश्चयः T	जेतारिः	St. CXII. 25
२५/ २६)	न्यायद्वारतर्कशास्त्रं C	नागार्जुनः	N. 1223, 1224
२७	न्यायप्रवेशः T	दिङ्नागः	St. xcv. 7
२८	„ ST†	„	St. xcv. 8
२९	„ „||	शंकरस्वामी	N. I 216
३०	न्यायविन्दुः ST/	धर्मकीर्त्तिः	St. xcv. 12
३१	न्यायविन्दु-टीका ST/	धर्मोत्तरः	St. CXI. 2
३२	न्यायविन्दु-टीका-नुटीकाS	दुर्वेकमिश्रः	Ngor X. 1

* धर्मोत्तरप्रणीतायाः क्षणभंगसिद्धेः टीका ।

† मुद्रितः संस्कृते Gaekwad Oriental Sanskrit Series, Baroda.

‡ G.O.S.S. no. XLIX

§ Ibid. no. XLIX.

|| अयमेव भोटभाषान्तरे दिङ्नागकृतिरुक्ता ।

/ मुद्रितः संस्कृते Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta), चौखम्बासंस्कृत Series (Benares).

संख्या	ग्रंथः	कर्त्ता	प्राप्तेः स्थानं
३३	न्यायविन्दु-टीका T	विनीतदेवः	St. CXI. 1
३४	न्यायविन्दु-पिंडार्थः T	जिनमित्रः (भारत-)	St. CXI. 4
३५	न्यायविन्दु-पूर्वपक्षसंक्षेपः T	कमलशीलः	St. CXI. 3
३६	न्यायसिद्ध्यालोकः T	चन्द्रगोमी	St. CXII. 6
३७	परलोकसिद्धिः T	धर्मोत्तरः	St. CXII. 15
३८	पुस्तकपाठोपायः T	दानशीलः 1203 A.C	St. CXII. 16
३९	प्रकरणार्थवाचाशास्त्र- कारिका C	असंगः	N. 1202
४०	प्रज्ञालंकारकारिका S		Ngor xxxviii. 3
४१	प्रतिबंधसिद्धिः T	शंकरानन्दः	St. CXII. 21
४२	प्रमाणपरीक्षा T	धर्मोत्तरः	St. CXII. 12
४३	प्रमाणपरीक्षा । लघु-T	„	St. CXII. 13
४४	प्रमाणवार्तिकं S T*	धर्मकीर्त्तिः	St. xcv. 10
४५	„ टीका (द्वितीय-परि०) T	रविगुप्तः†	St. CVIII. 3
४६	„ टीका (तृतीय-परि०) T	„	St. CIV. 1
४७	„ टीका T	शंकरानन्दः	St. CIII
४८	„ टीका T	शाक्यमतिः	St. xcvi, xcvi
४९	प्रमाणवार्तिक-वृत्तिः T	देवेन्द्रमतिः	St. xcvi

* प्रथम-द्वितीय-तृतीय-परिच्छेदाः संस्क्रियमाणा अस्माभिः ।

† प्रज्ञाकरगुप्तस्य शिष्योज्यमिति भोटभाषान्तरे ।

संख्या	ग्रंथः	कर्त्ता	प्राप्तेः स्थानं
५०	प्रमाणवार्तिक-वृत्तिः T	धर्मकीर्तिः	St. xcv. 18
५१	प्रमाणवार्तिकालंकारः ST*	प्रज्ञाकरगुप्तः	St. xcix.C
५२	„ „ टीका T	जय (नन्तः)	St. cl., cii
५३	„ „ टीका T	यमारिः	St. civ.2, cv., cvi., cvii.
५४	प्रमाणविनिश्चयः T	धर्मकीर्तिः	St. xcv. 11
५५	„ „ टीका T	ज्ञानश्रीभद्रः	St. cx. 2
५६	„ „ टीका T	धर्मोत्तरः	St. cix, cx. 1
५७	प्रमाणसमुच्चयः S T †	दिङ्नागः	St. xcv. 1
५८	„ „ टीका T	जिनेन्द्रबुद्धिः	St. cxv.
५९	„ „ वृत्तिः T	दिङ्नागः	St. xcv. 2
६०	„ „ वृत्तिः T	„	xcv. 3
६१	प्रमाणान्तर्भावप्रकरणं S	रत्नकीर्तिः	Šalu VIII. 4
६२	बालावतारतर्कः T	जेतारिः	St. cxii. 26
६३	बाह्यार्थसिद्धिकारिका T	कल्याणरक्षितः	St. cxii. 8
६४	युक्तिप्रयोगः T	रत्नवज्रः	St. cxii. 27
६५	वादन्यायः S T ‡	धर्मकीर्तिः	St. xcv. 16

*अन्येषु त्रिषु परिच्छेदेष्वेव । द्वितीयः परिच्छेदोऽस्य मुद्रितः J. B. O. R. S. XXI.

† प्रथमः परिच्छेदोऽस्य भोटभाषान्तरतः संस्कृतेऽनूद्य प्रकाशितो मैसूर विश्वविद्यालयेन ।

‡ अयं मुद्रयते संस्कृते J. B. O. R. S. XXII.

संख्या	ग्रंथः	कर्त्ता	प्राप्तेः स्थानं
६६	वादन्याय-टीका	विनीतदेवः	St. CXII. 3
६७	वादन्याय-टीका S T*	शान्तरक्षितः	St. CVIII. 2
६८	वादन्याय-वृत्तिः T	"	St. CXII. 4
६९	विग्रहव्यावर्तनीकारिका†T	नागार्जुनः	St. XVII. 5
७०	" वृत्तिः T	"	St. XVII. 10
७१	विज्ञप्तिमात्रतासिद्धिः T	रत्नाकरशान्तिः	St. CXII. 22
७२	विवादशमनशास्त्रं† C	नागार्जुनः	N. 125 I
७३	व्याप्तिनिर्णयः S	रत्नकीर्त्तिः	Şalu VIII. 5
७४	श्रुतिपरीक्षाकारिका T	कल्याणरक्षितः	St. CXII. 9
७५	सन्तानान्तरसिद्धिः T	धर्मकीर्त्तिः	St. XCV. 17
७६	सन्तानान्तरसिद्धि-टीका T	विनीतदेवः	St. CVIII. 1
७७	संबंधपरीक्षा T	धर्मकीर्त्तिः	St. XCV. 14
७८	संबंधपरीक्षा-टीका T	विनीतदेवः	St. CXII. 1
७९	संबंधपरीक्षानुसारः T	शंकरानन्दः	St. CXII. 2
८०	संबन्धपरीक्षा-वृत्तिः T	धर्मकीर्त्तिः	St. XCV. 15
८१	सर्वज्ञसिद्धिकारिका T	कल्याणरक्षितः	St. CXII. 7
८२	सर्वज्ञसिद्धिकारिका T	"	St. CXII. 8
८३	सर्वज्ञसिद्धिकारिका S	रत्नकीर्त्तिः	Şalu VIII. 1

* इयं मुद्रयते संस्कृते J.B.O.R.S. XXI. Pt. III

† ६९, ७२ एकस्यैव प्रकरणस्य नामद्वयं प्रतिभाति G.O.S.S. No. XXLI.

संख्या	ग्रंथः	कर्त्ता	प्राप्तेः स्थानं
८४	सर्वज्ञसिद्धिकारिका S	?	Ngor xxxviii. 4
८५	सर्वज्ञसिद्धिसंक्षेपः S	शंकरनन्दनः	Ngor xxxvii. 1
८६	सहस्रलम्बनिर्णयसिद्धिः T	प्रज्ञाकरगुप्तः	St. cxii. 19
८७	सामान्यदूषणदिकप्रसारितं S	अशोकः	Bib. Ind.
८८	सामान्यनिराकरणं S	रत्नकीर्त्तिः	Şalu. viii. 9
८९	स्थिरसिद्धिदूषणं S	,,	Şalu. viii. 6
९०	हेतुचक्रडमरुः T	दिङ्नागः	St. xcv. 9
९१	हेतुविन्दुः T	धर्मकीर्त्तिः	St. xcv. 13
९२	हेतुविन्दु-टीका T	अर्चटः	St. cxl. 6
९३	हेतुविन्दु-टीका-ऽनुटीका S	?	पं० मुखलाल B.H.U.
९४	हेतुविन्दु-टीका T	विनीतदेवः	St. cxl. 5
९५	हेतुविन्दु-टीका (धर्माकर दत्तीया)-ऽनुटीका S*	दुर्वेकमिश्रः	Ngor. x. 2

* अस्यैको हस्तलेखो नयपालराजगुरुणां श्रीहेमराजशर्मणां समीपेपि ।

G. धर्मकीर्तिः^१ सप्त न्यायनिबन्धाः सटीकाः

ग्रंथाः, तटीकाकाराश्च	परिच्छेदाः	सूतन्-ज्युर् (मदो)		पृष्ठ-पंक्ति-	श्लोकपरिमाणं		योगः
		वेष्ठनं	पृष्ठपंक्त्यंकाः		मूलं	टीका	
१. प्रमाण वार्त्तिकं	I—IV	XCV.10	190a4—250b6	59.23	1, 459 ^२	1,05,400	1,06, 859
धर्मकीर्तिः (वृत्तिः)	I	XCV.18	404b3—535a4	130.8	3,500 ^३		
देवेन्द्रमतिः (मंजिका)	II—IV	XCVI	1b—390a8	388.12	8,748		
शाक्यमतिः (टीका)	I—IV	XCVII	1b—402a8	400.12			
		XCVIII	1b—348a8	356.12	17,046		

^१ नागार्जुनकृत्योरेकाविंशति पत्राणि विहाय, सूतन्-ज्युर्-संग्रहे ज्यवहितानि बौद्धन्यायग्रंथानामेकाविंशति वेष्ठनानि (mdo. XCV—CXV); तत्र षोडशासु (XCVI—CXI) केवलं धर्मकीर्तिः सप्त न्यायनिबन्धाः सटीकाः, द्वयोः (CXIII, CXIV) शान्तरक्षितस्य तत्त्वसंग्रहः सटीकः; शेषयोर्द्वयोः वेष्ठनयोः (XCV, CXII) धर्मकीर्तिरप्येत्येवं च ग्रंथाः । श्लोकपरिमाणेन १,७५,२४४ श्लोकेषु १,३७,३११ श्लोकमिता ग्रंथा धर्मकीर्तिपरिवारस्य, षोडशसहस्रमितः शान्तरक्षित्यः, शेषा विडनागप्रभृतीनाम् । संस्थान इह सूतन्-शङ्क-मुद्रित भोट-सूतन्-ज्युर्-ग्रंथतः प्रतिपृष्ठं सप्त पंक्तयः प्रतिपंक्ति साढं श्लोकः प्रायेण गृहीतः ।

^२ हेम० तात्पर्यस्तुक्तान्ते त्रयाणां परिच्छेदानां ग्रंथपरिमाणं—“(द्वितीये) श्लोकाः २८८, तृतीये श्लोकाः ५३९ चतुर्थे श्लोकाः २८८” इति लभ्यते । नृदितस्य आद्यस्य परिच्छेदस्य संख्या भोटभाषान्तरसाहाय्येन ३४४ लब्धा ।

^३ इयं संख्या भोटभाषान्तर उपलभ्यते ।

प्रज्ञाकरगुप्तः (भाष्यं)	II—IV	XCIX	ib—382a7	380.11	16,276
		C	ib—344a6	342.10	
जय(नत्त): (भाष्य-टीका)	"	CI	ib—434a8	432.12	18,148
		CII	ib—375a8	373.12	
यमारिः (भाष्य-टीका)	"	CIV. 2	208a7—345a8	136.15	26,552
		CV	ib—290a7	288.11	
		CIV	ib—436a8	434.12	
		CVII	ib—321a5	319.9	
शंकरानंदः (टीका)		CIII	ib—338a8	336.12	7,578
रविगुप्तः (टीका)	III	CIV. 1	ib—208a7	206.11	7,552
" (वृत्तिः)	II	CVIII.3	137a8—266a6	128.14	
२. प्रमाणविनिश्चयः	I—III	XCV.11	250b6—329b1	59.3	15,734 17,074
धर्मोत्तरः (टीका)	I;II	CIX	ib—347a8	345.2	
	III	CX. 1	ib—209b8	207.20	12,463
ज्ञानश्रीभद्रः (टीका)		CX.2	209b8—355a6	145.6	3,271
३. न्यायविदुः	I—III	XCV.12	329b1—337a8	7.14	2,759 2,936
विनीतदेवः (टीका)		CXI.1	ib—43b3	41.14	1,030 ^१
धर्मोत्तरः "		CXI.2	43b3—113a1	69.5	1,477 ^१

^१ इयं संख्या भोटभाषान्तरे समुपलभ्यते ।

ग्रंथाः, तट्टीकाकाराश्च	परिच्छेदाः	स्तन्-संग्रह (मूढे)		पृष्ठ-पक्षित-परिमाणं	श्लोकपरिमाणं		योगः
		वेष्ठनं	पृष्ठ-पक्ष्यकाः		मूलं	टीका	
कमलशीलः "		CXI.3	113a1—122b6	8.27		221	
जिनमित्रः "		CXI.4	122b6—123b8	.18		31	
४. हेतुविन्दुः	I—IV	XCV.13	337a8—357a3	19.11	444	4,036	4,480
विनीतदेवः (टीका)		CXI.5	123b8—223b6	100.13		2,268	
अर्चटः (विवरणं)		CXI.6	223b7—302a8	78.9		1,768	
५. संबंधपरीक्षा		XCV.14	357a3—358a7	0.17	29	1,080	1,109
धर्मकीर्तिः (वृत्तिः)		XCV.15	358a7—364b8	5.23		147	
विनीतदेवः (टीका)		CXII.1	1b—26b8	24.20		548	
शंकरानंदः "		CXII.2	27a1—44a3	16.17		384	
६. वादन्यायः		XCV.16	364b8—400a7	35.7	798	3,509	4,307
विनीतदेवः (टीका)		CXII.3	44a3—71a5	26.16		609	
शान्तरक्षितः "		CVIII.2	71a5—183a7	111.16		2,900 ^१	
७. सत्त्वान्तरसिद्धिः		XCV.17	400a7—404b3	3.17	72	474	546
विनीतदेवः (टीका)		CVIII.1	1b—21b2	19.13		474	
					4,319	1,32,992	1,37,311

^१ ताल-ग्रन्थपुस्तकाले—“नवशताधिकं । सहस्रद्वितयं” ग्रन्थपरिमाणं प्रदत्तम् ।

H. धर्मकीर्त्तिपरिवारभाजां ग्रंथकाराणां ग्रन्थपरिमाणम्

ग्रंथकाराः	ग्रंथसंख्या	ग्रंथपरिमाणं
		(श्लोकाः)
१. यमारिः	I	26,552
२. जयानन्तः	I	18,148
३. शाक्यमतिः	I	17,046
४. प्रज्ञाकरगुप्तः	I	16,267
५. धर्मोत्तरः	2	13,940
६. देवेन्द्रमतिः	I	8,748
७. धर्मकीर्त्तिः	9	7,966
८. शंकरानन्दः	2	7,963
९. रविगुप्तः	I	7,552
१०. विनीतदेवः	5	4,929
११. ज्ञानश्रीभद्रः	I	3,271
१२. शान्तरक्षितः	I	2,900
१३. अर्चटः	I	1,768
१४. कमलशीलः	I	221
१५. जिनमित्रः	I	31
	29	1,37,311

I. भोटनपाणां तुल्यकालीना भोटीय-न्याय-भाषान्तरकाराः

A.D.

सोङ-वर्चन्-सगम्-पो	630—98	
मङ-सोङ-वर्चन्	698—712	
दुर्-सोङ	712—40	
खि-ल्दे-ग्-चुग्-वर्त्तन्	740—802	
खि-सोङ-ल्दे-वर्चन्	802—45	वैरोचनरक्षितः ¹ देवेन्द्ररक्षितः ¹ धर्मालोकः ² नर्म-मुख-स्वयोङ् ³ दपल्-वर्चोङ् ⁴ *
मुनि-वर्चन्-पो	846—47	
खि-ल्दे (सोङ)-वर्चन्	847—77	ये-शेस्-स्दे ⁵ (862 A.C.)
रल्-प-चन्	877—901	„
ग्लङ-दर्-म	901—2	
जेद्-सुङ्	902—65	
दपल्-खोर्-व-चन्	965—83	
जेद्-ल्दे	1040	ग्रग्-ज्योर्-शेस्-रब् ⁶ दग्-वडि-ब्लो-ग्रोस् ⁷ (त्रो-सेङ-द्वर्) शाक्य-जेद् ⁷ (राजकुमारः) शि-व-जेद् ⁸

¹आचार्यशान्तरक्षित (740-840 A.C.)स्य शिष्याविमौ (Bu-ston II, P. 190)।

²आचार्यशान्तरक्षितस्य सहकारी भाषान्तरिकरणे (Stan. mdo. XCV. 9)।

³शान्तरक्षितकालीनौ (Bu-ston. II p. 191)।

⁴नागसंवत्सरे (840 A.C.) ज्ञेन ग्रंथसूची व्यधायि (ibid. p. 191)।

⁵अश्वसंवत्सरे (862 A.C.) राज्ञा निर्दिष्टं किमपि।
(Stan. mdo. CXXIII.44).

⁶रिन्-छेन्-ब्सङ्-पो (958-1055 A.C.)-सहाय एष (Bu-ston. II. p. 214)

⁷दीपंकरश्रीज्ञान (982-1054 A.C.)-समकालीनाः।

⁸अयं राजकुमारः तत्त्वसंग्रहभाषान्तरकारो जेद्-ल्दे-नूपस्य सहोदरः
(Bu-ston. II. pp. 213, 214)

चे-ल्दे

1076

(ङोर्ग) बलो-ल्दन्-शेस्-रब्¹
 (ख्युङ-पो) छोस्-ब्चोन्²
 तिङ-ङे-ऽजिन्-ब्सङ-पो³
 (शङ-दकर्) ऽफगस्-प-शेस्-रब्⁴
 ऽदद्-पडि-शेस्-रब्⁵

द्वङ-ल्दे

(ङोर्ग) बलो-ल्दन्-शेस्-रब्¹
 ग्रगस्-ऽव्योर्-शेस्-रब्⁶
 (शङ-दकर्) ऽफगस्-प-शेस्-रब्
 (श्व-म.) सेङ-ग्यल्⁶
 व्यङ-छब्-शेस्-रब्
 म्छोग्-दङ-पोडि-दो-जें
 दगऽ-वडि-दो-जें

ऽक्-शिस्-ल्दे

1092

(ङोर्ग) बलो-ल्दन्-शेस्-रब्
 (प-छब्) छुल्-छिम्स्-ग्यल्-
 म्छन्

(स-स्क्व) ग्रगस्-प-ग्यल्-म्छन् 1147-1216

ग्रगस्-प-ग्यल्-म्छन्

(स-स्क्व) ऽफगस्-प 1251—80

(स-स्क्व) -स्तोन्³ ग्शोन्

(स-स्क्व) शर्-व-ऽजम्-द्व्यङ्स्-दोन्-ग्यन्

(द्व्यङ्स्) बलो-ग्रोस्-वर्त्तन्⁴

1288—1342

¹चे-ल्दे नृपेण 1076 A.C. वर्षे कश्मीरेषु प्रेषितोयं, द्वङ-ल्दे-ब्क्-शिस्-ल्दे-नृपयोरपि उपस्तम्भमुपलभ्य 1092 A.C. संवत्सरं यावत् तत्रैव स्थित्वाऽनैकान् ग्रन्थाननूदितवान्। (Bu-ston. II p. 215 and J.B.A.S. 1889, S.C. Das.)

²चे-ल्दे-नृपेणाहृतस्य काश्मीरकस्य ज्ञानश्री(मित्र)स्य सहायोयं (Bu-ston. II. p. 215)

³चे-ल्दे-नृपेणाहृतस्य चन्द्रराहुलस्य सहायोयं (ibid. p. 215).

⁴चे-ल्दे-द्वङ-ल्दे-नृपयोः समकालीनः (ibid p. 218).

⁵(9. प-छब्) जि-म-ग्रगस् (b. 1055) सहायः कनकवर्मा (Stan. mdo, XX III. 3) अस्यापि सहायः (Stan. mdo. XCV. 3).

⁶मणिभद्ररक्षित-सहायः प्रमाणसमुच्चय-भाषान्तरीकरणे ।

⁷ऽफगस्-प-बलो-ग्रोस्-वर्त्तन्-प-समकालीनीयं (Stan. mdo. XCII.3)

⁸बु-स्तोन्-पंडितः (1290-1364, इतिहासलेखनकालः 1322 A.C.) एनं स्वगुरोरपि पश्चात् स्मरति (Bu-ston, II. p. 224)

J. बौद्धन्यायग्रन्थानां चीन-भोट-भाषान्तरयोः कालक्रमेण सूची

क—चीन-भाषायां*

चीनदेशीयः	भाषान्तरकारः		ग्रन्थः	कर्त्ता
	कालः A.C.	भारतीयः		
Hioen-tsang	472	चि-चि-आ-ये	उपायकौशल्यहृदयं (N. 1257)	नागार्जुनः
	541	विमोक्षप्रज्ञः	विवादशमनशास्त्रं (N. 1251)	"
	550	परमार्थः	तर्कशास्त्रं (N. 1252)	वसुबंधुः
	645		प्रकरणार्थवाचाशास्त्रकारिका (N. 1202)	असंगः
"	647		न्यायप्रवेशः (N. 1216)	शंकरस्वामी
"	648		न्यायद्वारतर्कशास्त्रं (N. 1224)	नागार्जुनः
I-tsing	711		" (N. 1223)	"

* विशेषाः Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka-ग्रंथे द्रष्टव्याः ।

ख—भोट-भाषायां

भाषान्तरकाराः			ग्रंथः	कर्त्ता
भोटदेशीयः	कालः A.C.	भारतीयः		
धर्मलोकः	840	१—बुसम्-यस्-काले (823-901 A.C.)	हेतुचक्रडमरः	दिङ्नागः
"	"	शास्त्ररक्षितः (740-840 A.C.)	न्यायविन्दु-टीका	धर्मोत्तरः
वैरोचनरक्षितः	"	ज्ञानगर्भः	न्यायसिद्ध्यालोकः	चन्द्रगोमी
दुपल-बुर्चोस्	"	श्रीसिंहः	विग्रहव्यावर्तनीकारिका	नागार्जुनः
देवेन्द्ररक्षितः	"	ज्ञानगर्भः	विग्रहव्यावर्तनीकारिका-वृत्तिः	"
नर्म-म्ल-स-स्वयोङ्क	"	"	संबंधपरीक्षा	धर्मकीर्त्तिः
"	"	"	संबंधपरीक्षा-टीका	विनीतदेवः
दुपल-बुर्चोस्	"	जिनमित्रः (कश्मीर-)	सर्वज्ञसिद्धिकारिका	कल्याणरक्षितः

दृष्ट-वर्णः	840	जिनमित्रः (कस्मीर-)	बाह्यार्थसिद्धिः	कल्याणरक्षितः
"	"	प्रज्ञावर्मा	हेतुविन्दुः	धर्मकीर्तिः
"	"	"	हेतुविन्दु-टीका	विनीतदेवः
"	"	विशुद्धसिंहः	न्यायविन्दु-पूर्वपक्षसंक्षेपः	कमलशीलः
"	"	"	सन्तानान्तरसिद्धिः	धर्मकीर्तिः
"	"	"	सन्तानान्तरसिद्धि-टीका	विनीतदेवः
ये-शेष-सूदे	862	जिनमित्रः	न्यायविन्दु-टीका	"
"	"	सुरेन्द्रबोधिः	न्यायविन्दु-पिंडार्थः	जिनमित्रः

भाषान्तरकाराः			ग्रंथः	कर्त्ता
भोटदेशीयः	कालः A.C.	भारतीयः		
शि-च-ओद्	1050	२-गुण-काले (990-1200 A. C.)	तत्त्वसंग्रहः	शान्त रक्षितः
ग्रग्स्-ज्योर्-शेस्-रब्	"	गुणकरश्रीभद्रः	तत्त्वसंग्रह-गंजिका	कमलशीलः
दगे-वडि-ब्लो-गोस्	1050	देवेन्द्रभद्रः	प्रमाणवार्तिकं	धर्मकीर्त्तिः
"	"	सुभूतिश्रीशान्तिः	प्रमाणवार्तिक-वृत्तिः	"
"	"	"	प्रमाणवार्तिक-टीका	देवेन्द्रमतिः
"	"	"	प्रमाणवार्तिक-टीका	शाक्यमतिः
"	"	ज्ञानश्रीभद्रः	वादन्ध्यायः	धर्मकीर्त्तिः
(ओ-सेङ्क-ङ्कर्) शाक्य-ओद्	"	कुमारकलशः	हेतुतत्त्वोपदेशः	जेतारिः
"	"	"	अन्तर्व्याप्तिः	रत्नाकरशान्तिः

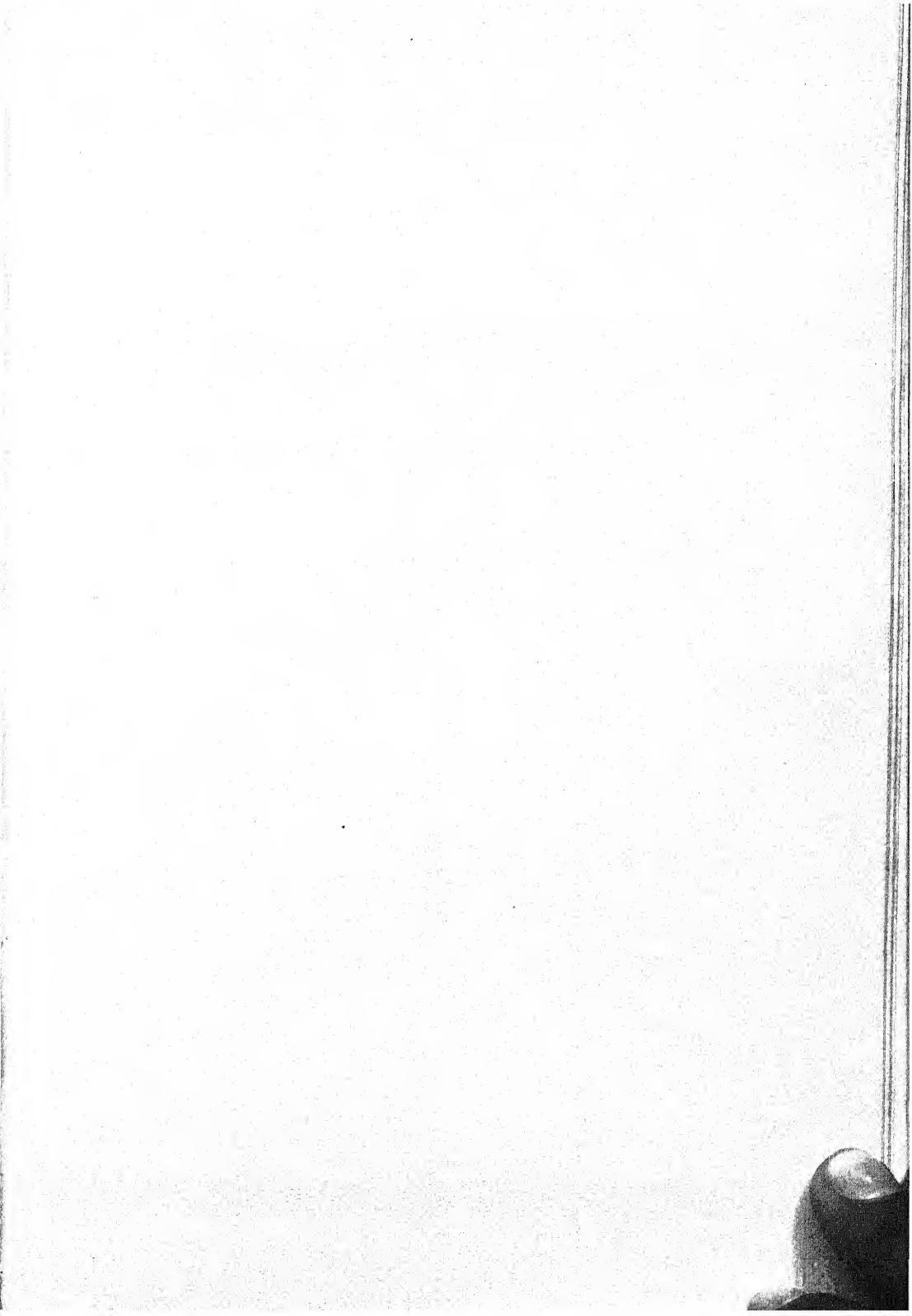
(ब्रो-सेङ्क-दुकर) शावय-ओद्	1050	शान्तिभद्रः	विज्ञप्तिमात्रतासिद्धिः	"
ज्दद्-मडि-शेस्-रब् ^१	"	कनकवर्मा ^१	प्रमाणसमुच्चयः	दिङ्नागः
"	"	"	प्रमाणसमुच्चय-वृत्तिः	"
तिङ्क-डे-अञ्जित्-ब्सङ्क-पो ^२	1076	सुभूतिश्रीवाप्तिः	युक्तिप्रयोगः	रत्नवज्रः
(शङ्क-दुकर) अफगस्-प-शेस्-रब्	"	कुमारश्रीभद्रः	वादन्याय-टीका	शान्तरक्षितः
(जॉग) ब्लो-ल्वन्-शेस्-रब् (1059-1109)	(1076-92)	परहितभद्रः	प्रमाणविनिश्चयः	धर्मकीर्तिः
"	"	"	प्रमाणविनिश्चय-टीका	धर्मोत्तरः
"	"	"	न्यायविन्दुः	धर्मकीर्तिः
"	"	मनोरथः	अपोहिसिद्धिः	शंकरानन्दः
(जॉग)ब्लो-ल्वन्-शेस्-रब् (1059-1109)	(1076-92)	भव्यराजः	अपोहप्रकरणं	धर्मोत्तरः

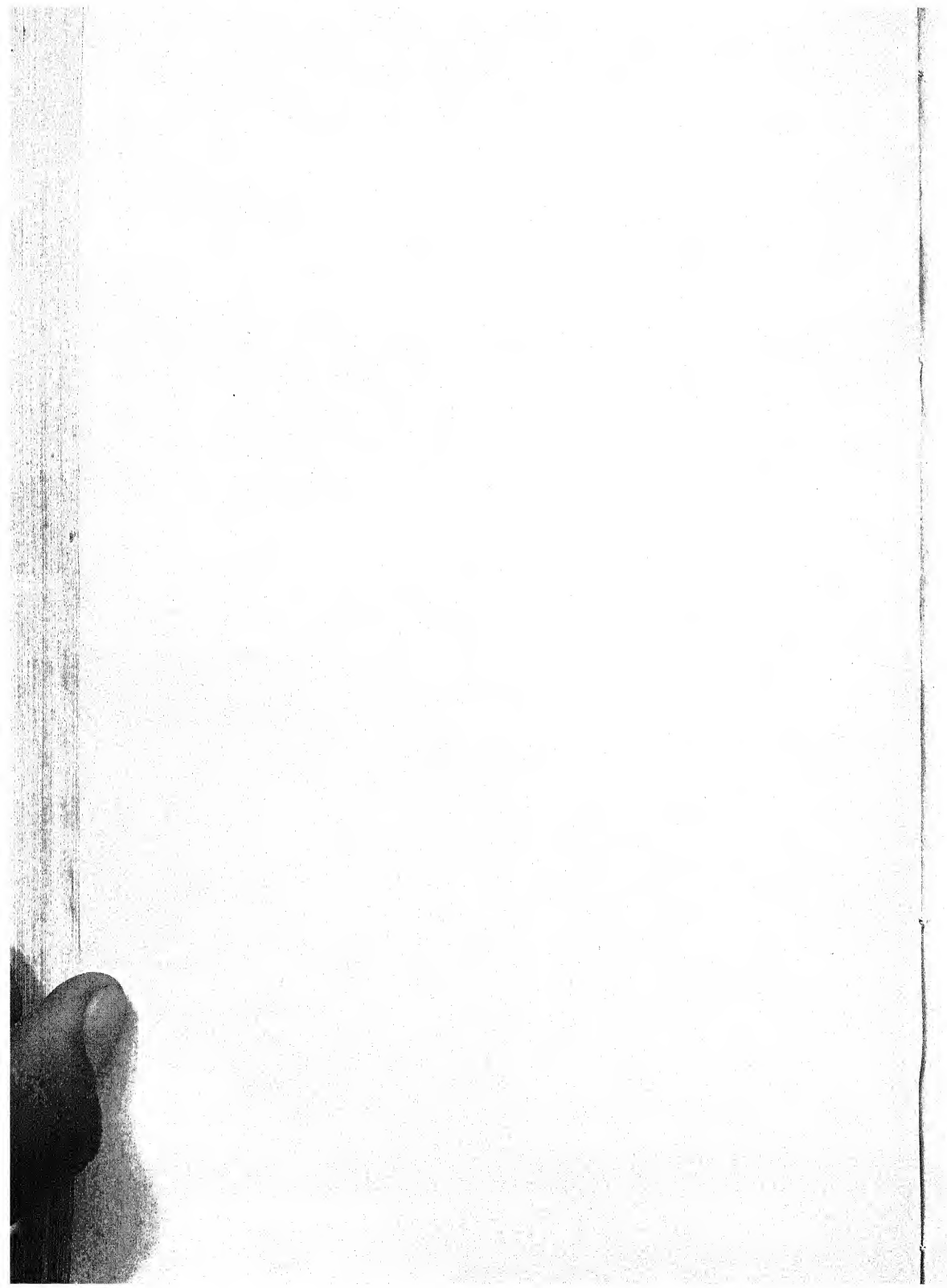
^१ (प-छब्) जिम-भगस् (b. 1055 A. C.)-सहायः कनकवर्मा (Stan. mdo. xxii. 3)

^२ ब्रो-ल्वे-नूप-प्रेरणया तिङ्क-डे-अञ्जित्-ब्सङ्क-पो-सहायेन चंद्राहुलेन सटीकः प्रमाणसमुच्चयो भाषान्तरीकृत इति (Bu-ston. II. p. 215)

भाषान्तरकाराः			ग्रन्थः	कर्त्ता
भोटदेशीयः	कालः A.C.	भारतीयाः		
(डेण्) वलो-ल्दन्-सेस्-रब् (1059-1109)	(1076-92)	भव्यराजः	अपोहप्रकरणं	धर्मांतरः
"	"	"	क्षणभगसिद्धिः	"
"	"	"	प्रतिबंधसिद्धिः	"
"	"	"	प्रमाणवार्त्तिकालंकारः	प्रज्ञाकरगुप्तः
"	"	सुमतिः	प्रमाणवार्त्तिकालंकार-टीका	यमारिः
(व्युङ्ग-पो) छोस्-किय-ब्-चॉन्-गुस्	1076	ज्ञानश्रीभद्रः (कश्मीर-)	प्रमाणविनिश्चय-टीका	ज्ञानश्रीभद्रः
व्यङ्ग-छुब्-सेस्-रब्	1080	दीपंकररक्षितः	प्रमाणवार्त्तिकालंकार-टीका	जय (नन्त) :
(श्व-म) सेङ्ग-न्यल्	"	मणिभद्ररक्षितः	प्रमाणसमुच्चय-टीका	विङ्गनागः
म्छोङ्ग-दङ्ग-पोडि-दो-जें	"	नागरक्षितः	बालावतारतर्कः	जैतारिः
दुङ्ग-वडि-दो-जें	180	परहितभद्रः	संबंधपरीक्षा-टीका	शंकरानन्दः

(प-छब्) छल्ल-खिमस्-न्यल-मछन्	1100	भयराजः शान्त्याकरगुप्तः	परलोकसिद्धिः त्रिकालपरीक्षा	धर्मोत्तरः दिङ्नागः
३--स-सूय-काले (1200--1364 A. C.)				
अगस्-म-न्यल-मछन् (1147-1216)	1200	सर्वज्ञरक्षितः (कस्मीर-)	न्यायप्रवेशः तर्कभाषा	दिङ्नागः मोक्षाकरगुप्तः
गशोन्-स्तोन्	1204			दिङ्नागः
(दपडस्) बलो-ग्रोस्-वर्तन्	1260	धर्मरत्नः (चीन-भिक्षुः)	न्यायप्रवेशः	जिनेन्द्रबुद्धिः
	1300		प्रमाणसमुच्चय-टीका	





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Moulds from Yaudheya Mint at Rohtak



[Enlarged Reverse.]



Drawing of letters.

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VOL. XXII]

1936

[PART II

Leading Articles

ON SOME HINDU COINS OF PRE-CHRISTIAN
CENTURIES

[WITH PLATES II-IV]

By K. P. JAYASWAL

Sunga

1. *Discovery of a Yaudheya mint.*
Unread Yaudheya legend read.

A unique discovery in Indian Numismatics is an ancient mint dug out at Rohtak by Dr. B. Sahnî, the Lucknow scientist who has been recently elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Professor Sahnî discovered in hundreds moulds of coins below 3 feet in a mound called Khokra kot.¹ The moulds are arranged on discs. They were, when to work with, fitted into piles in several layers (with obverse and

¹ It is a mound 20' to 30' high, on the outskirts of the city. See Sahnî, *Current Science*, 1936, pp. 796—801.

reverse moulds), and were tied together in bunches; metal was poured into each bunch through a central hole. There are grooves on the discs for the escape of extra metal. I give an illustration of a disc from a photograph kindly supplied by Dr. Sahni [Pl. II]. The type of coin produced from them is the one illustrated by Cunningham, C. A. I., pl. vi. fig. 2, and by Rapson, I. C. pl. iii, fig. 13. The legend has two parts, the upper and the lower. The lower part was not read before (Rapson, I. C., iii). From numerous pieces and their impressions (positive) shown to me by Dr. Sahni I read the lower portion as *Babu-dhāñake*; a few moulds read also *Babudhāñke*. The upper portion reads *Yaudheyāna*. A tracing of the letters has been prepared by Dr. Sahni which I am reproducing here. Sometimes the ñ takes a form resembling t. In the tracing the general form has been kept. The whole legend means: "Of the Yaudheyas: Babudhānyaka." It was therefore the mint of the Bahudhānyakas, who were a member of the Yaudheya Federation of republics. We had already guessed from other series of the Yaudheya coins that there were at least three members of the League. This supposition is now confirmed.

According to the Sabhāparvan of the Mahā-Bhārata, ch. 35¹ (verses 4-5), the "Rohitaka" State

¹ ततो बहुधनं रम्यं गवाह्यं धनधान्यवत् ।

कार्तिकेयस्य दयितं रोहीतकमुपाद्रवत् ॥४॥

तत्र युद्धं महच्चासीच्चरैर्मत्तमयूरकैः ।

मरुभूमिं स कात्स्न्येन तथैव बहुधान्यकम् ॥५॥—Kumb. ed.

[In the Calcutta Edition, C. XXXII, *Babudhānyaka* is lost]

was divided into two provinces—*Maru* and *Bahudhānyaka*; and it was a very wealthy state (*bahudhanam*). *Robhataka* is undoubtedly the modern *Rohtak* and it must be taken to be the headquarters of the '*Bahudhānyakas*.' '*Maru*' must have been the province of Rajputana.

Bahudhānyaka extended from at least *Rohtak* and included *Behat* in the district of *Saharanpur* where Capt. Cautley dug up a large number of coins of our *Bahudhānyaka* mint (Prinsep, ed. by Thomas, 1858, i, p. 73, p. 200, pl. xix. 5, 6, 9; p. 82, pl. iv, 11).

The *Bahudhānyaka* coins were of "*white bronze*" (Prinsep, i. p. 85), a mixture of tin and copper (p. 202), and were evidently more valuable than copper coins.

The same passage of the *MahāBhārata* notes that *Roḥitaka* was dear to *Kārtikeya*, that is, *Kārtikeya* was the presiding deity of the people. This is confirmed by one series of the *Yaudheya* coins which has the figure of *Kārtikeya* on it and his name.

The huge territory extending from *Bhawalpur* and including *Hoshyarpur* to *Bijaygarh* (*Bharatpur* State, where their inscription was found), and reaching *Rohtak* and *Saharanpur* lay under the *Yaudheya* Federation composed of three states—the *Bahudhānyaka* and two others—in the pre-Christian centuries. It was very likely this large republic which was ready to oppose *Alexander* and from which his army turned back (*Hindu Polity*, i 67, 150-1). The actual government was vested in an aristocracy but their parliament consisted of five thousand members.

The obverse of the coin has a bull, probably the Śuṅga imperial sign. The reverse has an elephant, another Śuṅga symbol, a nandipada (Śuṅga), and the letter G (ग) probably denoting *Gaṇa*. In the Rohtak ruins a clay seal (baked) with a hole and bearing a mark of string, was found by Dr. Sahni. It is in regular Śuṅgan characters,¹ as opposed to the artificial script of the coin. The seal legend is in perfect Sanskrit. This seal is the first Sanskrit seal of the pre-Christ centuries yet found. It reads: *Bhadramitra*-(2nd line) *-sya, Droṇīghāṭe*. 'Droṇīghāṭa' the Pass Droṇī (*lit.* mountain valley), was probably a pass in the Siwaliks at or near (Dehrā) *Dūm*.

2. *Coin of Śiri, grandson of Bhāga*
(Second Century B.C.)

Æ. Die-struck; 44.75 grns.; found at Ahichchatra—Mr. Śrīnāth Shāh. Pl. III. 1.

This is a new coin published here for the first time. The letters are clear and the coin is a neat piece. It reads—'Bhāganattisa Śirisa.'

"[Coin] of Śiri, grandson of Bhāga."

They are well-executed characters of the second century B. C. The letters agree with the Pabhosā and Hathigumphā letters and the letters on *Sumitra's* coin (J. B. O. R. S., XX. 7). The reverse has a bushy tree in railing.

The coin comes from Ahichchatra, and belongs to Mr. Śrīnāth Shāh of Benares.

This *Bhāga* is evidently the Śuṅga sovereign the *Bhāga-bhadra* of the Besnagar pillar inscription.

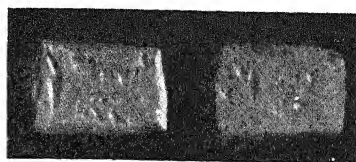
¹ Pl. IV. 18.

COPPER COINS

1
*Śiri,
grandson
of
Bhāga*



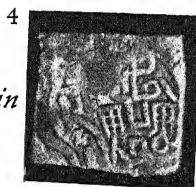
Goma



Gomi



Tubaṭhi Coin



5
Pāṭaliputra
clay passport



6
Taxila Coin



8
Pāṭaliputra
Coin



9
Rājgīr Coin



7



M-Standard at Sanchi



Ayodhyā Coin

10

Siri was probably a governor [of Ahichhatra?]. The coin being of a smaller denomination, had to be small, and the letters are reduced to bring in the full two line legend. The second line which has the name has bolder and spaced letters, a feature which we find for the first time.

3. *Gomin's Punch-marked Copper Coins* (c. 200 B. C.)

Wt. 51.3; 56.5; Deochand- Rai Krishna Das collection, Nā-
pur, Saidpur, Gazipur- gari-Parchāriṇī Sabhā Museum.
U. P. [Pl. III. 2, 3.]

Two pieces of oblong copper coins have been brought to Rai Krishna Das of Benares from Saidpur, Ghazipur¹. The smaller one is a little broken off at left and is heavier. They are unique amongst the punch-marked class. Symbols are very few, and there is a legend, of which all the letters are stamped with one die, while symbols are by different punches. *Ob.* has a crude bull facing a javelin and below is the legend *Gomasa* on the one and *Gom* [i] on the other. *Rev.* has a *nandipada* and, on the smaller piece, also another symbol, a flower. They were probably 12 raktika pieces. '*Gomi*' seems to have been a coin legend of Pushyamitra (JBORS., XX. 293). The letters belong to his period.

4. *Pushyami'*

A new coin [Pl. IV. 17] of the type reproduced in J.B.O.R.S. XX. 291, pl. II. 1, has come to Mr. Śrināth Shāh from Kosam. It gives a clearer reading. The

¹ They had been picked up from a field at Deochandpur, Tahsil Saidpur.

legend is *Pushyami*—

5. *Silver coin of Brahmanitra, Mathurā mint*

Patna Museum, 8726; 105.95
grns.

[Pl. IV. 16]

Upto this time we knew two issues of this ruler, both in copper. One belongs to Mathurā (CAI, pl. viii, No. 12; CIM. 194) and the other to Kosāma (CIM, p. 205, xxiii. 5). The present coin is the first discovery of a silver coin of Brahmanitra, which is quite in line with the fact already published through this Journal, namely, that the Śuṅga had a silver currency of the new type of signed coins.

Brahmanitra's coin was imitated by the Mathurā Satraps.

The present coin agrees with the copper issue. The female figure is elegant on our silver coin. She holds a jar in her right hand (raised), and faces probably a tree. The jar artistically serves a double purpose : it represents a jar in the hand of the lady, and it represents *ma* of the ligature *bma*. In the Kosāma coin we have also the full ligature *bma* (𑀧𑀺𑀢𑀺)

Our coin (P M, No. 8726) weighs 105.95 grns. It was acquired by me from the collection of Dr. Hultzsch. The material is alloyed silver like that of other Śuṅga coins published in this Journal (XX. 6). The obverse symbols [to the r. of the female] are the cross-with-balls (small) and nandipada (?) below. The female is probably Yamunā; her hair is tied and the end flying. The back has a nandipada in the middle. Other symbols are indistinct. The legend reads *Brahmanitrasa*. Dr. Hultzsch notes on the

envelope *rājasa* as being on the reverse, but I do not find these letters. The coin was uncleaned and Dr. Hultzsch mistook it to be of copper.

The same prince's name appears on the Bodh-Gayā railing.

Pre-mauryan [?]

6. *Punch-marked Coin of 'Tubāṭhi.'*

Wt. 119.95. Eran mint. Rai Krishna Das collection Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Sabhā Museum.
[Pl. III. 4.]

This coin came to Rai Krishna Das from Ujjain. It is of the type of the Eran coins. It has the same technique, the same fabric, and the same features, e.g. the same river with fish (CAI, xi); all the symbols are on a die and stamped together—characteristic of the Eran coins. The value of this coin lies in the fact that it has a legend in the oldest form of Brāhmī, reading *Tubāṭhi* or *Turbāṭhi*. Probably its Sanskrit equivalent is *Turvashṭi*. The coin seems to be older than the time of the Mauryas. The name, which is a place-name, appears to be connected with dynastic name *Turvaśa*.

The reverse has a tree on the ground marked with a square.

Maurya

7. *Balance-marked Coins from Rājgīr and Pāṭaliputra*

There are two small oblong copper coins at the Patna Museum brought from Rājgīr, picked up probably at the ancient fort of Rājgīr (the fort of Ajātaśatru) wherefrom the local Paṇḍās collect the Rājgīr coins after the annual rains.

They combine the characteristics of the stamped system and cast coinage. The pieces were first cast and then they were stamped with a seal-shape die. The result is a shapely regular and neat coin [Pl. III. 9].¹ It has an initial in the oldest Brāhmī, syllable *Ra*, or *R[ā]*, probably standing for 'Rājagriha', or an Aśokan monolith pillar, as on the coin of Taxila [C A I, II. 6]². After the initial there is a scale with the Brāhmī *m* placed over the centre of the yard. The reverse is blank. The design of the scale with *m* may be compared with the one on the Ayodhyā coin in Cunningham [CAI, ix. 3] and Rapson, IC. [IV. 2]³; and contrasted with that on the Dojaka coin [IC., I. 2] where the centre is marked by a point only, and with the design found on the Śrāvastī lead coin (die-struck) brought by Rev. R. Sāṅkṛityāyana. [Pl. IV. 11].

The scales here and on other coins, I think, denote the P a u t a v a Department of Hindu Government. This Department was, according to the Artha Śāstra [c. 19] in charge of weights, which was definitely a State matter. King N a n d a had according to the *MahāBhāshya*, fixed a uniform weight system, and the M a u r y a s also had the matter under government control. The symbol guarantees the right weight of the coin. We have the symbol on silver punch-marked coins of the Maurya times [J.B.O.R.S. 1919, 430, Pl. III. 32, 33, 34].

In this connection a passage of the Artha Śāstra should be noticed (अक्षेषु नान्दीपिनद्धं कारयेत् c. 19) which

¹ Patna Museum, nos. 1297, wt. 36.2 grns.

² The difficulty in taking it as a pillar is that it has no capital, the essential feature of a pillar of Aśoka.

³ My plate here, IV. 10.

Coins of Śrāvastî

Lead

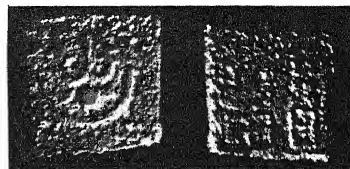


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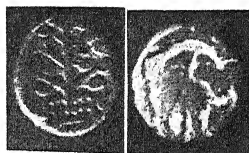


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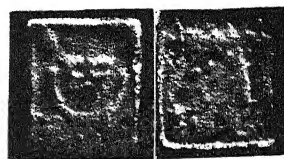
Copper



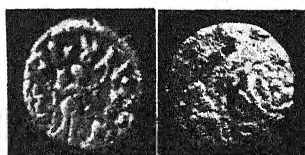
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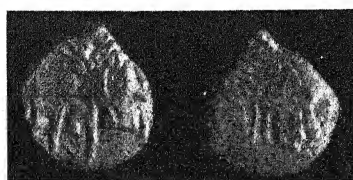


16

Silver Coin of
Brahmamitra

Seal from Rohtak

Æ.



17

Pushyami[tra]



18

Bhadramitra
at Dronīghāṭa

1941

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lays down that the yard be marked with *Nāṇḍī*, which the commentator explains as *svastika*. The letter *m* here therefore does not signify *Nāṇḍī*. The design of *m* surmounted on a standard is found at Sanchi where it is distinguished from the Nandipada standard in the same frieze (CHI, I, pl. xxiii. 63¹.) The relic carried on the elephant there has behind it a *m*-standard². The same *m* is found at Jaugad on a staff,³ on a glass sealing [J.B.O.R.S. X. 189, pl. 4], on a clay sealing and on a coin-like piece of copper [plate III 5, 8] dug out from the Maurya level by Spooner at Pāṭaliputra (excavation).⁴ It was evidently used in Maurya times as a royal mark, and it denoted either *M(agadha)* or *M(aurya)*. The clay sealing has no hole or mark of string, which proves that it was carried by hand and that it was a State token.

Probably most of these balance-marked pieces were used as tokens given at the gate by the Customs Department. It is provided in the Artha Śāstra that all merchants importing foreign goods were to be granted *mudrās* (seal-passports) to pass the goods at the barriers [AŚ. c. 21]. I think that some of these 'coins' are really such *mudrās*, otherwise the clay seal, which is an exact copy of the copper piece of Pāṭaliputra cannot be explained. The Rājgīr coins

¹ Nandipada-standard is in the upper row at right hand end, and *m*-standard just opposite.

² See the *m*-standard enlarged on my plate III. 7 here. See also the letter *m* on the Taxila coin, Pl. III. 6 [CIM, XX. 8].

³ Hultzsch, *Asoka*, 116, where it is clearly *mo*.

⁴ Now at the Patna Museum nos. K.S.I. No. 21, 4909, wt. 15.66 grns.

are not worn, that is, they were not in circulation. The weight of the lead coin of Śrāvastī is also irregular (grns. 42·4). The silver punch-marked pieces (where the scale is only one of the several symbols) are certainly coins. To the passport class will belong the glass seals found at Pāṭaliputra and published by me in J.B.O.R.S. X. 189. The glass sealings which must have been turned out in numbers, could hardly have served any purpose other than as passports.

8. Sravasti mint

A number of coins collected by my venerable friend Mahā-Paṇḍita Rāhula Sāñkṛityāyana from the Śrāvastī villages prove the existence of a Śrāvastī mint in the Śuṅga Period and earlier.

We have a distinctive design on coins of copper. It is a decorated *Nandipada* (with three arms), so prominent on Śuṅga coins already published in this Journal. The *Nandipada* here stands inside a semi-circle. I reproduce here a cast copper coin (double-die struck) and a stamped coin of the class [Pl. IV. 14, 15]. Their weights are respectively 130·2. (PM, No. 11785) and 70·4 grns. (Patna Museum, No. 11786) The die-struck coin has on the obverse *Nandipada*-on-a-standard (placed on the top of a staff), standing inside a railing, and a cock (greatly effaced) facing it to the right. The cast coin has the same standard of *Nandipada* but to its left there is some other object on another railing. Both have *Nandipada* in a semicircle on the reverse.

Several coins of *Agnimitra*, in a material which looks like brass, with the so-called *Pañchāla*

symbols, also come in the collection. There is a similar small coin of the dynasty where the name is different but is not readable. All these appear to be local coins.

There are also three

Lead Coins of Śrāvastī

They are all stamped [Pl. IV, 11, 12, 13.]

One of them (no. 12) bears a legend in Śuṅga characters—'Śāvati.' Its weight is 178.5 grns. (PM, No. 11792). The reverse is blank. There is a balance coin, (no. 11) with one scale; the yard has a handle with three projections. Below the yard to the right there is a representation of probably weights, (cf. J.B.O.R.S. 1919, 430, 111, 32-34). Its weight is 42.4 grns. (PM, No. 11789) the reverse is blank. In the Maurya Period we have ४ (letter *M*) placed over the handle. The Śrāvastī coin is probably pre-Mauryan. The third coin (PM, No. 11790) weighs 50.4 grns. It is neatly struck on both sides. The obverse has either a *vaṭa* or *pīpal* tree in a railing, with the letter *m* at both its corners. The reverse has an elephant. This seems to be Mauryan. All these are local coins of Śrāvastī.

NEW COINS OF N Ā G A-V Ā K Ā T A K A PERIOD

[WITH PLATE I]

By K. P. JAYASWAL

§1. Some new coins unknown and unpublished before are published below [Pl. I]. They serve a second purpose, namely, of answering certain criticisms of SIR R. BURN.

“Lanky Bull Type” Coins

§2. In JBORS., XIX. 71-72, in my *History of India*, 150-350 A. D., a coin unidentified before [V. Smith, C. I. M., 155, No. 4] was identified as a V ā k ā ṭ a k a coin. SIR RICHARD BURN has questioned this view in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* (‘for the year 1933,’ published in 1935, Leyden, pp. 10-11)¹. In his opinion the coin belongs to “the 3rd century B. C.,” and not to about 348 A. D., as proposed by me. This means that one of us must be wide off the mark by 600 years! If the question had been raised by a man of lesser standing I would have treated it with silence. But a statement from SIR RICHARD on coins, be it *ex cathedra* (as in

¹ A most unsuitable place to raise a controversy. An *Annual Bibliography* is a Digest, not a Journal, and a Digest is not necessarily open to replies on defence by people attacked. I hope, Sir Richard and Dr. Vogel, in fairness to me, will give as prominent a publicity to this reply as they have done to the attack.

the present case), must deserve the attention of every numismatist. Hence this reply. I would propose that let

New Coins Arbitrate

§3. The coin in dispute is known to numismatists by a popular name the "lanky bull type." Its chief feature is, to quote the words of V. Smith, the "*bumped bull of very lank shape*,"¹ which is unmistakable and a positively distinctive devise. A point of SIR RICHARD'S is that the lanky bull coin bears no inscription, his point probably is that other pieces which he has seen bear no inscription. I reproduce here another coin with the same bull and with a name-legend which is in characters of c. 300 A. D. I am enlarging the obverse to show the form of letters.²

Coin of Bhava-Nāga

Æ, cast; 87.5 grns.; Kosam.

Mr. Śrīnāth Shāh,
Benares. [Pl. I, No. 1]

§4. The coin belongs to the cabinet of Mr. Śrīnāth Shāh of Benares, a well-known collector. He acquired it from Kosam.

Ob.—lanky bull; a hole in the coin below the stomach of the bull (an original defect in casting); over the back a symbol formed by two serpents with raised heads facing a rod-like object standing in the middle; at bottom, a serpent [*nāga*]; the bull faces (right) the begin-

¹ CIM., 155.

² The photograph is direct from the coin, several times magnified. The reverse is actual size photographed from the coin direct.

ning of the legend, which is in box-headed letters, reading [*Śrī*] *Bhavanāgo*

Rev.—on top, figure for 30 (Kushan type); in the field the peculiar tree (six-branched) as on the lanky bull coins already known; a standard (left); to the right of the tree in railing—svastika and cross-with-balls.

The coin had been long in circulation; it has become smooth. The head of the first syllable *śrī* is worn off leaving only traces. The box on the heads of *Bh*, *v*, and *n* exists in outlines, and the syllable *go* has become faint; all the other letters still stand out in bold relief. The hanging line of *Bh* was cut thinner in the original mould.

§5. The letters are undoubted pre-Guptan and post-Kushan. The symbols (nāga) and system of dating (30th year on the back) is quite in line with the Nāga coinage.

§6. We know from Vākāṭaka inscriptions (cited in the *History*, 150-350 A. D.) that *Bhava Nāga* was the last *Bhāraśīva* (Nāga) king who was succeeded by *Pravarasena I* and *Rudrasena I*, *Rudrasena I* being *Bhava Naga's* daughter's son and heir.

§7. Now if we turn to the other coin I described as *Vākāṭakan*¹, the main difference between that and the present coin lies in the fact that the place of the 'standard' of the *Bhāraśīva* coin is taken up by the 'wheel.' That wheel is definitely the *Vākāṭaka* royal symbol, on the authority of the *Nachna* inscrip-

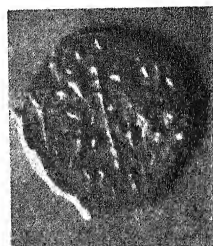
¹ JBORS., 72 p. III; CIM., 155.

Śrī-Bhava-Nāga

Æ.



Śrī Bha
va nā
go



[Rev., original size]

[Enlarged]

Æ.



Bhīma (Nāga)

tion of the reign of Prithivishena Vākāṭaka (Fleet, *Gupta Inscription*, plate 33, B) and on the authority of the wheel inscribed on the Dureha boundary pillar with the expression “*of the Vākāṭakas*” (JBORS., XIX, plates IV-V). The wheel has a peculiar shape with eight spokes, and this identical wheel is to be found on the coin I called Vākāṭakan¹. The other difference is that the symbol of the serpent (*nāga*), the rebus of the dynasty, disappears from the Vākāṭaka coin and the *nāga* design is removed from the back of the bull where a *nandipada* star (four *nandipadas* grouped round a common neck) is substituted. It was natural for the succeeding dynasty to remove the rebus of the late dynasty, and to substitute its main emblem the wheel (*chakra*), denoting the *chakra-vartin* position of the Imperial Vākāṭaka [*samrāt* in their inscriptions]. The coin must belong to one of the two Imperial Vākāṭakas consisting of only two successions, Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I. Architectonically, numismatically, it is a direct successor of Bhavanāga's coin.

§8. SIR RICHARD's verdict that the coin belongs to the 3rd century B. C., is totally dislodged by the coin of Bhavanāga, which is an imitation and which cannot be earlier than 300 A. D. on its lettering.

§9. The above conclusion regarding the age is further strengthened by another coin which has to be recognized from its technique as belonging to the same series, and which, on the evidence of its letters,

¹ JBORS., 72, p. III; CIM., 155.

precedes the coin of Bhavanāga. This also comes from Kosam and belongs to Mr. Śrīnāth Shāh.

Coin of Bhīma Nāga

Æ, cast, 73 grns.	Find spot, Kosam, but probably of some Malwa mint.	Mr. Śrīnāth Shāh [Pl. I, 2]
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Ob.—In the field tusked elephant, on platform, mounted by man, walking to standard (l.); on r. cross-with-balls and a svastika (floral); legend reading: *Bhīmasa*; at bottom *nāga* rebus serpent.

Rev.—Tree in railing with two branches, dominated by the Malwa large cross-with-circles; on left margin a hill of six arches in three storeys surmounted by a *chhatra* (?); on r. margin figure 40, Kshatrapa type; a group of 4 nandipadas enclosed in an oblong; a triskeles. From the style of letters the coin belongs to the 3rd century A. D. and was evidently struck by the same *Bhīmanāga* as of the Narwar coin (Cunningham, C. M. I., pl. 1. 15).

Evidently the mounted elephant was imitated from Kushan coins.

The coin which is in chain of the Nāga-Vākāṭaka coins is thus another piece displacing SIR RICHARD BURN's theory.

The Historical Value of the Coins of Nava

§10. The dynasty of Nava is known to the Purāṇas. And if it is shown that coins struck with the name *Nava* are found with the letters of the period, it is unfair to ignore the identification and its historical consequence. Coming as the coin does, in fairly large numbers, from the territory which had

been directly under the Kushans, and bearing Kushan letters, and years, not of the Kushan era but of the king's (Nava's) own regnal years, it cannot but prove a political revolution denoting replacement of the Kushans by Nava in central Hindustan—the area of the coin. But Sir Richard would minimize this obvious conclusion by saying

“Mr. Jayaswal takes the word ‘Nava’ (Nākas or Nāgas) in the well-known passage describing the rulers of Champavatī and Mathurā as a name, instead of the number nine. He identifies him as the striker of a well-known series of coins found chiefly at Kosambī the inscription on which has been variously read as *Nevasa*, *Devasa* or as part of a name *navasa*.” (ABIA, 1933, p. 10).

§11. By saying this he makes the reading still a matter of doubt which is unfair to me. No one had read the name before me as *Nava*; the prior published readings were only ‘*Neva*’ and ‘*Deva*’ (V. Smith, CIM, 199). The reading was for the first time contended for in my *History*, 150-350 A. D. (JBORS., XIX), which led to the identification of the coin with a known dynasty. Sir Richard instead of giving me the credit of reading the name correctly says that others have read it as *navasa* but as part of a name. He gives no authority to enlighten us as to who anticipated this reading *navasa*. That the legend cannot be part of a name would be evident even to a non-expert enquirer who would care to look at the reproduction in V. Smith's Catalogue (CIM, p. 212 pl. XXIII. 15) or a number of originals in the

Indian Museum. The incuse produced by the stamp itself proves conclusively that the whole name is *Nava* and that the name begins with *N*. The letters are always designed to cover the entire field either by *Nava* or the possessive *Navasa*. It should be noted that it was never doubted by V. Smith or Prof. Rapson that there could be something before *N*. It is regrettable that an obviously definite fact should be made indefinite by loose statements.

“NAVA NAGA IN EARLY INDIAN COINS”

In page 10 of A. B. I. A. for 1933, Vol. VIII published in 1935, Sir Richard Burn has commented on Dr. K. P. Jayaswal's reconstruction of the Nāga Coins.

The following points have been raised by Sir R. Burn :—

(1) Is the reading *Nava* (possessive *Navasa*) on Coins No. 16, Pl. I, Vol. XIX, Parts I & II, J. B. & O. R. S. 1933 correct?

(2) Can it be taken as '*Navasa*' with the letter *N* as the initial in the incuse, or there is the possibility of another letter before it?

(3) Is it a *Nāga* coin? If so, of which period and place?

If the illustration referred to above reproduced in the Journal from the original plate XXIII, Coin No. 16, of the Indian Museum Catalogue of Coins by V. Smith, Vol. I, be correct (a fact not challenged) then it would be clearly seen that the letter *N* has an incuse to the left of it without any extra place in the incuse for any other letter in the legend before it. This is also found in other coins of *Nava*. It is undoubtedly the initial letter of the legend and it is equally clear that it could be nothing else than the word *Navasa*, *Nava* in the genitive case, which is the usual form on the Coins of that period.

It should be noted as well that it is in the

singular form and cannot therefore stand for the Series of Kings of this dynasty. In other words, it is clearly the name of the individual king and cannot be the mere title of the family of *Nāgas*, so well known to the Purāṇas.

It seems to be the only possible conclusion to read it as the coin of the first member of a new starting dynasty. It certainly cannot be taken to refer to the number nine, the form being in the singular.

(3) From the script it would be clear that both the letters are of the 1st century A. D., like the letters of inscriptions of Mathurā illustrated on Table III of Bühler's chart under Column I.

It would be natural from the caligraphic point of view to surmise that the Coin belongs to the Mathurā side. Sir Richard is wrong to say that it is confined to Kosam. I have myself found a silver coin of this king at Mathurā. There also the incuse shows that it is impossible to take the legend *Navasa* as part of any other name preceding: The incuse is definite (*J.B.O.R.S.*, XX. 6. pt. 4; 306).

Durgaprasad

RĀJGĪR (MANIĀR MATH) STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION

[WITH PLATE V]

By K. P. JAYASWAL

In the excavation of 1932-33 at the Maniār Maṭh site of Rājgīr a small stone (Register no. 11) was found by Mr. G. C. Chandra, Superintendent Archæological Survey, Central Circle. It is part of a concave frieze, the back of which shows a pilaster. The material is the Mathurā spotted red sand-stone. The fragment measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ " (length) 6" (breadth). It evidently decorated a round temple. The portion represents a figure seated on a hill; one leg is drawn in and the other hangs down, the outlines of which are visible in the impression reproduced here. Down below at a fair distance there is the head of a human figure looking upwards¹. The upper part of the seated figure, and the body of the lower figure are broken off. The fragment has a two line inscription, which is complete. The frieze is described by a label-inscription.

Mr. Chandra casually mentioned the piece to me. The lower line of the inscription, as read by others, gave no meaning. After examining a photograph of the inscription I proceeded to Nalanda where the find was deposited. It confirmed my

¹ This is part of another frieze.

reading, disclosing the name of King *Sreṇika*, i.e. *Bimbisāra*, contemporary of the Buddha, and King of Magadha [with its capital at *Rājagṛha*, *Rājgīr*]. Mr. *Chandra* kindly had an impression taken for me which I reproduce here [Pl. V]. It reads :

(1st line) *Parvato Vipula* [पर्वतो विपुल]

(2nd line) *Rājā Sreṇika* [राजा श्रेणिक]

that is, the hill carved above is *Vipula* one of the five hills of *Rājgīr*; and the king carved on it is *Sreṇika*. The exact rendering is

“The hill———(is) *Vipula*

“The king———(is) *Sreṇika*”

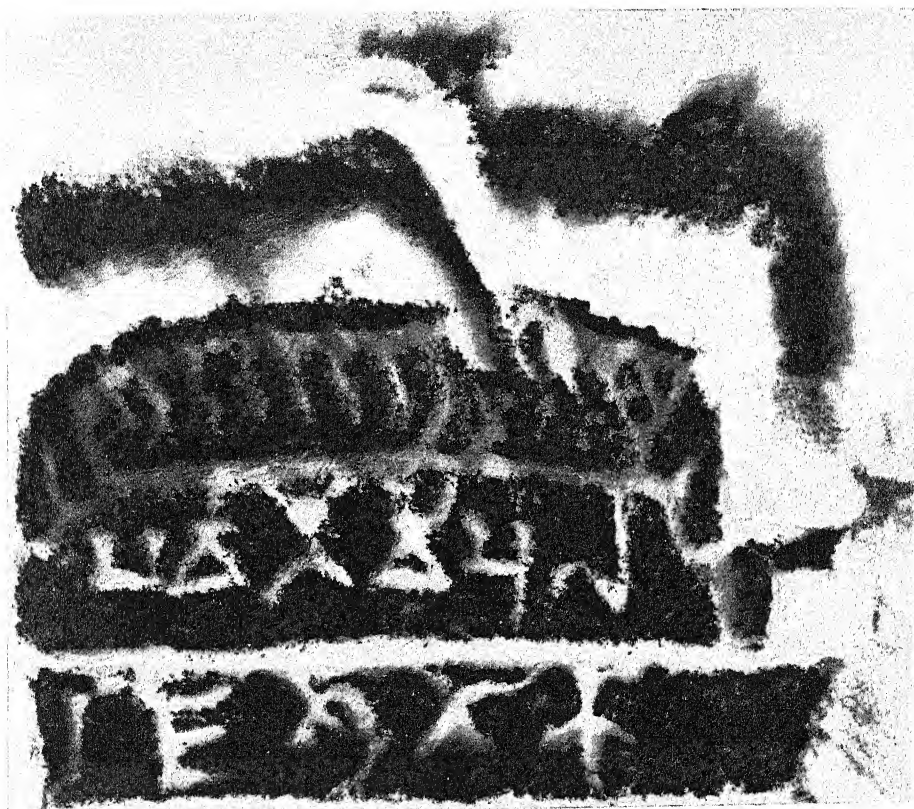
The characters are early Kushan (1st century A. D.). Probably it was a Jaina sculpture, as Jaina tradition connects the king *Sreṇika* with the hill *Vipula*. The Buddhist form of the royal name is ‘*Seniya Bimbisāra*,’ while the Jaina form is ‘*Sreṇika*.’

Probably the *o*-mātrā on *Vipul* (*o*) and *Sreṇik* (*o*) partly coincides with the thick lines from which the letters hang. The frieze is labelled like the friezes of Bharhut.

We have here a monumental evidence on the name of the Magadhan king, inscribed within some five centuries of his existence. It is a pity that the whole figure is not available. Probably there had been some traditional picture of the king in sculptures.

The *Rājgīr* excavation of Mr. *Chandra* is bringing out remarkable things.

Rājgīr [Maniār Maṭh] Image Inscription.



Parvato Vipula
Rājū Śrenika

AN UNRECORDED MUHAMMADAN INVASION OF NEPAL

[WITH PLATE]

By K. P. JAYASWAL

1. In modern books on Nepal¹ there is no reference of any Muhammadan invasion of Nepal. Nor is there any such reference in any Muhammadan History. And the present-day belief prevalent both in Nepal and British India is that Nepal was never visited by any Muhammadan conqueror. But the fact is incontestable that the Muhammadan power did reach Nepal and that it did measure swords with the kingdom of Nepal and that it was successful for the time being, though finally repelled. The material for this conclusion, newly discovered, is set out below.

2. Anyone who knows the terrain of Nepal must be struck with admiration for those who can lead an army into Nepal. Hindu kings of Tirhut had twice invaded and succeeded in subjugating Nepal. But the Muhammadans as a rule were poorer fighters in the hills and they mostly avoided difficult countries in the hills. The success of King

¹ The earlier authorities are Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, Wright and Lévi. They utilize the national records (the Chronicles) of Nepal, Wright giving a complete translation of the Chronicle. Landon is the most recent writer [1928].

Shamsuddîn Iliyās of Bengal (to be described below), therefore, impresses the mind more deeply on account of its being an exception in the Muhammadan centuries.

3. This invasion of the Bengal king which was marked with general incendiari-
 Effect of the Invasion. sion. sm explains the loss of royal records which one would have expected in the royal offices and the treasury of Paśupati Nāth which is as important as any royal archive. Iliyās burnt down the capital and many shrines. The idol of Paśupati, which had come down from at least the Gupta times, was also damaged by Iliyās. But for this conquest we would have obtained official records of administration going back to the Gupta times, i.e., the Lichchhavi dynasty of Nepal.

4. Last April (1936) I was permitted to visit Nepal, thanks to the courtesy of
 Discovery of the Material. His Highness Sir Juddh Shams-
 er Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister of Nepal, and the kind offices of Sri 6 Rājaguru Pandit Hemarāja Sarmā, C. I. E. The fact of some stone images having broken noses was pointed out to me insistently by my venerable and esteemed friend Mahā-paṇḍita Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana who was present in Nepal at the time and whose constant companionship I had the advantage of enjoying in visiting historic places in Nepal. But the local explanation by the common people and scholars of this fact offered was that the damage was accidental. That the damage was not

accidental is evident in the large and beautiful figure of Gaṅgā at Paśupati Nāth and in a number of stone Buddhist images at the Svayambhū Nāth Stūpa. In the course of my examination of the well-preserved inscriptions at Svayambhū Nāth, the most important Buddhist shrine in Nepal, an inscribed slab¹ to the west of the Tibetan Vihāra situated in front of the great Stūpa was discovered. It having struck me as a record unpublished before, I took two impressions of it the next day². The copies of the inscription brought by me are now in the Patna Museum, one of which is being reproduced here. The script is Newārī. Except for two passages (lines 2 and 3) the whole is readable. The inscription when read gave the history of an invasion by *Sūratrāṇa Samasdīna* 'along with a large Bengal army'—Sūratrāṇa-Samasdīno Baṅgāla-bahulair-balaiḥ.³ The inscription is in incorrect Sanskrit. The last line is in Newārī. Lines 1-18 are in verse, except the invocation in the beginning. Lines 18-34 are in prose. Lines 35-37 are again verses. Lines 38-40 giving the date and the concluding line [in Newārī], giving the name of the engraver, are in prose. The text is given in Appendix A.

5. The inscription is dated in the 492nd year
 Summary of the of the Nepal era (1371-72 A. D.),
 Inscription. the full-moon day of Āśvina, Wed-

¹ An inscribed slab is called a śilā-patra in the living terminology of Nepal. The slab, fixed in a wall, tends to be in a lane between two rows of houses.

² Later I saw a good impression of the inscription in the State Library in the file of impressions.

³ The orthography of the inscription makes no distinction between *b* and *v*, and throughout only *v* is used for both.

nesday, in the Aśvinī Nakṣhatra, Śuka-karma Yoga, when the repair and restoration of the Stūpa was completed and Pratiṣṭhā (i.e. reinstallation) was made and the standard (*dhvaja*) was planted. This was necessitated because in the Nepal year 467 (1346¹ A. D.) in the month of Mārga-Sīrsha, on the 10th day of the bright fortnight, on Thursday, in the reign of King Jayarāja Deva, *Sūratrāṇa-Samasdīna* (Sultān Shamsuddīn), along with a large army of Bengal, having come into Nepal, broke and burnt completely the Dharmadhātustūpa (the pious relic shrine), the banner of the Muni (Buddha), which had been founded by the predecessors of the King (or, by earlier people).

After sometime King Jayarāja Deva died, having been burnt while asleep, along with his palace. He was succeeded by his son Jayārjuna Deva. And while he was ruling over Nepal, Jayasthiti Malla, the moon of the Kshatriya ocean, was protecting, by favour of the rise of the Buddha's merits, the city of Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa. In that city there was Rāja-Harsha, whose elder brother was Raṇadeva and younger brother was Rudradeva. With his two brothers he had distinguished himself by defeating the enemies [Muhammadans]. Rāja-Harsha, having obtained permission from both the kings who were like Indra and Upendra (Jayārjuna-deva and Jayasthiti Malla), rebuilt the 'Dharm-

The inscription goes on to add.

¹ The Nepal Era began on the 20th October 879 A. D.

Dhātu Stūpa on the Sāhya.' He decorated it with a gold umbrella, having performed one lac *Abutis*. The donor, Rāja-Harsha, was a Mahāyānist Newār nobleman. His father's name is given as the Minister Raṇa-śakti-Malla Bhalloka. His several relations are associated with the donation. The full name of Rāja-Harsha was *Rāja-Harsha-Malla Bhalloka*; his wife's name was *Joti-Lakshmi*. With him was also associated in this act of piety his nephew (sister's son) *Jūḍha Simha*, a resident of Kharapura.¹

The staff, set with gems, the umbrella, the *kalāśa* and the *dhvaja* were all made ready in the town of Kāshṭhamaṇḍapa, and then for four days an illumination was kept up; and the materials were taken in a procession. All the paraphernalia were of gold.

The names of the architect, the artist in charge of the woodwork, the officiating priests, the astrologer etc. are noted at the end. And the composer adds an apology for his possible mistakes.

The date of the inscription is repeated.

6. The Sultan Shamsuddin of the inscription is undoubtedly Shamsuddīn Iliyās Historical Survey. who ruled in Bengal as an independent king [Sultān] from 1342 to 1357 A.D. He is known to posterity, from his habit of taking *bhāṅg*,

¹ His later career was marked with distinction. He helped the Shurqi Dynasty, and belonged to the court of King Jayasthiti Malla. The *ḍha* in his name is probably a mistake for *ṭha*. The Sanskritized form of his name was Yūtha-simha. *Nepal Cat.*, p. 246, *Rāmāyana-nāṭaka* by Dharmagupta who started publishing his books in 1360 A.D. (p. xxxviii). [The Newārs pronounce the *t*-class letters as *ṭ*-class ones and *vice versa*.]

as the *Bhaṅgar Sultān*, an appellation current still, up to the United Provinces. During his reign there arose a dispute between Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq and him for the possession or suzerainty of Tīrhut. Hari-Simha-Deva, the last independent Hindu king of Tīrhut had been driven away into Nepal by Muhammad Tughluq in 1324 A.D. and Fīrūz Shāh, on the authority of Vidyāpati, set up the Oinwār dynasty in Tīrhut. It was not clear up to this time as to what that power was against which the Oinwārs were seeking protection at Delhi from time to time. It seems now certain that it was the Bengal power which kept on troubling the Oinwār subordinates of Delhi. And owing to the rivalry between Delhi and Gaur two parties in the Oinwār dynasty were set up, one depending upon Delhi and Jaunpur and the other on Bengal.

There had been a rivalry between Nepal and Tīrhut, the latter under the dynasty of Nānyadeva. Harisimhdeva when pressed by the Delhi Tughluq invaded Nepal. Nepal seemed to have had leaned towards Delhi, for we find a coin struck in Nepal in the name of Alāuddin Khalji (1296-1316).¹

Nepal thus being allied with Delhi was a natural object of attack for Iliyās. Hājī² Iliyās with his royal

¹ "A silver coin struck in Nepal in the name of 'Alāuddin, Muhammad Shāh Khilji'" (Durga Prasad, Numismatic Supplement 1929, p. 37), where it may be added, the middle circle (*ob.*) reads *śrī śrī-Pati*. This imitation of 'Alauddin Khilji's coin must have been made by one of the Malla kings in the first part of the fourteenth century. This is the earliest Nepal coin of the Middle Ages, and shows that Nepal acknowledged the influence of the great Khalji.

² It is recorded that Hājīpur (district Muzafferpur) was founded by him.

name of *Shamsuddîn* succeeded in 1343 to the throne of Bengal and ruled as an independent king up to 1357, i.e., he ruled in the time of Muhammad Tughluq and Fîrûz Shâh Tughluq of Delhi. Iliyâs is said to have invaded Jâjnagar (in Orissa) and the Muhammadan historians note that he also invaded the South-Eastern provinces of the kingdom of Delhi and overran Tîrhut. But his invasion of Nepal is not mentioned, evidently on account of his failure there. Such defeats have been, as a rule, ignored and omitted. His invasion of Tîrhut was in 1352 A.D. (Camb. H. I. vol. iii, pages 175 and 263). As he did not reach Tîrhut before 1352 he must have reached Nepal by the Bengal route.

7. There is a *Varnsâvali* composed in the reign of Jayasthiti Malla, Further information from *Varnsâvali*. pages of which have been reproduced by Dr. Bendall in his Nepal Catalogue. One of the pages reproduced, curiously enough, gives further details of this invasion but both Dr. Bendall and Mahamahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri left the passage unread and the datum escaped notice. It is as surprising as the non-detection of the Svayambhū Nāth inscription by Bhagwanlal Indraji and Sylvain Lévi. The *Varnsâvali* reads as follows:—[for the original see Appendix B]

¹ Of the queen *Devala-Devî*² was achieved with great difficulty. After this Śrī Paśupati Malla Deva was imprisoned. By the consent of both families in the year 467 Śrāvaṇa Badi 4.

¹ *Nepal Cat.*, i, Plate 8.

² Passage in the previous leaf, not reproduced by Bendall.

Śrī Jayarāja Deva was crowned by common consent.

A son, Śrī Jayārjuna Deva, was born to
467 Vaiśākha Sudi 7 Jayarāja Deva from his wife
Rudrama-Devī.

The treasuries of Śrī Śrī Devaladevī, and of Lord Paśu-
468 Kārttika pati were drawn upon.
Pūrṇmāsī

[1347 A. D.]

By the king Jayarāja Deva the treasury of Lord
469 Vaiśākha Paur- Paśupati was drawn upon.
ṇamāsī.

[In the same year] Samasadīna, the Sūratāna of
the East, having come into Nepal broke Paśupati in
three pieces and burnt the whole of Nepal. The nation loudly
laments.

A great ceremony of propitiation called the Great-Suffer-
470 Mārgasīra Sudi 9. ing Propitiation was performed.

[1349 A.D.]

Then Devala Devī...(record goes to the next page).

8. This document is also by a contemporary
writer like the inscription, both having been recorded
in the reign of Jayasthiti Malla. Now
taking the two documents together we have the
following chronology of the invasion.

In 467 in the month of Śrāvaṇa there is a dynastic
Year 467 (1346 revolution by which Jayarāja
A. D.) Deva comes to the throne.¹

(In the same year Jayārjuna is born, before his
father's coronation).

In the same year 467, according to the inscrip-
tion, in the month of Mārgasīrṣa, i.e., four months
after the coronation, Shamsuddin Iliyās reached the
hill of Svayambhū Nāth, which is at a distance of about

¹ The name is omitted in the other Vāṃśāvalī lists, while
it is well-established from Manuscript colophons noticed by
Bendall.

6 miles from the temple of Paśupati. Iliyās had selected the right moment for his invasion, that is, a moment when a dynastic revolution was in progress in Nepal. He reached the outskirts of the capital within four months of the coronation of Jayarāja Deva.

According to the constitutional law of Nepal the king of Nepal can draw upon the treasury of Lord Paśupati only under two circumstances—when the country is invaded by a foreigner or when there is a famine in the country. We thus understand that after six months from the date of Shamsuddin's arrival in the valley of Nepal Jayarāja Deva in 468 borrows money from the temple of Paśupati. Evidently a stiff fight was put up by the king of Nepal, and the war continued for 17 months before Shamsuddin could break his wrath on Paśupati. And in the meantime on the last day of Vaiśākha in 469 (= 1348 A. D.) the king of Nepal had made a second draw upon the treasury of Paśupati.

The year 470 saw Nepal free from the Muhammadans¹ and the Propitiation Ceremony [thanks-giving] was performed. It seems certain that the efforts of the nobles of Kathmandu headed by Rāja Harsha drove the Muhammadans out.

9. In 1352 A. D. Iliyās is said to have occu-

¹ For several years Nepal had been torn by external and internal troubles; her recovery in 1349 was therefore remarkable. In 1324 she was invaded by Harisinhadeva, who was soon driven away by the army [I. A., XIII. 414, c. IX. 6]; in 1328 Ādityamalla Khasiyā invaded the valley; up to 1346 two families (Malla) had ruled (*Nepal Cat.*, 10-11).

pied Tīrhut which was then under the king of Delhi. Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq who had come to throne in 1351 A. D. marched against Shamsuddīn in 1353 A. D. and drove him to a remote corner in Bengal, to an island in the Brahamaputra (Ikḍala). Thus from 1352 A. D., Iliyās was busy in Tīrhut and Bengal, having retreated in 1349-50 from Nepal.

Jayarāja Deva was alive and ruling in the year 476, i.e., 1355-56 A. D. when a manuscript was written and dated in his reign¹, i.e. six years later than the destruction of Paśupati².

10. It now becomes clear that it was this Muhammadan invasion which indirectly led to the supersession of the Malla dynasty of Nepal. With Jayasthiti Malla begins the Kārṇāta dynasty of Nepal which lasted up to 1768 A. D. when the present Gurkha dynasty dispossessed them. Jayasthiti was a descendant of the king Hari-Simha Deva, the last king of Tīrhut who was driven away in 1324 A. D. Hari-Simha Deva is said to have entered Nepal where some conquests had already been made by his minister Chaṇḍeśvara, as noted in his books. Dr. Bendall unnecessarily disbelieves

New light on the
accession of Jayasthiti
Malla.

¹ Bendall's Catalogue of Nepal Mss., p. 27 (Introduction).

² The present Paśupati idol is a *Mukhalingam* after the style of the Vākāṭaka and Gupta sculptures. It seems that the broken idol is the one which stood in the small stone temple (Gupta Style) at Paśupati Nāth, where there is still a *mṛiga* (antelope) on a fragment, and a broken human figure is standing below on the Bagmati, or there might have been another Paśupati image on the outskirts of the capital as there were several minor Paśupati images in the valley. The Vamśāvalī, however, suggests the main Paśupati.

the episode of Hari-Simha Deva's political connection with Nepal about 1324 A. D.¹ There is still existing in the royal palace at Bhātgaon a large temple of the goddess Tulajā of Hari-Simha Deva, still known by the name of the founder. It seems that Hari-Simha Deva did establish himself at Bhātgaon but was driven out as the Vamśāvalis assert. His descendants became subordinate to the Mallas, for we find Jayasthiti assuming the 'Malla' ending to his name and as a subordinate governor of the city of Kāshthamaṇḍapa (Kathamandu) in the reign of Jayāṛjuna Malla in the year of our inscription, i.e., 492 = 1371 A. D.² Up till now this position was not known that Jayasthiti Malla started his career as a subordinate to the last Malla ruler. Jayāṛjuna Malla mentioned in our inscription as reigning in 492 (= 1371-1372 A. D.) had come to the throne in or before 484 in the month of Kārttika (= 1363 October) when a manuscript was copied under his reign³. He was still reigning in Śaka 1297 (= 1376 A. D.) when another manuscript is dated.³ About the year 500 (= 1380) when a manuscript was copied at Bhātgaon, Jayasthiti Malla is mentioned as king. And in this year 503 (= 1383 A. D.) the Vamśāvali notes the position of Jayasthiti as a full sovereign, Jayāṛjuna 'having

¹ Introduction, p. 14 of the Catalogue.

² Before this date, in 1354, he had already married Rājaladevī, an heiress to the royal house of Nepal (Bendall, pp. 11-12). But this connexion did not give him the throne for some years.

³ Ibid, p. 27.

⁴ Bendall, Introduction, p. 12. See his inscription of the year 512 (1392 A. D.) in Bendall's *Journey*, p. 83.

been broken.²⁴ It appears that from 500-503 (= c. 1380-1383 A.D.) there was a period of struggle. Jayasthiti had married Rājalla-devī, a Malla princess, but he did not base his claim on that ground for succession. He is described officially by his contemporaries as *the husband of Rājalla-devī*, which is a mere compliment to the Queen,—a feature of courtesy well-established in Nepal, where smaller coins are still struck in the name of the Queen-consort. But in reality he became the real ruler at Kathmandu within a few years of the Muhammadan invasion.

11. It seems that Rāja-Harsha and other nobles who are mentioned to have defeated “the enemies” and who repaired the Svayambhū Nāth Stūpa with such ceremony and who praise Jayasthiti as the moon of the Kshatriya ocean, had risen against Shamsuddīn and driven him out with the help of Jayasthiti. In the Nepal year 492 Jayasthiti was considered to be the most notable man in Nepal.

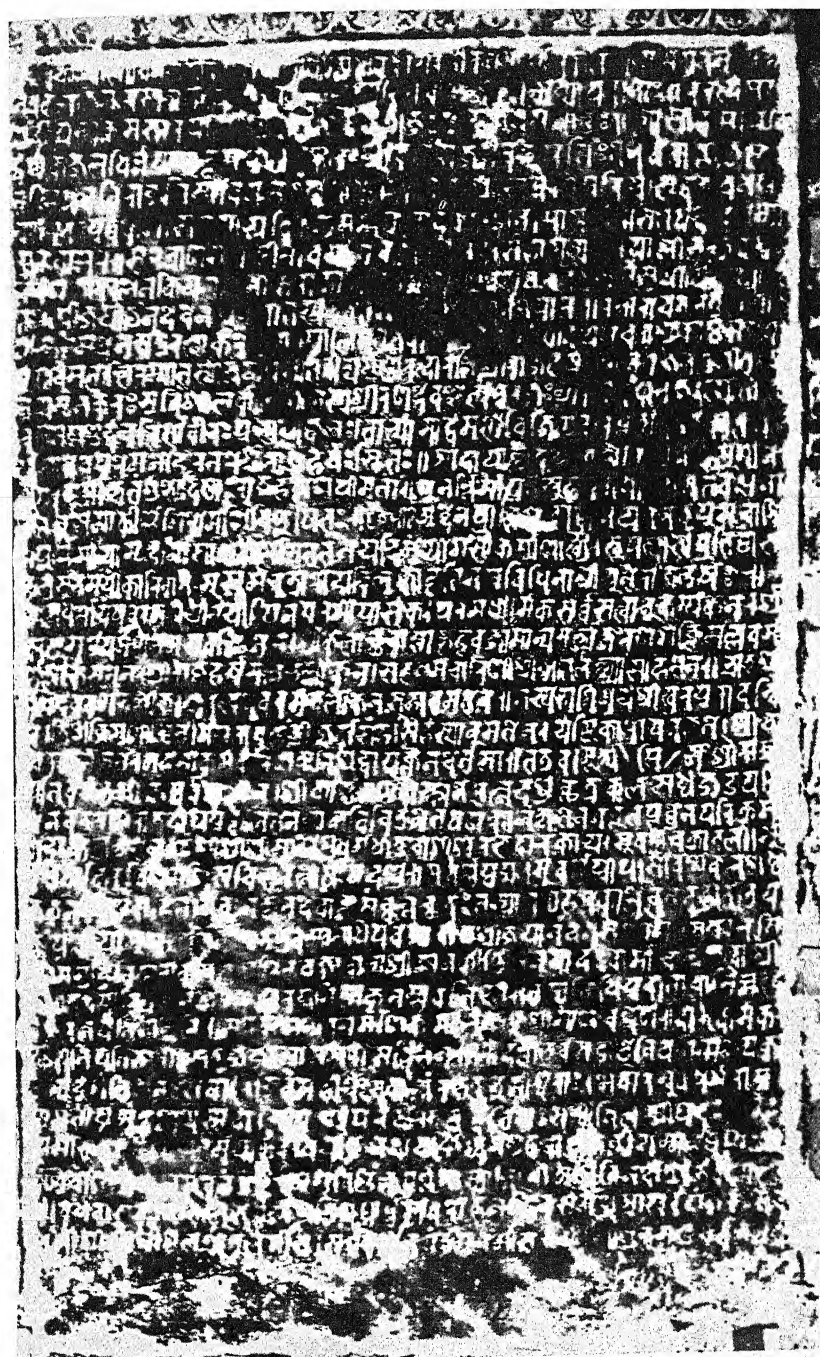
APPENDIX A

Inscription dated 492 NE (1371-1372 A.D.) at
Svayambhunath, Kathamandav

(L. 1.) [ओं न]मः धर्मधातवे ॥
जगताह्लादसच्छास्त्रहेतवे धर्मधातवे ॥
सर्वलोकतमोहानिकारिणस्तु सदा नमः ॥
[बहु ?](L. 2.)भवफलजिह्वां यस्य नामापि शृण्वन्
..... जन्मिनाध्यायमानाम् ॥
निरुपमगु(L. 3.)णवीर्य्यत्यक्तसंसारपाशः
..... पातु वो धर्मधातुः ॥
आसीद्धर्म-निधि(L. 4.)द्वयैकजलधिर्नेपालभूमण्डले
ख्यातः श्री ज य रा ज दे व नृपतिः तेनैव राज्यं कृते ॥
(L. 5.) तस्मिन्नेव विराजति स्म विमलः स्तूपो मुनेः केतनः
श्री सा ह्ये शिखरिप्रसिद्धभुवने प्र(L. 6.)स्थापितः पूर्वकैः ॥
स प्त ष ष्ठा धि के श्री म न्ने पा ला ब्द च तुः श ते ।
मार्गशीर्षे सिते पक्षे दशम्या[+] (L. 7.) गुरुवासरे ॥
सू र त्रा ण स म स्वी नो वङ्गालवहुलैर्वलैः ॥
सहागत्य च ने पा लो भग्नो दग्धस्तु (L. 8.) सर्वशः ॥
कालेन कियता धीमान्स राजा त्रिदिवङ्गतः ।
एवं भवनदग्धस्तु सुसुप्तोपि यथास्थि(L. 9.)तः ॥
श्री ज या र्जु न दे वे न सूनुना तस्य भूभृतः ।
सम्पाल्यमाने ने पा ले वीरनारायणेन तु ॥
श्री ज(L. 10.)य स्थि ति म ल्ले न क्षत्ररत्नाकरेन्दुना ।
पालिते तत्र कालेन बुद्धपुण्योदयेन च ॥
श्री का ष्ठ म्ण्ड प(L. 11.)पुरी विमलातिरम्या
तस्यां जयी वसति वीर्य्यगुणैरुदाराः (रः) ।
श्री रा ज ह षं इति सर्वजन-प्रणीतः
श्री(L. 12.) (म?) ज्ञयामृतकरः सुविशालकीर्तिः ॥
तस्य श्री र ण दे व इत्यवरजः श्री रु द्र दे वा नुजः
ख्यातो(L. 13.) [ती ?] व-समस्तबुद्धचरितो वीरः प्रतापोज्वलः ।
ताभ्यां सार्द्धमतो विजित्य च रिपून् सत्कीर्त्तिकान्तद्यु(L. 14.)तिः ॥

तस्मिन्नेव पुरे मनोहरतरे श्री राज हर्षः स्थितः ॥
 आदायाज्ञा (+) द्वयोराज्ञोरिन्द्रोपेन्द्रसमान (L. 15.) योः ।
 सज्जीकृतं शुभोद्दिष्ट-राज-हर्षेण धीमता ॥
 पुनर्निर्मायते स्तूपं धर्मधातुसमुद्भवम् ।
 ना (L. 16.) ना-रत्नसमाकीर्ण-शिरोमणिविभूषितम् ॥
 अब्दे नेपालिकाङ्के नयननवयुगे चाश्वि (L. 17.) ने पूर्णिमाया-
 मृक्षे मासानुकारे सिततनयदिने योगसौकर्मणाख्ये ।
 स्तूपस्यास्य प्रतिष्ठां स (L. 18.) कलबुभमयीं कारिता तैः सुस्वर्ण-
 छत्रारोहादिलक्षाहुतिमखविधिना श्रीयुतै राज हर्षैः ॥

(L. 19.) देयं धर्मोयं प्रवरमहायान-यायिन परमोपासक । परमधार्मिक
 सर्वसत्त्वानुकंपकेन । श्री (L. 20.) काष्ठमण्डपमहानगरावस्थितेन । श्रीकेला
 छेदवाखाकुटुंबजामात्यमूर्त्यङ्गरणशक्तिमल्लवर्म (L. 21.) भल्लो क
 सुतेन । श्रीराजहर्षमल्लभल्लोकेन । सहधर्मचारिणी श्रीजोती-
 लक्ष्म्या सहितेन ॥ भ्रातृ श्री (L. 22.) रणदेववर्मभल्लोक । श्रीरुद्र-
 देववर्मभल्लोकेन सहानुमतेन ॥ तस्य भागिनेय श्रीखरपुरावस्थि
 (L. 23.) तं । त्रिशक्तिगुणान्वित । महारावुत्त श्रीजूढसिंहसिंहस्यानुमतेन ।
 यष्टिकारोपनकृते । श्रीथाः । (L. 24.) दारुकर्मकृते । महता कर्मकारेण
 अतिश्रद्धायुक्तेन चेतसा ॥ तत्र च । मूर्त्यसिङ्गश्रीराज (L. 25.) पति-
 वर्मभल्लोकपूर्वज्जमेन । श्रीकाष्ठमण्डपस्थाने रत्नदण्डछत्रकलसध्वज
 उपस्थि (L. 26.) तेन चतुरहोरात्रदीपप्रज्वलितेन नानाविचित्र-नेत (त्र)-पटा-
 कालंकृतेन भूतपूर्वेन परिक्रम (L. 27.) महायात्राकृतेन ॥ ओं श्रीश्रीश्री-
 साह्योगु-धर्मधातु-वागीश्वरभट्टारकाय सुवर्णचक्रावली । सुव (L. 28.)
 र्णघटित विश्वमणिखचितरत्नोष्णीषदण्ड ॥ सुवर्णखट्वा । सुवर्णपीथ । सौवर्ण-
 कलशध्व (L. 29.) जकनकदण्डसहित । नवीनकृतदेवाङ्गसं (स) छत्रछत्रः
 तस्यावरोहनकाले चतुरहोरात्रय (L. 30.) ज्ञपूर्णाया मुपढोक्तः ॥ तत्रैव स्थाना-
 धिपवज्राचार्य श्रीजयानंदः । स एव मण्डपस्थानसि (L. 31.) कोमगुह्नि-
 विहारावस्थितपण्डितवज्राचार्यश्रीज्ञानकीर्तिसेनपादः कर्माचार्य कृत्वा
 श्री (L. 32.) [व]ज्रधातुदेगुरिक्रमेन जीर्णोद्धारप्रतिष्ठाकृतं भवति स्म ॥
 तस्य तिथिप्रदाता वानिहं (L. 33.) दैवज्ञरत्नपतिनाम्नेति ॥ स एव
 स्थाने विश्वमणिकर्मकर [भि]क्षु श्रीमार्यचन्द्रेण ॥ दारुकर्मकर (L. 34.)
 स्थपति-पतिभारो सभ्रातृज जग राम भारो सहितेन ॥



Svayambhū Nath Inscription of the Nepal Year 492
< 1371 A. D. >



मोदन्तां भवसङ्कटे निपतिताः त्यक्त्वा (L. 35.) जना दुर्गतिं ॥

निःशेषारि जितं (1) महीञ्च सकलां रक्षन्तु भूमीश्वराः ।

मेघारम्बुधरैर्धराम्ब (L. 36.) सुमतीं पूर्यन्तु तोयैस्सदा ।

मत्पुण्योपचयैर्लभन्तु कृतिनः संवोधि-लक्ष्मीपदम् ॥

इदं (L. 37.) प्रसस्तिकं तस्मान्मया मंदधिया कृतम् ॥

यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा क्षमनीयम् महद्वुधैः ॥

(L. 38.) श्रेयोस्तु ने पा ल-सं वत् ४९२ अशु नि शु क ल पूर्ण मा-
स्या न्ति थौ अ दि व नि न क्ष त्रे सु क र्म यो गे (L. 39.) ॥ बु ध वा स रे
प्र ति ष्ठा सं पूर्ण प्र ति प द्या ध्व जा व रो ह न दि व से न । थ व आ ख र ठा क र या (L. 40.)
क र मी श्री मा नी ग ल ज्ञ मूल मी स । स ए व था न यं तु पू ल मी स ॥ * ॥
शु भ म स्तु सर्व दा

APPENDIX B

Text of the Vamsavali, Nepal Catalogue, i, pl. 8.

- L. 1. श्री दे व ल दे वी नां अति कष्टेन प्रतिपादितं ॥ अत्रान्तरे श्री प शु प ति-
म ल दे व-बन्धनं करोति ॥ उभयकुलसानुमतेन सम्बत् ४६७ श्रावण
वदि ४ श्री ज
- L. 2. य रा ज दे व स्य राजा कृत्यः सर्वसंमतेन सम्बत् ४६७ वैशाख शुदि ७ ॥
श्री ज य रा ज दे व स्य पत्नी श्री रुद्र म दे वी स तस्य पुत्र
श्री ज या र्जु न दे व
- L. 3. जात ॥ सम्बत् ४६८ कार्तिक पूर्णमासी श्री श्री दे व ल दे वी नाम्
श्री प शु प ति भ टा र क स्य कोष प्रदोक्तम् ॥ सम्बत् ४६९ वैशाखा-
पौर्णमास्यां
- L. 4. [श्री] श्री रा जा ज य रा ज दे वे न श्री प शु प ति भ टा र क स्य
कोष प्रदोक्तम् ॥ तेन तत्र पूर्व सु र ता न स म स दि ने ना गत्य
नेपालम् श्री प शु प ति स्त्रिखं-
- L. 5. डी कृता नें पा ल स्मस्त भस्मीकृतानां हाहाकरन्ति लोकश्च ॥ सम्बत्
४७० मार्गशिरशुदि ९ महाकष्टनुषमिः भक्त पुरे ॥ तदनन्तर श्री
दे व ल दे वी नां [स्म ?]

AN ACCOUNT OF FIROZ SHĀH TUGHLUQ

(*From Sirat-i-Firozshāhi*)*

By PROF. K. K. BASU, M.A., T.N.J. COLLEGE
BHAGALPUR

[For a prefatory note on the work *vide* JBORS.
XXII. 13.]

Nauroz,¹ the son-in-law of Burmah Shirin, and the guide and leader of the vain, despicable and perturbed band, the slanderer of fair names, the ungrateful and unjust, who having come to the court of the Sultan from Turkistan in a poor and destitute condition, was nourished with the morsel from the table of generosity and the gift from the tray of favours of the cherisher of the poor (i.e., the Emperor).

VERSE

Whatever demanded the Sultan from fortune
and divine power
Heaven permitted, and made no enquiries.
But for thy dignity, oh Emperor!
No event can find its way in the vicinity of
countries.

* See Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXII. Part I, page 13.

¹Yahiya calls him Nuroz Karkuj. See my *Tārikh-i-Mubārak shāhi* (Gackwad's oriental Series) p. 121. Nizām-ud-dīn and Zia Barni call him Nauroz Gurgin.

and in evidence of his anger against those reproachful
and accursed tribe, girded up his loins for the holy
war.

VERSE

His protection repulses untoward events every-
day;
It provides a check to all entanglements for
Islam;
He, who in revealing truths, when opens
tongue,
Puts nail on the door of misinterpretation.
From its sleep of destruction arises not ever-
lasting insurrection,
While his (Emperors) eyes, like vigilance, re-
mains awake;
Before his prudence, wisdom of the malicious
however cautious
Is like senselessness near sobriety.
His Majesty, by nature auspicious,
Except near him is never yellow
The face of the insurrection of the age !
Ever on the people are his hands of generosity;
Ever near destruction are the steps of his
enemies;
His banner with a slight motion
The groove of excessive rebellion destroys.
The lion of the Spheres is always held,
By the shadow of the imperial lion standard.
Of his servitude the world will ever boast of

Till the Cypress¹ and Lily are among the
liberated.

With followers, sons, brothers, relatives, friends
and personal slaves,

VERSE

The party of men—the heirs and relatives, stood
in all sincerity, in front and behind !
The Emperor fought the recalcitrants who came
in thousands.

VERSE

In climes where thy violence conflagration causes
It cleanses the air of all its impurities.
In climes where thy kindness scatters grains
Surely in snare it entraps the griffins;²
The palate of rebellion taste bitter, for,
At the point of thy lance lies all the sweetness of
victory.

(Oh Emperor ?)

In the centre of the Universe strike ye thy lance,
so that oppression
Within the orbit of the world may not keep its
feet !
And with an onset the royalists put the battalion
of the rebels to plunder.

His Majesty,

¹ "In Persian literature the cypress-tree is called *Sarwi āzād* or the free cypress, from its freedom from curvature, and its independence of all support or from its being always green."

² "A fabulous bird, often mentioned in Eastern romance : it is celebrated in the *Shah-nāma* as the foster-father and teacher of Zāl, Rustam's father. . ."

At the same time, it so happened that, His Majesty, May God his kingdom perpetuate!

VERSE

If the Sun sheds light on his enemies,
They become scattered like the particles resembling the "Suhā!"¹

who had set free a number of persons from captivity, and had fulfilled to the best of his ability their claims to consanguinity, conferred upon them favours and offices. But in return for the protection that was afforded to them, these people displayed enmity towards His Majesty. In fact, on their part, the consequences of propinquity should have been obedience to the Emperor and conformity to his wishes, and not perversity and hostility which they had shown.

VERSE

Externally, a mild sheep,
Internally, a ferocious wolf!

But how little did it affect the benevolence of the Emperor! It is however strange that, these persons regarded themselves as the near relations of His Majesty and stung him at the same time!! Previous to this, when these persons were often favoured with the king's kindness, they would look upon themselves as belonging to the rank of the royal servants, and now, having fully enjoyed the benefits of his indulgence they behaved like foreigners becoming the efficient instruments of fraud and deception.

¹ An obscure star in the Lesser Bear.

Actuated by a sense of perfidy and lust for seizing the country these evildoers struck their nefarious hands on the rope of knavery and treachery. What an error of judgment ! His Majesty, by nature auspicious, is ever the custodian of the believers !! How could any one harbour such evil thoughts against him, and what more wonderful thing than this !!!

VERSE

One, who is worthy of the country, is the Emperor,
You can say there is no such territory worthy of him!

When the world reads out *kebutba*¹ in his name,
auspicious constellation
Sacrifices at his pulpit the purse of fortune.

When autumn is perfumed with his conviviality
The spheres exude sweat in shame for the
 fragrance of his incense!

Victory and assistance (of God) ever go before
him.

Wherever goes he, his banner becomes victorious!

Having an attack of insanity, (the body of insurgents) sometimes won over the keeper of the royal elephants by gifts of large basins full of gold dinars; at times, they provoked (desire) in the foolish, villainous and totally destitute people of the town by false promises. How ludicrous, what could they bestow ! The rumour of their niggardliness was but

¹ A sermon preached in the mosques on a Friday.

current in the world, but how wonderful, they still implored assistance and aid. On occasions, they kept concealed some of those despicables in an ambush. They neglected the fact that, Almighty God in rendering assistance to His chosen had specially favoured him (Emperor), and it was He who was the bestower of sovereignty. The evil designs of the malefactors he (Emperor) frustrated and set at naught.

VERSE

With every evil there is a blessing rolled up,
Soft marrow is arranged inside the bone !

Whatsoever treachery and fraud were displayed by them they were requited with various acts of kindness from the clement Emperor.

Once, these evil-minded persons held a special convivial entertainment in honour of the Emperor, and held out an invitation to the patron of fellowship and the protector of the realm (meaning the Sultan). May God maintain his sovereignty ! Out of natural generosity and in obedience to the *Summat*¹, His Majesty accepted the invitation, though his well-wishers and friends informed him that there was a fear of personal danger if he kept the invitation and that some deadly poison was mixed up with all the victuals and drinks. The Emperor, nevertheless, from natural vigour and bravery did not refuse the invitation, and having sincere belief and firm faith (in God) drank off at the assembly with his own pious hands that deadly potion.

¹ The traditions of Muhammad, supplementing the Qur'an and held in nearly equal authority.

VERSE

He who puts his trust in God
Holds the celestial horse under his control :
If the whole world turns out his enemy
Not a hair of his body is bended.

On another occasion (the miscreants) won over by stratagem one of the attendants of the court and caused him to administer, while presenting betel to the Emperor, pills of acacia mixed up with venom. The well-wishers of His Majesty gave him a warning, but in spite of this and notwithstanding the signs of hostility, he partook of the poisoned pill. By the Grace of God, it had no effect on him.

VERSE

He whom the favour of God protects
A spider screens under his web,
In his palate poison is transformed into sugar,
In his hands stone is changed into jewel ;
He who places his head on the threshold of God
Puts his head on the top of fortune !

The Emperor, as his wont, owing to his clemency and mercy, connived at the misdemeanour. The people of the country are authentically aware of this fact.

Again, one of those wicked persons, who had joined hands with the King's enemies, secretly taking security in his own malignity, advanced forward and attempted from an ambush to shoot an arrow at the Emperor, when the latter, during the chase, separated himself from his attendants and was left alone. The well-wishers and admirers of the court made the fact

known to His Majesty, the refuge of the world, and supplied him with the name and address of the villain, who took upon himself the responsibility of shooting the arrow of misfortune, but the Sultan paid no attention to the incident. The friends (of the Emperor) had also thrown out the hint that the devil-may-care fellow shall rush at the Emperor and shall throw a turban round the neck of His Majesty's horse, and further advised him (the Sultan) that when the criminal would be engaged in his nefarious work he should be caught hold of and wounded at the point of the Emperor's arrow that never missed the target.

VERSE

A wonderful bird, thy arrow, oh King !
It rises high up like the Vultures ;
It accepts no food but the heart of the enemy
And preys not except the life of the adversary ;
Proclamation of Victory it seizes in its talons
Announcement of triumph it holds in its beak !

In fact, during the hunt, that fellow, who lost his eye sight from his enmity to the Emperor, was discerned by His Majesty, who galloped his world traversing horse towards him.

VERSE

(His Majesty's horse was like)
A ferocious tiger, a wild sheep with tapering
tail and buttocks like a deer,
Eagle in appearance, phoenix in beauty, and in
flight like a parrot :
Legs strong, face pointed, with buttocks wide

Broad in neck, hoofs small and loins narrow;
 When wrathful the air is under its control,
 In attack, a Zephyr with legs restrained :
 In appearance, a partridge gracefully moving,
 While walking, a bride with beautiful features :
 When ran the mare with limbs outstretched,
 They looked like tough pillars of mountains.

The Emperor addressed the assassin, his voice resembling the mighty note of thunder, "God, the Almighty is my protector and my help ! Whoever has intended to shoot an arrow at me, let him do it, and may the evil designs of the unfortunate fellow be thus disclosed to the public." Upon this, the evil intentioned fellow began to tremble, and down he fell in a swoon.

VERSE

He who breathes in thy opposition (oh Emperor!)
 Will himself be stifled by his hostile breath.
 Wherever thy phoenix-like desire casts its shade
 In rank and dignity the *Aanka*¹ becomes smaller
 than a fly !

(After the above incident) the said ruffian survived for ten years and four, but his name was never disclosed by His Majesty nor did the fellow suffer in receipt of (imperial) rewards and bounties.

On a different occasion, in an hunting expedition, a certain individual shot an arrow towards the game but it struck the Emperor instead. When some of the courtiers mentioned the name of the criminal to

¹ A fabulous bird which makes a distinguished figure in eastern romance.

His Majesty, the latter out of excessive natural generosity, forbade them to speak out the name and himself repudiated the whole incident.

Praise be to God ! the Emperor was under His (safe) custody ! One ought to have known that the Almighty could do away with any misfortune !

Of innate clemency and attainments perfect, the Emperor made his way to the capital.

Miscellaneous Articles

Nepal Chronicles on the Caste of the Guptas

In JBORS., XIX 114 ff the origin of the Guptas has been discussed. The Mañjuśrī Imperial History would regard them as Jāts from Mathurā (p. 53). On their *Dhārāṇa Gotra*, Mr. Dasharatha Sharma, points out (JBORS., vol. XX, p. 224) that this gotra is still a flourishing one amongst the Jāts.

Now if we turn to the history of Nepal, the Vamśāvalis mention "*Gupta* kings" just before Śivadeva, (Lévi, *Nepal*, ii. 122; 157; 72) who according to the Vamśāvalis, drove this invaders' dynasty out of Nepal and restored the Lichchhavi dynasty. They are noted to have belonged to the Aheer caste. On referring to another mention (Wright, *History of Nepal*, p. 108; Lévi, ii, 72) the "*Gupta* dynasty" are said to have been 'Goalās' and interlopers in Nepal. The reference to the end of the Gupta rule in the time of Śivadeva I who is known from inscriptions to have flourished along with Amśuvarman (GI., p. 189) seems to be based upon true history. It is supported by ascertained chronology, according to which the dispossession of the Guptas would fall in the period a little after 600 A. D. The Nepal authorities must be referring to the Imperial Guptas or their representatives when they treat of the Guptas who had eight successions coming down to the time of Śivadeva I.

The alleged caste of the Guptas as Aheer = Skt. (*Abbīra*) or Goālā (= Skt. *Gopāla*) 'cowherd', which in popular estimation are interchangeable terms, brings them very near the Jāts who are always classed popularly as a variety of Goālās or Aheers. That the Guptas were regarded in Nepal as Goālās or Aheers is fairly a good piece of evidence on their original caste, and lends support to the identification of their caste already proposed in this Journal.

*Identification of the royal names of the Gupta
Dynasty in Nepal*

The names given in the Vamśāvalis of the Gupta Dynasty are given in two places, one (1st column below) as those whose family was thrown out by Śivadeva, who re-established the Suryavāṁśa Lichchavis; and another, in the beginning where the kings of the Gupta Dynasty who came and ruled in Nepal are enumerated (column 2nd).

	<i>Jaya Gupta I</i>
	<i>Pārama Gupta</i>
	<i>Harsha Gupta</i>
	<i>Bhīma Gupta</i>
	<i>Maṇi [or Mati] Gupta</i>
<i>Vishṇu Gupta</i>	<i>Vishṇu Gupta</i>
<i>Kṛishṇa Gupta</i>	<i>Yaksha Gupta</i>
<i>Bhūmi Gupta</i>	<i>Jaya Gupta II</i>

(Lévi, ii, 157, 172).

(Lévi, *Nepal*, ii, 72, Wright,
p. 108).

This Jaya Gupta II, driven out of Nepal, settled down near Janakpur in the Tarai (IA, VII. 89).

Evidently the Guptas dispossessed by Śivadeva

(I) had been a Gupta branch settled in Nepal. Jaya Gupta II is known from his coins which have been assigned to "about 600 A.D." (CIM, 121), not 'earlier than the end of the sixth century' (Allan, civ). His copper coins have the Garuḍa emblem of the Guptas. His gold coin is most debased, bearing *Ja ya* vertically and *Gu* between the legs. That his coins were recognised in Magadha and he had connexion with Magadha is proved now by a mould of his gold coin dug out at Nālandā this month. Uptil now his coins, though recognised as Guptan, could not be attributed to any Gupta line known from inscriptions (V. Smith, CIM, 121; Allan, G.C. 149; Rapson, IC, §96). The family connection with the main line is established by the coinage. Jaya Gupta II, as a ruler settled in the Tarai, in North Bihar, is given no further genealogy, he was evidently the last of the Nepal Guptas.

Lévi's view that the Guptas had no political authority in Nepal cannot be accepted. He misinterprets the Allahabad inscription. Nepal is definitely stated in the inscription to have been a tributary paying *kara* to Samudra Gupta. The Imperial Gupta influence is clearly traceable in the coinage of Nepal of the 6th century—the legend style—*Mānāṅka*, *Guṇāṅka*, after the fashion of Gupta *Vikramāṅka*.

K. P. J.

THE PLACE OF AGASTYASAMHITĀ IN DHARMAŚĀSTRA LITERATURE

BY BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA, M.A., B.L., *Kāṇyatīrtha*

The publication of Mr. P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. I in 1930 marks the dawning of a new period of research in the domain of ancient and mediæval religious and civil law of the Hindus. It reviews the development of Smṛiti literature through twenty-five centuries, from the earliest times down to 1820 A. D. The body of the work describes in detail more than one hundred authors of Dharmasāstra, while the exhaustive bibliographies give short notes on works and authors of the same.

Mr. Kane writes in p. 507 "अगस्त्य or अगस्तिसंहिता mentioned in कालविवेक of जीमूतबाह्न, in अपरार्क". But no work has been published under the title of अगस्त्य or अगस्तिसंहिता and Mr. Kane has given us no clue of any MS. of the same. One अगस्त्यसंहिता has been edited* in 1910 with a Bengali translation by the late M. M. Kamalakṛishna Smṛititīrtha and published in Bengali characters from the Hitavādī Office of Calcutta. It does not, however, contain the quotations of Agastya in *Kālaviveka* (B. I. edition, p. 277) and *Aparārka* (Ānandāśrama series, p. 1070). The very verses ascribed to Agastya by *Aparārka* are ascribed

*On the basis of four MSS., one obtained from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, one from the Calcutta Sanskrit College and two from private libraries of Bhatpara, district 24 parganahs.

by Sūlapāṇi to Pulastya in his *Prāyaścittaviveka* (Cal. ed. in Bengali characters). So it is extremely likely that paleographical similarity of the words अगस्त्य and पुलस्त्य in Devanāgarī script might have occasioned a copyist's error in *Aparārka*. I have not succeeded in finding out the cause of the mention of the alternative title अगस्तिसंहिता by Kane.

The printed *Agastyasambhitā* is, however, an authoritative treatise in continuous metre and partakes of the character of Dharmaśāstra, being composed not later than the 15th century, inasmuch as it has been profusely quoted by Govindananda and Raghunandana, the sixteenth century jurists of Bengal. The former quotes it in his *Varṣakriyākaumudī* and *Śuddhikaumudī*, while the latter quotes it in his *Tithitattva*, *Ekādaśītattva* and *Malamāsatattva*. All the above quotations are found in the printed *Agastyasambhitā* which consists of thirty-two chapters, the verses in each chapter ranging between thirty and sixty. The work embodies a supposed dialogue between Sūtikṣṇa and Agastya, the latter having gone to the hermitage of the former on the Gautami river in the Dandaka forest. The conversation which ranges over many topics of ritual and philosophical interest is carried on between the above two sages, Sūtikṣṇa putting and Agastya answering the questions.

The description of the following topics which are dealt with in the *Agastyasambhitā* will not be out of place here :—

Chap. 1. Dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī.

- Chap. 2. Determination of the knowledge of the Supreme Being.
- Chap. 3. Description of the Rāma incarnation.
- Chaps. 4-5. Description of the hymns and prayers of Rāma.
- Chap. 6. Description of the sacred character of the basil plant.
- Chap. 7. „ of the greatness of the formula of incantation.
- Chap. 8. „ of the teachers of that incantation.
- Chap. 9. Determination of the incantation.
- Chaps. 10-25. Detailed rites in connexion with the worship of Rāma.
- Chaps. 26-29. Rites in connexion with the Rāmanavamī festival.
- Chaps. 30-31. Rites in connexion with Lakṣmaṇamantra.
- Chap. 32. Rites in connexion with Hanumanmantra.

The quotations from the *Agastyasamhitā* in the various works of Govindānanda and Raghunandana are from the following chapters only, viz: 6th, 10th—13th, 16th—18th, 20th, 26th—28th, and 32nd. The quotations from each of the 16th, 18th, 20th, 27th, and 32nd chapters consists of two or three verses, while those from the rest cover almost the entire chapters. The lengthy quotations are concerning the worship of Rāma and the Rāmanavamī festival, and we propose to give a brief description of the latter, as contained in the 28th chapter of the *Agastyasamhitā*, inasmuch as the Bengal *nibandha*-

kāras, Govindānanda and Raghunandana, have laid down their prescriptions regarding this festival on the sole authority of the *Agastyasamhitā* alone.

“Rama, who is but an incarnation of the God Hari, took his birth in the ninth lunar day of the bright half of the month of *Caitra*. If in any year that lunar day coincides with the asterism of *punarvasu*, it becomes highly auspicious and confers immense good on the worshipper. If the coincidence of the asterism with the lunar day occurs in the midday, the festival is then of the holiest character possible. The period of duration of the Ramanavami festival is more sacred than that of ten millions of solar eclipses. The Supreme Being partially manifested Himself as Rāma in the womb of Kauśalyā, when the sun had gone to the Aries and the *lagna* was the *Karkaṭa*. The rites, performed on the anniversary of that day in honour of the God Rāma, conduce to the salvation of the performer. Persons, wishing to attain the neighbourhood of the Supreme Being, should fast and offer oblations to the Fathers on that day and abstain from sleep in the night following it. The fool who eats in this day surely goes to the *Kumbhīpāka* hell. All persons should shower in this day bounties on the deserving, according to their circumstances, and charities, however small, if made in that day, will have the spiritual effect of great ones, like the *tulāpuruṣa*. The simple performance of the Ramanavami festival confers on the performer the spiritual benefit accruing from the repeated munificence on solar eclipse days in the holy spot of Kurukṣetra. The ninth lunar

day, if beginning from the middle of a solar day, will be discarded by the devotees of the God Viṣṇu who will fast on the following solar day and break their fasts on the next following day.

“The God Rāma will be meditated upon as possessing two hands, shining like blue lotuses, and two eyes, effulgent like red lotuses, and that, dressed with yellow robes and bejewelled head-dress and anointed with celestial things, he is seated in a throne befitting a god; and that, surrounded by holy sages like Vasiṣṭha and others, he is engaged in conversation with Sita, while Lakṣmaṇa, bow and arrows in hand, waits upon him and Bharata and Śatrughna also attend him. Having meditated thus, the worshipper should repeat the following twelve-syllable mantra “ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय” and, if initiated, should repeat the mantra of Rama with *nyāsa*, after having said his tantric prayers.”

Reviews and Notices of Books

An Early History of Kausāmbī. By NAGENDRA NATH GHOSH, M.A. Head of the Department of History and Civics, Ewing Christian College, Allahabad. Published under the auspices of The Allahabad Archæological Society, 1935. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5$. Pp. i—xxxvi, 1-120, Plates 1-9, Maps 2.

It is a promising sign of the times that as students of politics are taking to Provincial Autonomy as a prelude to Federation, students of history are concentrating on regional research as an approach to co-ordination comprehending diverse ages, stages, sites and their stories. Living about 35 miles away from Kauśāmbī, Professor Ghosh has attempted to trace its history through Literature and Archæology from the earliest times to the 11th century A. D. On the whole the attempt is creditable.

The author has evidently taken pains to collect his secondary references, but his arrangement of primary sources is rather haphazard. Apart from the Frontispiece, his plates 1-9 place the Aśoka Pillar and a Red-stone Image¹ of the time of Kaniṣka before the Pre-Mauryan Terra-cottas. Archæologists are not

¹ Dr. Mookerji in his Introduction, p. xxi, and the author on p. 108, call it an image of the Buddha and then read the inscription describing it as a Bodhisattva. After the publication of Dr. Har Dayal's admirable *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, 1932, even a layman should be more discriminating.

agreed as to whether the art of working terra-cotta preceded sculpture in stone, but in the present case no such consideration is involved and the terra-cottas IV—VIII are admittedly pre-Mauryan. The same lack of perspective is apparent in the assessment of the primary literary sources, citations from the Epics, Purāṇas and the Pāli canon. The result is confusion, creating unreal difficulties and ignoring or minimising very real ones.

Thus on p. xvi, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji who writes the Introduction, states that "Kausura-bindi was a Kauśāmbeya, i.e., a native of Kauśāmbī." "Mr. Ghosh refers to Dr. Ray Chaudhary on p. 5, according to the commentator Harisvāmin, Proti Kauśāmbeya was a native of Kauśāmbī, if Harisvāmin's interpretation is correct." Now, neither Dr. Mookerji nor Dr. Ray Chaudhary points out that this derivation of Kauśāmbeya from Kauśāmbī is nothing more than a *possible* interpretation by a late author, commenting on the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Eggeling, S.B.E., 44, 153, n. 5). There is another and more authoritative meaning noted by Macdonell and Keith in *Vedic Index* (1912), Vol. I, p. 193 : "Kauśāmbeya is the patronymic ('descendant of Kuśāmba') of a teacher Proti in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (xii, 2, 2, 13; Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 2. 24) according to the St. Petersburg Dictionary: a view supported by the fact that Kūśāmba actually occurs as the name of a man in the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (viii. 6. 8)." This chronological confusion leads the author to his next false step—"There are several traditional accounts of the origin of the city of Kauśāmbī, but none of them has any

semblance of connection with the other. They are often contradictory.*** no historical value" (p. 1). A synchronistic setting of Purāṇic, Vedic and Epic evidence would remove this contradiction, even though it may not associate the earliest known Kūśāmba with the site of Kauśāmbī. More than one Kūśāmbas are referred to through the ages just as Kauśāmbī was founded, refounded and continued through more than one age. The 48th king of the family of Svāyambhuva Manu (4821 B.C. according to the Purāṇas) was Prācīna-Kuśa or Prācīnabarhis. The 152nd king of the family of Ikṣvāku of Vivasvata Manu (2100 B. C. according to the Purāṇas) was Kuśa. The 2nd king of the family of Bṛhadratha (1652 B. C. according to the Purāṇas) was Kuśāgra. The terra-cottas at Kauśāmbī on the Jumna bear such close affinity to the terra-cottas discovered in the Ganges valley, Nerbudda valley and the Indus valley the last of which has been assigned to the 4th millennium B. C. (cf. Marshall, Mahenjo-Daro, Vol. I, p. 106), that the earliest stratum of Kauśāmbī may be equated with any of these three Kuśas, checking the successive stages of literary tradition through the successive strata of archæological finds. Hence an independent chronological setting of these two primary (literary and archæological) sources and then their synthetic synchronism have far more than a visual value and may be recommended to Professor Ghosh if and when he recasts his pages.

This uncertainty of background has sometimes vitiated the author's utilisation of secondary sources as well. In his chapter on "The Identification of

Kauśāmbī,” pp. 83-99, he gives a fairly full and discriminating account of relevant discussion by Cunningham, Vincent Smith and Watters. But the evaluation of the various data leave much to be desired. The evidence of Kauśāmba-maṇḍala, Pabhosā and Payālasa (p. 99) on the strength of the Kara inscription (1035 A. D.) and the Pabhosā red sandstone (1824-25 A. D.) pp. 94-99, should be compared with earlier description of Kauśāmbī and the latter’s contiguity to Śrāvastī after far more consideration than the author appears to have shown. Kuśāmba, a grandson of Balākāśva and son of Kuśa, is the reputed founder of one well-known town Kauśāmbī, south of Ayodhyā and north-west of modern Allahabad. The Hitopadeśa places it in the Gauḍa country (Cf. *Rāmāyana*, I, 34, 6; Pāṇini, IV, 2, 68; *Hitopadeśa* in Mitralābha: *Asti Gauḍaviṣaye Kauśāmbī nāma nagarī*. Similarly is the city Śrāvastī described as situated in Gauḍa, while it belongs to Kosala, likewise a part of Oudh (Cf. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, vol. III, p. 263). In Vol. I, pp. 327-8 of A. S. I., Cunningham wrote—“These apparent discrepancies are satisfactorily explained when we learn that Gauḍa is only a subdivision of Uttara Kosala, and that the ruins of Śrāvastī have actually been discovered in the district of Gauḍa which is the *Gonda* of the maps.” Neither Cunningham nor the author realises the association between Kauśāmbī and Śrāvastī at different epochs. The author exaggerates the importance of the Kara inscription and in accepting Daya Ram Sahni’s claim to have “finally and conclusively established the identity of those remains with Śrāvastī.” (J. R. A. S.

1927). The Kara inscription is dated A. D. 1036, and it is on a piece of stone and stones have been known to travel. Rests the similarity of name with Kosam. The two Sahet Mahet inscriptions identifying Śrāvastī are slightly more cogent. But none of these can be regarded as finally conclusive by those familiar with the vicissitudes of place-names in inscriptions and accounts in Hiuen Tsang. Two instances from Bihar and Orissa are typical. Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India*, 1871, p. 461 identified Buddhavana with Budhain, but he himself indicated in his "Map of Magadha showing the Routes of Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsang (A. S. R., 1871-72, vol. III, p. 139. 1873) Budhain is several miles east or north-east, i.e., on the wrong side of Jethian, and he made no attempt to explain this discrepancy. Jackson corrected this fallacy and identified Buddhavana with the Hanria Hill in J. B. O. R. S. (vol. III, Part III, 1917, pp. 293-316). The itinerary of *Goradhagiri* from Khāravela's inscription at Kharḍagiri to its replica on the Barabar Hills is well-known through the writings of Jackson, Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji (Jackson, J. B. O. R. S., vol. I, Part II, 1915, pp. 159-171). Thus while the identification of Śrāvastī with Sahet Mahet, and of Kauśāmbī with Kosam may be accepted as good working hypotheses, it would be unwise to refuse further enlightenment or to minimise existing difficulties, specially in view of the fact that excavation may reveal strata yet untouched by the surface exploration. Moreover this uncertainty of identification need in no way interfere with the actual work of

collecting and piecing together the finds which are of undoubted value.

It would be highly interesting to have a detailed account of the archæological finds, specially illustrating the terra-cottas and coins. The author mentions a few in pp. 102-114, but even these supply food for prolonged reflexion. One wonders how Cunningham's intuition regarding coins amounted to real genius. Jayaswal triumphantly vindicated this (and incidentally some of his own) in his lecture on 'Pre-Mauryan Coins' before the R. A. S. in London.

Professor Ghosh has produced a readable book. It is to be hoped that he will make it more useful by supplying fuller information reproducing more of the recent finds.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

1. The Uṇādisūtras with the Vṛtti of Svetavana-
vāsin. Edited by T. R. Chintamani, M. A. Madras
University Sanskrit Series No. 7, Pt. 1. Madras, 1933.
10" × 6½". Pp. xiv, 236, 46. Price Rs. 3/.

2. The Uṇādisūtras with the Prakriyāsarvasva of
Nārāyaṇa. Edited by the same. M. U. S. Series No.
7, pt. 2. Madras, 1933. 10" × 6½". Pp. xii, 149,
63. Price Rs. 2/8/0.

3. The Uṇādisūtras of Bhoja with the Vṛtti of
Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa and The Uṇādisūtras of the
Kātantra School with the Vṛtti of Durgasīrṇha. Edi-
ted by the same. M. U. S. Series No. 7, pt. 6.
Madras, 1934. 10" × 6½". Pp. xiv, 107, 51, 72,
24. Price Rs. 3/.

The Madras University and the editor may be
congratulated for having undertaken the publication
of the Uṇādisūtras in various recensions and already
published the above three nicely got up volumes, each
furnished with indexes of Sūtras and words and the
first two also with those of authorities and quotations.
The importance of the Uṇādisūtras as an authorita-
tive guide to the position of the accent and the
right sequence of sounds in a large number of nominal
stems cannot be exaggerated; one cannot, however,
say as much of their etymological contribution, which
not infrequently consists in an arbitrary analysis into a
verbal root and a suffix, all other phonetic require-

ments being supplied by *nipātana*¹. All this has been recognised by the commentators². There appears to be a general agreement, also in holding the Uṇādi-derivatives as nouns (*saṃjñā-sabda*), which, coupled with a view implicitly held by some that all of them are current in non-Vedic Sanskrit, has misled many commentators into attributing mostly fanciful meanings to purely Vedic words. That this view cannot be altogether correct is, however, clear from II. 82³, *dhṛser dhiṣ cha saṃjñāyām*, whereupon Ujjvaladatta remarks, *saṃjñādbikāre punaḥ saṃjñāgrahaṇam prāyeṇonā-dinām yaugikavasūchanārtam*, and from the large number of Vedic derivatives which are very often found to be *yaugika* in sense.

Almost every school of Sanskrit grammar has its own Uṇādisūtras⁴, but the most important are those of the Paṇiniyan school, since the others are mostly based on these and almost universally ignore the accent. The authorship and the date of composition of these Sūtras, the earliest that we possess, are obscure. We know that they are very old, since they have been frequently quoted in the Kāśikā and

¹ Cf. Pāṇ. 3.3.1, उणादयो बहुलम् and the Vārttika on it, बाहुलकं प्रकृतेस्तनुदृष्टेः प्रायसमुच्चयनादपि तेषाम् । कार्यसशेषविशेषश्च तदुक्तं नैगमरूढिभवं हि सुसाधु ॥

² Cf. Śveta. I. 1, उणादिप्रत्ययान्ताः संज्ञाशब्दाः । तेन तेषामत्र स्वरूपसंवेदनस्वरवर्णानुपूर्वीमात्रफलमन्वाख्यानम्, and Nārā. I. 1. vs. 1-4, 3. vs. 1-2.

³ The references in this article are to Ujjvala's text, except when some other commentary is being considered.

⁴ Besides those that are being reviewed here, there are Uṇādisūtras attached to the Saṃkṣiptasāra, the Supadma and to the grammars of Chandra, Śākaṭāyana, Vāmana (cf. Winternitz, III, 403, fn.4) and Hemachandra.

were presumably known even to Kātyāyana and Patañjali,¹ and we also know that they are later than Pāṇini's grammar, since not only have they quietly adopted throughout the *pratyābhāras*, the *saṃjñās*, the *paribhāṣās*, and the *anubandhas* of the latter, but there are a few of them which appear to have been necessitated to record exceptions to the corresponding Sūtras in that grammar². More than this we do not know. That some have fathered them upon Śākaṭāyana³ and others upon Vararuchi⁴, *alias* Kātyāyana, appear to be nothing more than guesses, the former based on the statement of Yāska, Nir, I. 12⁵, and on a Kārikā⁶ to Pāṇ. 3.3.1 that it was Śākaṭāyana, amongst the grammarians, who held that all nouns are derived from verbs, and the latter on the assertion of Durgasimha that it was Kātyāyana who composed the Kṛt-sūtras, Sarvavarman having held that the derivatives were *rūḍha* like the word *vr̥kṣa*⁷. Much more plausible is Goldstücker's conclusion that the Uṇādi list⁸ 'must be of

¹ See Goldstücker, Pāṇini: His place in Sanskrit literature, p. 131ff; especially the footnotes to pp. 132-135.

² E. g. II. 65, च्विरव्ययम्: Pā. 1.1.39, कृन्मेजन्तः and IV. 226, गतिकारकयोः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम्: Pā. 6.2.139, गतिकारकोपपदात् कृत्.

³ E. g. Nāgeśa.

⁴ E. g. Vimala Sarasvatī.

⁵ तत्र नामान्याख्यातजानीति शाकटायनो नैरुक्तसमयश्च । न सर्वाणीति गार्ग्यो वैयाकरणानाञ्चैके ।

⁶ नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम् । यन्न पदार्थ-विशेषसमुत्थं प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेश्च तद्गृह्यम् ॥

⁷ वृक्षादिवदमी रूढाः कृतिना न कृताः कृतः । कात्यायनेन ते सृष्टा विबुद्धिप्रतिबुद्धये ॥—Durgasimha at the beginning of the Kṛt-sūtri.

⁸ Op. cit., p. 139. By the Uṇādi list he could have only

Pāṇini's own authorship'; but, even as it is, it does not carry conviction. His main argument in favour of this view is that without such an assumption Kātyāyana's 'strictures' upon some of Pāṇini's rules¹—esp. those upon the so-called inconsistencies of his *anubandhas*—become no better than a madman's raving. Evidently, he did not notice that Kātyāyana, Patañjali or Kaiyaṭa did not consider *pha*, *dha*, *kha*, *chha*, *gha* in sū. 7. 1. 2., *ṭha* in 7. 3. 50, or *la* in 3.4.77 as *anubandhas* or *its*², but *sthānins* and that, this being the case and there being no qualifying words in the Sūtras, Kātyāyana was merely testing if, within a grammatical context, they were universally applicable. Had this not been the case we should have hardly found such expressions in the Vārttika and the Mahābhāṣya as *ṭhādeṣe varṇagrabhaṇam ched dhātvantasya pratiśedho vaktavyaḥ* : *paṭhati, paṭhitum* on 7.3.50 (*ṭhasyekaḥ*),

meant the essentials of the present Uṇādisūtras, for a mere list of suffixes without reference to the respective roots and the various phonetic operations has hardly any meaning. A modification of this view is that of Pathak (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute vols. IV, pp. 111-136 and XI, pp. 90-93) who holds that Pāṇini is the author of the present treatise. Mangala Deva Shastri (Proceedings and Transactions of the Fourth Oriental Conference vol. II, p. 466ff.) would have it that it is earlier than Pāṇini. The same remarks would apply to these two views as well.

¹ Most of these rules, with Kātyāyana's and Patañjali's remarks, have been quoted by Goldstücker, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-33.

² Cf. Pā. 1.3.3, 7, 8 and Patañjali on 1.3.3, एतच्चात्र युक्तं यदित्कार्याभावादित्संज्ञा न स्यात् । यत्रेतकार्यं भविष्यति तत्रेत्संज्ञा and on 3.4.77, with reference to ल, इत्कार्याभावादत्रेत्संज्ञा न भविष्यति, upon which Kaiyaṭa has तस्यां च सत्यां लोपे च कृते स्थान्यभावादलुविधित्वाच्च स्थानिवद्भावाभावादादेशो न भविष्यतीत्यर्थः । Kaiyaṭa also has on 7.1.2, ये त्वनुणादयः खलुघञादयस्तेषु खघयोरित्संज्ञया भाव्यम् । 'खित्यनव्यस्य' 'चजोः कु घिण्यतो' रिति लिगात्.

or *lādeṣe sarvaprasaṅgo'viśeṣāt*..... *asyāpi prā-
pnoti : lunāti, labhate* on 3.4.77 (*lasya*). Besides, we
should not also forget that Kātyāyana himself has said,
prātipadikavijñānāch cha pāṇineḥ siddham, on 7.1.2, which
Goldstücker has quoted in footnote 209, but evidently
overlooked in course of discussion. There is, how-
ever, no doubt that an analysis into roots and suffixes,
essentially the same as that in the present treatise,
had already been done for most of the words before
Pāṇini's time and that Pāṇini was so far conversant
with it as to feel the necessity to frame a few rules
especially covering such cases¹. Thus we may not
be far from the truth, if we hold that the present
Uṇādisūtras are an adaptation of this analysis to
Pāṇini's system by some grammarian who came after
Pāṇini but before Kātyāyana and Patañjali, if the
aunādika derivations mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya are
considered sufficient, as they do appear to be, to indi-
cate his priority².

¹ Cf., besides उणादयो बहुलम् 3.3.1 and ताभ्यामन्यत्रोणादयः
3.4.75, थाथघञ्क्ताजबित्रकाणाम् 6.2.144, न्यङ्क्वादीनाञ्च 7.3.53 and
ति-तु-त्र-त-थ-सि-सु-सर-क-सेषु च 7.2.9 along with the Kāśikāvṛtti.

² Cf. Mahābhāṣya

Uṇādisūtra

Pratyāharasūtra 7.8. अक्षर- III. 70, अशोः सरन्.

=अश् + सरन्.

1.1.4 जीर- in जीरदान्- (which
appears also in 6.1.66 as an
instance of व् disappearing
before र्) = √ ज्या + रक् or
√ जीव् + रक्, but the re-
marks are directed against
√ जीव् + रदान् according to
Kaiyyaṭa and Nāgeśa.

Our present Uṇ. has no such
rule, but cf. Bhoja 81, जीवेर-
दानुक्.

These Uṇādisūtras appear in two different recensions, the Daśapādī and the Pañchapādī. The former has been commented on by Mānikyadeva and followed by Viṭṭhala in his commentary on the Prakriyā-

I.1.26 लोट-, गर्त derived with -त (तन् acc. to Kaiyaṭa).

I.1.61 कंस = √कम् + स, along with 6.1.162 हंस-, वत्स-derived with स and 8.3.59 वसं-, तसं- (स supported by Bhaṭṭoji in Prandh) also with the same suffix.

परान् शृणातीति परशुः

I.4.3 स्त्रियामाख्यायेते स्त्र्याख्यौ। यदि कर्मसाधनः। कृत्स्त्रिया धातु-स्त्रियाश्च न सिध्यति। तन्त्र्यै लक्ष्म्यै श्रियै भ्रूवै etc., upon which Kaiyaṭa remarks, न हि तयोरीकारोकारौ स्त्रियां विहितौ.

3.4.77 शाला-, माला-, मल्ल- derived with-ल.

4.1.3 स्त्री- = √स्त्यै + इट्. सूतेः सप् प्रसवे पुमान्, upon which Kaiyaṭa has, सू इत्येतस्य धातोः सप्प्रत्ययो (?) भवति सकारस्य पकारो भवतीत्यर्थः। औणादिको मसुन्प्रत्ययः ह्रस्वश्च बाहुलकात्।

III. 86, हसिमृग्निष्ण्वामिदमिलुपधू-विभ्यस्तन्.

III. 62 वृत्तुवदिह्निकमिकविभ्यः सः.

I. 34 आङ्परयोः खनिशुभ्यां डिच्च (कुः).

The words are derived in III. 158, III. 160, II. 57 and II. 68 respectively, none of which are *stryadhikāravihita*.

Kaiyaṭa has शाला (मा ?) मलिभ्य औणादिको लन्प्रत्ययः and Śveta. 177 remarks शोममालीभ्यो (शोमामलिभ्यो ?) लः इति कैयटाचार्यः पठति स्म उणादिसूत्रम्, But this Sū. is not found in the present Uṇ.

IV. 165, स्त्यायते इट्.

IV. 177, पाते डुमसुन्, on which Bhaṭṭoji in Prandh. and Jñānendra in Tattvabodhinī, after referring to Mbh. and the readings of Nyāsa and Rakṣita, 'पुनाते मँकसुन् ह्रस्वश्च', and others, 'पूजो डुमसुन्', remark, 'उपेयप्रतिपत्त्यर्था उपाया अव्यवस्थिता इति तत्त्वम्'.

kaumudī, and the latter by Ujjvaladatta and his numerous predecessors and successors. It is remarkable that, while Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita in his Praudhamanoramā often refers to the Daśapādi, Ujjvala seems to be unaware of its existence. The two recensions differ not only in the order and division of the Sūtras, but sometimes even in the wording of the Text. Bhaṭṭoji, *op. cit.*, has recorded most of these differences.

Amongst the extant Uṇādi-vṛttis on the Pañchapādi the oldest and, in many respects, the best is that of Ujjvaladatta. The peculiar charm of Ujjvala's commentary and its superiority over others mostly consist in the attempt at noticing every peculiarity of a word formed with an Uṇādi-suffix—not only in its own use, but even in that of its secondary derivatives, and in the large number of apt quotations from diverse sources¹ in support of his statements. In this respect

- 6.1.67 दवि-, जागृवि-with-वि. IV. 53, वृद्ध्यां विन् and IV. 54, जृष्टस्तृजागृभ्यः क्विन्, respectively.
- 6.1.123 गो- = √ गम् + डो. II. 67, गमे डौ.
- 7.1.2 शङ्ख-, षण्ड-with-ख and I. 104 and IV. 104 (acc. to the reading of Bhaṭṭoji; Ujj. has -ढ respectively.
- 7.3.50 कण्ठ-, शण्ठ-, षण्ठ-, with I. 105, कण्ठः, II. 104 (acc. to -ठ. Kaiyata, शमे र्जनिदाच्युसिति ठः), and II. 105 (acc. to Kaiyata, षणोऽन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते इति ठः).
- 7.3.59 अर्क- = √ अर्च् + क } III. 40, कृदाधारार्चिकलिभ्यः कः .
- 7.4.13 राका-, घाका-, with -क }
- 8.3.59 कसर-, घूसर-with-सरक्. III. 73, कृधूमदिभ्यः कित् (सरन्).

¹ The number of the authorities quoted by him is more than 150 and they range over almost all the branches of Sanskrit literature.

it bears comparison with the great Mādhvīya-dhātuvṛtti of Sāyaṇa. Of the many commentaries¹ previous to his, he names six, viz. the Prāchinavṛtti, the Satī-vṛtti, and the Vṛttis of Govardhana, Puruṣottama-deva or Deva, Kṣapaṇaka, and Nagna, of which the last two, as suggested by the meanings of the words, may be identical. His only weak point appears to have been his obviously imperfect acquaintance with the Vedic language, and herein he has been excelled by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, whose Prauḍhamanoramā on the Uṇādi portion of the Siddhāntakaumudī is a masterpiece of critical interpretation of the Sūtras. Bhaṭṭoji is largely indebted to Ujjvala for the non-Vedic materials of his commentary, but his strongest point is his uncommon mastery of the Vedic language, along with that of the Pāṇiniyan literature as a whole, with the help of which he not only criticises and corrects his predecessors, but also restores in many cases the correct text of the Sūtras,—a feature rarely met with in the other Vṛttis, two of which we shall examine here.

The Uṇādi Sūtras and Vṛttis of the other schools are mostly concerned with the derivations and meanings of the words, and are often insipid and of a doubtful authority, for want of support with literary quotations. Two of these, viz. those attached respectively to the schools of Bhoja and Śarvavarman, we shall review here.

With these remarks on the Uṇādi literature in

¹ Cf. उणादिवृत्तयोजनेका भूरिभिः सूरिभिः कृताः । तास्विदानीं विपर्यस्ताः
सूत्रशब्दार्थधातवः ॥ ता एवाथ समालोच्य ग्रन्थानन्यांश्च विस्तरात् । सर्वतः
सारमाकृष्य मया वृत्ति विरच्यते ॥ Intro. vs. 4-5.

general, let us now proceed to examine the above publications.

Svetavanavāsin's Uṇādivṛtti

The editor states in his Introduction, p. ix, that, according to Svetavanavāsin, Śākaṭāyana is the author of the Pāṇiniyan Uṇādi-sūtras¹, which is hardly correct, since there is such a word as *ādi* after Śākaṭāyana in the text, *yeyam śākaṭāyanādibhiḥ pañchapādī virachitā* etc., quoted by him. Svetavanavāsin's Vṛtti is far less elaborate and appears to be far less reliable (at least the present edition) than Ujjvala's work. His knowledge of the Vedic language must have been poor : sū. 362 he reads (in common with Ujjvala) *dadbiṣāyya*² (= *dadbi* + √ *so* + *āyya*), which is only a mistake for Ved. *didbiṣāyya*-and 364 as *stuvāḥ kṣeyyaś chbandasi*, giving as example, *staukṣeyya*-, which is non-existent and a mistake for Ved. *stuṣēyya*; cf. Sk. and Praudh.³ for both the cases; in 301-302 he reads *-knu*, instead of *-ktnu*, as the suffix and derives *kṛṇu*-, *ḥanu*- and *jiganu*⁴, which are really mistakes for Ved. *kṛtnu*-, *batnu*-, and *jigatnu*-, cf. Sk. and the remarks in Praudh. directed against the Daśapādīvṛtti; in 345 he reads *-kāku* for *-kāru* as the suffix, which leads to the absurd example *prḍāru* = *vr̥śchika*- or *sarpa*- in 347, the real Ved. word being *prḍāku*-, found in the other

¹ This inaccurate statement has already been repeated by Pathak and Chit Rao (Word-Index to Pāṇini Sūtrapāṭha and Paṇiśiṣṭas, Introduction, p. V): श्वेतवनवासिना च स्वकृतटीकायां तथैव (i.e. शाकटायनप्रणीतानीति) निरदेशि !

² Saṁkṣiptasāra, Kṛchchheṣanādīpāda 671, has *didbi*+√ *so* + *āyya*. The references are to the edition of Śyāmācharaṇa Kaviratna, Calcutta, San. 1308.

³ Sk.=Siddhāntakaumudī and Praudh.=Praudhamanoramā.

⁴ Bhoja, too, has *kṛṇu* and *jiganu*- in 2.1.74 and 2.1.76.

Vṛttis; in 348 he reads *-agnuch* for *-aknuch* and gives, as example, *vajagnu-* for *vachaknu-*, cf. Prauḍh. and the name *Gārgī Vāchaknavī* in Br. Ār. Up.; sū. 630, showing the formation of Ved. *rēknas-* is also faulty and should read, *richer dhane ghich cha*, as in Sk., cf. Bhaṭṭoji's remarks in Prauḍh., this reading being suggested also by *kittvāt kutvam* (undoubtedly for *ghittvāt kutvam*) in the Vṛtti, which appears to have escaped the notice of the editor.

Even in the meanings of the later Sanskrit words Svetavanavāsin is often not very accurate : cf., for instance, (sū. 14) *kanduḥ* = *pākasthānam* (also Nārāyaṇa and Saṁkṣiptasāra, Kṛchcheṣonādipāda 543); (36) *gaḍuḥ* = *vadanaikaśeṣaḥ*; (127) *yakṣmaḥ* = *mukbarogaḥ*; (146) *plihā* = *vyādhivīśeṣaḥ*; (153) *nirṛthaḥ* = *paśūnām saṅghātaḥ*; (264) *ghanuḥ* = *śaraḥ*; (277) *vasnam* = *dravyam*; (343) *tasaraḥ* = *tantuvāyāḥ*; (345) *bhayānakaḥ* = *bhīruḥ* (cf. Saṁkṣiptasāra, l.c. 600, *bhīruko bhayānakaḥ kātaraś cha*); (723) *ūrṇā* = *chhāgaloma*, etc. Certain words, too, in his own sentences appear with wrong genders, but for this probably the editor is, at least partly, responsible : cf., for instance, (150) *artha-* n., (152) *auśadha-* m., (158) *prṣṭha-* m., (274) *phena-* n., (353) *anta-* n., (389) *ādeśa-* n., etc.

Moreover, in some instances the editor's preference of certain texts over others found in his own mss. is highly questionable. In sū. 87 he reads *-duk* and *tardūḥ*, while his own ms. B has *-duḥ* and *tardūḥ* in agreement with all the other known Uṇādi-vṛttis. He reads sū. 93 *garmuḥ cha* against A. *gro much cha* and B. *gro muḥ* and gives the example, *garmuḥ*, against A. *garmut*. Now, this is not only against all the Uṇādi-

vṛttis and the Vedic records of the word *garmut-* > *gārmutā-* it is also against the text of the Vṛtti adopted by himself which has *mudāgamah*, not *mudādeśah*. In 110 he adopts the example *chāṇḍāla-* against *chaṇḍāla-* of A. and C., but cf. Bhaṭṭoji's remarks in Praudh. against the possibility of such a form here. In 159 he prefers *sedhra-* to *sidhra-* of B., which is not only read by Ujjvala and others, but required by the *anubandha* *k* of the suffix. He reads *vīyu-* in 344 against *pīyu-* of B., which agrees with all the other Vṛttis, and gives, as example, *viyālah vṛkṣaviśeṣah* (cf. Bhoja 2.3. 101, *viyālah chārah*), for which every other Vṛtti reads *piyāla-*, the well-known tree. In 357 he has the absurd *dūtah preṣakah* (!) against *preṣakarah* of B.

Besides those mentioned by the editor, two other printing mistakes may be noted—sū. 536, *prājāpatiḥ* for *pra-* and p. 193 below, *urah vṛkṣah* for *vakṣah*.

Nārāyaṇa's Uṇādivṛtti

The Uṇādivṛtti of Nārāyaṇa is brief and precise. He tries to justify the etymologies and the rules as far as possible, but that he finds the former unsatisfactory is clear from his remarks¹ under sū. 3. Interesting also are his remarks under sū. 130 about the pronunciation of *padma-* as *patma*², presumably in his own province, inasmuch as this tendency of de-voicing

¹ अस्माद्धातोरियं संज्ञा साध्येति मुनिशासने । किं कुर्मोऽर्थान्वयः कश्चिल्लब्धश्चेत् कृतिनो वयम् ॥ etc.

² पद्मं हि पद्यतेरुक्तं न पते मघिवादिभिः । स्पष्टो दकारश्चोदीचां तकारो-क्तिरतो भ्रमः ॥

is characteristic of south Indian mss. and publications in general. He seems to have been much more conversant with the Vedic language than either Ujjvala or Śvetavanavāsin and has accurately interpreted *āyavaḥ* = *martāḥ* (sū. 2), *mabā* = *mabātvaṃ* (150), *darśataḥ* = *darśanīyaḥ* (382), *vidathaḥ* = *yajñāḥ* (388), *jāgrviḥ* = *vinidraḥ* (489), *ūrdaraḥ* = *kusūlaḥ* (727), etc., but has apparently been misled by his predecessors in the meanings of *apvā* = *devayūtham* and *amīvā* = *jalam* (143) and *niṣaṅgathiḥ* = *dbanurdharaḥ* (526), and in the retention of sū. 370 *dadbiṣāyyaḥ* without any remark.

Nārāyaṇa does not appear to have seen Ujjvala's Vṛtti, but must have been highly influenced by Śvetavanavāsin. All the references to *vṛtti* or *kāchid unādivṛtti* are traceable to the latter, with whom he has also shared in the defective texts and interpretations in a few instances. Sū. 684 he reads, with Śveta., *pāter ḍatīḥ* (Ujjvala and Bhaṭṭoji : *pāter atīḥ*) and remarks, *idaṃ prāgukter beyam*, and gives, as example to the next rule (*vāter nit*), *vātir vāyuh*, which appears to be non-existent¹. Ujjvala and Bhaṭṭoji have *vātir vāyuh* and quote Rabhasa in support. With Śveta., too, he explains the word *mithuna-* in Sū. 663 as standing for masculine and feminine, although he is not satisfied in his mind.² While in Sū. 598 he explains the same word *mithune* as *maithune dyoṭye* and gives the apparently absurd meaning *maithunecchbhāvatī strī* to the word *suśarman-*, which he thinks is the aim of the rule. Ujjvala, Viṭṭhala and Bhaṭṭoji all

¹ But cf. Saṁkṣiptasāra, l. c., 712 वापात्योर्दतिः ।

² एवं व्याख्या क्वचिद्वृत्तौ यश आद्याश्च पुंस्त्रियोः । न दृष्टा इति भीतिर्नः को वा शब्दान्तमीक्षते ॥

explain *mithuna-* in these two rules as a coupling of *upsarga* and *dhātu*¹.

The text appears to be carefully edited, but a few anomalies are still noticeable. In sū. 362 the editor adopts *mūrtaḥ* against *mubūrtaḥ* of ms. G, although the text clearly supports the latter and Bhoja, whose view is represented here, also has it. The sū. *lūṣ-śiṅghi-dhāñbhyas cha* is incorporated in the Vṛtti to sū. 357 for no apparent reason, while Ujjvala, Bhaṭṭoji, Svetavanavāsin, etc. read it as a separate rule. Sū. 241, *sviter daś cha* (not found also in Sveta.), does not appear to have been intended as a separate Sūtra by the author, but to have been mentioned only as a text found in the Tīkāsarvasva, although not found in his own mss., and this view is supported also by ms. A which omits the Sūtra. *Vatsara-* and *vatsala-* (for *patsara-* and *patsala-*) in 347, *mithin-* (for *mathin-*) in 444, and *mṛdviketī* (for *mṛdviketī*) in 453, appear to be printing mistakes, as they go against the sense of text and are not supported by any editorial remarks, while *bhojaktāḥ* in 516 and *kvichid* in 607 have clearly to be corrected to *bhojoktāḥ* and *kvachid* respectively. The word *karmanām* in the quotation, *karmanām chinute śubham*, in 590 appears to be a corruption of *karmāṇām*, cf. Ujjvala under the same rule, *karmāṇām kurute śubham* etc. Unfortunately, the Trivandrum edition of the Tīkāsarvasva presents the same text.

¹ But cf. Saṅkṣiptasāra, l.c. 739 सोमवृश्च्यो मिथुने and its Vṛtti, सुपूर्वं मा सुमामानौ स्त्रीपुरुषौ, एवं सुपूर्ववृज्, सुवर्माणौ, तथा शृ हिंसायां सुशर्मणौ.

*The Uṇādisūtras of Bhoja with the Vṛtti of
Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa*

The Uṇādisūtras of Bhoja, indicating, as they do, the position of the accent as well with the same *anubandhas* as in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, form a very important treatise indeed, while Daṇḍanātha's commentary is the prototype of Nārāyanabhaṭṭa's Uṇādi-vṛtti in respect of brevity and aptness. Daṇḍanātha appears to have taken a great care for the precision of meanings and is generally far more accurate than most of the other commentators on the Uṇādi, cf., for instance, *grabaṇiḥ agnyādhāraḥ* (sū. 212), *plīhā śarīrāntaravayavaḥ* (278), while others are satisfied with the meaning *vyādhi-viśeṣaḥ* in both the cases; *jīrvīḥ vṛddhaḥ*, *jāgrvīḥ jāgarūkaḥ* (235), while some have been pleased to treat them as substantives; and so on. Several interesting and rare words also appear in his commentary, e.g., *kalmalikam jvālaḥ* (369), cf. *kalmalikīn-* in RV. II. 33.8; *pavīram vījāvapanam* (652), cf. AV. III. 17.3, *lāṅgalaṁ pavīrdvat*; *khaḍūrāḥ khuralīsthānam* (661), Cf. J.B.O.R.S., vol. XVII, pt. I, p. 66, where this meaning was guessed for the word in AV. XI. 9(11). 16 from its inferred connection with *khalūrikā-*; *maggusaḥ nakulaḥ* (753), cf. Eng. *mongoose*; *avasam pāttheyam* (777), cf. Yāska I. 17, *padvadavasam gāvaḥ pathyadanam*. It is unfortunate that the text of such a valuable work could not be presented in a better form, and the pity is that there should appear a considerable number of such textual errors as could be easily detected with the help of a little critical study. We subjoin a list of those that we have come across and that have not been noticed by the editor.

[Sū. 12] *rābuh saihmikeyah* : for ... *saimbi-*. [36] *vanisthuh ūrvakadeśah* : for ... *udarai-kadeśah*? [48] *nilanguh timih* : for ... *ṛmih*? [63] *pājyartibhyo dīt* : for ... *nīt*¹. [77] *taner duh* : for ... *daūh*¹, cf. Pān. Uṇ. *taner daū samvach cha*. [81] *jīvaradānuh* : for *jīradānuh*, according to the sense of the Sūtra and the Vṛtti, which must have been misunderstood, and to Vedic usage, cf. also Nārāyaṇa, p. 143, l. 6. [97] *ṣigruḥ saubhājanakah* : for ... *saubhāñjanakah*. [113] Sū. *dūscha*, Vṛ. *drūs chābhyāgamah*, while Nārāyaṇa on I.86 remarks, *bhojamate tro duk cha*. Thus *duk* appears to be the correct reading, inasmuch as *ū* at the end of the *āgama* is superfluous, the suffix itself being *-ū*. Thus the examples *tadrūh*, *dadrūh*, appear to be corruptions of *tardūh*, *dardūh*, it being noted that there is nothing in Sū. or Vṛ. to indicate the disappearance of *r* from the roots². [131] The Vṛtti appears to be a corruption for *tiṣṭhateḥ savya upapade rṇpratyayo bhavati dīch cha*. [133] *yāteḥ* : for *yateḥ*, otherwise *vṛddhi* is meaningless. Pān. Uṇ. also has this latter reading. [239] Correct the examples to *varṇasiḥ*, *parṇasiḥ* and *sānasiḥ*. The *āgama* is *n*, not *nu*, cf. *nuṭ* and *thut* in Sūtras 335 and 336 respectively. [265] A similar mistake is noticed in the example *garmuṭ*, which should be *garmut* (= $\sqrt{g\tilde{r}} + (m)ut$). [292] *umapade* : for *upa-*. [301] *praryanujyate* : for *parya-*. [324] *uṣtam* : for *uṣah*. [337] *pāt baliḥ* : for *pājah balam*. [358] Where is the example

¹ Cf. sū. 127 for the effect of the indicative *d*.

² Cf. the remarks of Ujjvala on I. 92, repeated in Praudha., भोजदेवशब्दानुशासने तु दरिद्रातेर्यालोपश्चेति तिपा निर्देशात् रिश्च आ चेति संहितापाठे र्याशब्दलोपे दद्विरित्यपि साधितम्। तथा रश्च इश्च आश्चेत्यन्तसदेशद्वितीयरेफलोपेन दद्विरित्यपि साधितम्।

for the alternative *numāgama* (*viṣ.*, *kaṇṭaka*-)? [364] The syllable *ṭaḥ* appears to have been dropped after *viṣakī*-. [368] *śalākā* and *dūṣikā* are out of place amongst regular derivatives with *-kīkan* and should, if their inclusion is right, be *śalikā* and *dūṣikā* respectively. [370] *saṃkusukaḥ* : for *saṃkasukaḥ*. [381] *kalavinkaḥ grhavaṭakaḥ* : for ... *grhachataḥ*? [395] *iṣeḥ* in Sū. : for *uṣeḥ*, as in Vṛ. [427] *ḍichach* : for *ḍi*-, if the example is right. [449] *sr̥ṅgāṭaḥ jalaviśeṣaḥ* : for ... *jalajaviśeṣeḥ*? and *ālikam* : for *alikaṃ*. [470] *ḍapratyayaḥ* in Vṛ. : for *dha*-. [518] °*kukundau* in Vṛ : for °*kakundau*. [543] *pāmam* : for *pāpam*. [557] *parivapanam* : for *paripava*- and *nichayam* : for °*yaḥ*. [569] *ambah* : for *āmbah*, see Nārāyaṇa on IV. 103. [578] *valabbhiḥ* : for *valabbhī* in Vṛ. [588] *kusumbhaḥ mahārajatam* : for ... *mahārajanam*. [598] *adharmah* : for *adhamah*. [608] *vaserādivatvam nuṭ cha* : for ... *tuṭ cha*, as required by the example, *vastyam*. See also Nārāyaṇa on IV. 121. [637] *vindbraṃ* : for *vīdbraṃ*. [645] *kiñji* in Sū. : for *kañji*, cp. example and Nārā. on III. 138. [654] *kimmīraḥ* : for *kirmīraḥ*? [660] *kavūraḥ ṣaḍī* : for *karchūraḥ ṣaṭī*. [675] Sū. *idāvatsaraḥ*, Vṛ. *idvatsaraḥ* : both wrong for *idāvatsaraḥ*. [700] *bhr̥ṣṭa*- (*bhraṣṭa*, acc. to the corr. of the editor) *tilāsatīchūrṇam* : for *bhr̥ṣṭatīlātasīchūrṇam*? [722] *śr̥ṇoteḥ* : for *śr̥ṇāteḥ*. [771] *ātarūṣaḥ pāśaḥ* : for ... *vāsā*, cf. *vāsā ātarūṣakaḥ* in 772. [793] ex. *dastyūbaḥ* : for *dātyūbaḥ* (= √ *dā* + *tyūba*). Similarly in Nārā., p. 149, l. 1, *datyabaḥ* has to be corrected to *dātyūbaḥ*.

*The Uṇādisūtras of the Kātantra School
with Durgasiṃha's Vṛtti*

These Sūtras and the Vṛtti (based on a single

ms.) are so very badly edited that it would have been much appreciated, had the editor waited for other mss. The disadvantages of having to depend upon a single ms. are, no doubt, many, but still there are many instances of textual errors whose continuance can only be attributed to the editor's insufficient acquaintance with the Kātantra School and failure to exercise his critical judgment sufficiently, as will be clear from the appended notes. The *Catalogus Catalogorum* records two other mss. of the Sūtras, one of which contains also the Vṛtti of Durgasimha, and it is very likely that more mss. would be available in Bengal, where this school of grammar is still assiduously studied and where most of the best works of this school have been produced. Nor is this the first publication of the Sūtras. Gurunātha Vidyānidhi of Calcutta, in his edition (in Bengali character) of the Kalāpa with many commentaries, published them as an appendix, some thirty years ago. The text of the Sūtras published by him differs slightly from that in the present edition, while the Vṛtti, the authorship of which is not mentioned there, appears to be a shorter recension of Durga's Vṛtti. The Sūtras are divided into five Pādas, but end with sū. 260 (IV. 66) of the present edition and, indeed, the fresh *maṅgalāccharaṇa* at the beginning of the fifth Pāda of the latter would probably indicate a later addition of the rest by a different hand. We shall refer to the Bengali edition with the letter B in the following notes, which may help to improve the text in a later edition.

The editor has invariably spelt the name Durgasimha as Durgasimha (°सिमह) in Roman and Durga-

sihma (°सिह्म) in Devanāgar. It is curious how this anomaly could have escaped his notice, considering how many times the name is repeated. [Sū. 17] *dakārānto guṇaś cha* : unintelligible and not found in B; a corruption for *akārānto'guṇaś cha* (which certainly the *pratyaya* is)? [18] *maṅkura-* in Vṛtti : *makura-* in Sū., *mukura-* in B. [19] B has *sāvaśe-* in Sū. and *tālavādirayam* in Vṛ., which agrees with Pān. Uṇ., Mahābhāṣya, and use. [20] *naṭādyarthab* and *naṭāditvāt* in Vṛ. : for *nadā°* as in B, since the *gaṇa* that takes the feminine suffix *ī* is called *nadādi* in Kātantra, cf. sū. 106, below. [34] *kaserūḥ ṛṇaviśesaḥ mūlam* : for ... *ṛṇaviśesaḥ mūlam*, as in B. [46] *palala-* in Vṛ. : for *palvala-*, as in Sū. and B. [51] *dhṛñ* in Sū. and *dhṛñ ādhāre* in Vṛ. : for *drñ* and *drñ ādare* respectively, as in B; since there is nothing in Sū. or Vṛ. to indicate a change of *dh* to *d*. [53] *patantaḥ* : for *patataḥ*. [55] *śyāmā* : for *śyāmaḥ*. [65] *varṇuḥ nādaviśesaḥ* : for ... *nadā°*. [68] *pātha-*, read also in B. : for *pītha-*, cf. Kātantra, Akhyāta-Vṛ. 152 and Nārāyaṇa and Ujjvala, II. 7. [70] *udapūrvab* : for *utpūrvab*. [71] *prothab aśvaghoṣāntaram* : for ... *aśvaghōṇā°*; B has *aśvanāsā*. [72] *rodātīti* : for *rodī°*. *undrah* : for *udrah*, as in B. [104] (*januḥ*) *jarjāriḥ* : unintelligible, B has *januḥ jananam* instead. [114] *prathib* : for *prabih*, cf. 203. [123] *iṣikā viruṇīśalākā* : for ... *vīraṇa°*, cf. Ujjvala IV, 21, *iṣikā śaraśalākāvīraṇakāṣṭhikā cha*. B has *iseḥ kīkaḥ* as the Sū. and *iṣikā* as the example. [124] *tintidīkā tilavrkeṣaviśesaḥ* : should be simply ... *vrkeṣaviśesaḥ*, as in B, which reads *tintidīkā-dayaścha*, *-kīka* being considered the suffix. [137] *naṭāditvādih* : for *nadāditvādih*. [138] for *phanasaḥ*, B has the usual form *panasaḥ*. [139] *valabbih. naṭāditvādih*.

for *valabhī*. *nadādītvādīh*. B omits *śali* and *vali* from the Sūtra. [141] *yathāsamkehyam* is out of place. B has *yathāvidbhānam* instead. [142] Sū. *grnāmnnyupadbāt kviḥ* should be *gṛnāmyupadbāt kiḥ*. B has *gṛ nāmyupadbāchcha kiḥ*. *Nāmin-* is a technical term, *svaro'varṇavarjo nāmī*, Kāt. Sandhi. 7. Similarly in Vṛ. *nāmnnyupadbāchcha dhātoḥ kviḥ* should be *nāmyupadbāchcha dhātoḥ kiḥ*, *nāmnī upadbā yasya* should be *nāmī* etc. and *gr nigaraṇe* should be *gṛ nigaraṇe*. [146] B has another Sūtra, *srīgāra-bhrīgāra-kuñjarāḥ*, after this. The explanation of these forms in the Vṛtti without any remark seems to indicate that the Sūtra has been dropped here. *Nvātvāgamo* is unintelligible (corruption for *nvāgamo*?). [149] *striyāmādā* is Kāt., Chatuṣṭaya-Vṛ. 255, and there should be no query mark after it. [151] The Sūtra should be *iṣyaśibhyām takah* as in B. [161] *aviḥ* and *tariḥ* : for *aviḥ* and *tariḥ*, respectively, since the suffix is *ī*. [164] B reads *kṛgṛ°* and gives *kṛviḥ*, *gṛviḥ* as examples, which should be *kīrviḥ* and *gīrviḥ* respectively, according to Ākhyātavṛtti 418. *Kurviḥ* and *girviḥ*, found here, are also impossible. Pān. Un. has *kṛviḥ* < √ *kr* and *jīrviḥ* < √ *jī*, but cf. Mugdhabodha 1132, *kṛgṛjāguḥ kiḥ* (according to the reading of Durgādāsa; Rāmatakavāgīśa has *jīśṛ°*). [168] (*aratniḥ*) *kaṇiṣṭhikāṅguliḥ* should be *vistrītakaniṣṭhikāṅgulir bastah* as in B. [170] *kañichīḥ kalāviśeṣah* should be ... *latāviśeṣah* as in B. Nārāyaṇa, IV. 72, also has *latā*. [172] *duṣe kālīte*: for *duṣeḥ kārīte*, Kāt. Ākhyāta 187. [174] *ṛjīsam paśuwachanam* seems to be a mistake for...*piṣṭapachanam* found in B and Amara. [182] *bateḥ* in Sū. : for *banteḥ*, as in B and the Vṛ. [186] *vahatram* : for *vahitram*. [191] Probably before ... *titi kundaḥ* we have to supply

'*kuna śabde*' (found in B) *kuna*°. [193] *śo nūkarane* : for *śo tanūkarane*. [199] *śarīramadbmam* : for °*madhyam*. [204] *dhṛñ* in Sū. should be *dhṛ* or *dh* as in B. Compare the Vṛtti and the example. [206] *ṛk* in Sū. and Vṛ of this as well as the following two Sūtras is a mistake for *vuk* and *ṛh* in 209 for *vuh*, found in B. *Vu* = *aka*, according to Kāt. Kṛt. 484, which has been wrongly quoted in 208 as *yurjāmanākāntāḥ* for *yuvu*°. [216] With this Sū. ends the fourth Pāda in B. [227] *√vāsi* in the Sū. seems to be out of place, since *vāsara*-cannot be regularly formed with the suffix -*sara*. B has neither the root nor the derivative. [230] *ḍa* : for *ḍraṭ*, and *ḍakāro nadādyarthah* : for *ṭakaro* etc. [252] *gr nigarane* : for *gṛ* etc. [260] Here ends the fifth Pāda in B and along with it the whole work, the total number of Sūtras being 267. [292] *sibma*- : for *simba*-. [297] *śṛṇāteḥ* in Sū. and Vṛ. and *śṛ* in Vṛ. appear to be mistakes for *śṛṇāteḥ* and *śṛ* and therefore also *sūrpah* for *śūrpah*. [308] *tavaṣa wargāditi utvam* : for *tavargasya ṣaṭavargād* (Kāt. Ākhyāta. 409) *iti ṭatvam*. [310] *mubūrtam dinapañchadaśo'ntaḥ* : for ... *dinapañchadaśāṁśaḥ*. [316] *athavā* ... = *athavā vikalpenantāś churādayaḥ* and there should be no query mark. [332] *samūbamaṇḍalaṁ* : for *samūbaḥ maṇḍalam*. [339] *dh* : for *dh*. Read 'ṛdantasyer' 'nāminorvor' *iti dīrghaḥ* for *ḥṛdantasya "āraminorvi" iti dīrghaḥ*, for Kāt. Ākhyāta. 258 and 418 are being quoted here. [345] Correct *ḥṛdantasyo* ... etc. to 'ṛdantasyer' (Ākhyāta. 258) 'svarā-dāvivarṇavarṇāntasy' (Ākhyāta. 178) *etyādinā w*. [361] *nayanti* should be *na yanti*. 'Nasya tatpuruṣe lopyaḥ' is a complete Sūtra (Chatuṣṭaya. 280). *Māmātyavivakṣā-yām* appears to be a corruption for *sāmānyavivakṣāyām*,

which should go with the next sentence, not the previous one. [388] *asi* in Sū. : for *asi*. “*Kaṣa samyoge*” *kṣaḥ* : for “*kaṣa samyoge*” *kaḥkṣaḥ*?

T. Chowdhury

VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE SEXCENTENARY
ASSOCIATION

Commemoration Volume Section

Dharwar
12.6.1936

To
The Secretary
Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna

Sir,

I have great pleasure in inviting the cooperation and advice of your Institution in the publication of the Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume due to be published under the joint auspices of the Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Celebrations Committee and the Karnatak Historical Research Society in December, 1936.

I have to request you to communicate this request to all members of your Society and we shall deem it a favour if members of your Institution can contribute on some aspect of Vijayanagara History to the Commemoration Volume.

I am herewith appending a note on the probable contents of the Commemoration Volume.

Thanking you in anticipation of an early reply.

I remain
Yours faithfully
(Sd.) D. P. KARMARKAR
Jt. Secretary

Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume

N. B.—The reply may please be sent to :—

The Secretary, Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar.

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65	Miller, Sir F. Dawson, K.T.	1919	11, King's Bench Walk Temple, E. C., London.
66	Mishra, Pandit Janardan, M.A.	1927	B. N. College, Patna.
67	Mishra, Ganga Shankar, M.A.	1933	Librarian, Benares Hindu University.
68	Misra, Umesha, D.LITT.		Allahabad University, Allahabad.
69	Mitra, K. P., M.A., B.L.	1920	D. J. College, Monghyr.
70	Mukerji, Prof. A. ..	1929	10, Bol. Guozdnikovsky, Apt. 202X, Moscow.

Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
	N		
71	Nagar, Madan Mohan, M.A.	1933	Curator, Sarnath Museum, Benares.
72	Nahar, Puranchand, M.A. B.L.	1917	1/8, Indian Street, Calcutta.
73	Noor, Hon'ble Justice K. B. Khawaja Muhammad.	1915	Patna.
	O		
	Nil.		
	P		
74	Pantulu Garu Sriniwas RAO M.A., L.T., M.R.R.Y.	1928	Principal Hindu College, Masulipatam.
75	Perier, Most Rev. F.J., S.J.	1915	Archbishop of Calcutta, 32, Park Street, Calcutta
76	Prasad, Biswanath, M.A.,	1928	Professor, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.
77	Prasad, Krishnadeva, M.A., B.L.	1929	Langertoli, Patna.
78	Prasad, Mahabir, B.L. . .	1926	Pleader, Chapra.
79	Prasad, Nageswar, M.A., B.L.	1928	Advocate, Patna.
80	Prasad, Surya Mahajan.	1918	Manulal Library, Gaya.
	Q		
	Nil.		
	R		
81	Rajaguru, Hemraj Pandit.	1934	Dhokatola, Kathmandu, Nepal.

Ordinary Members—(Continued)

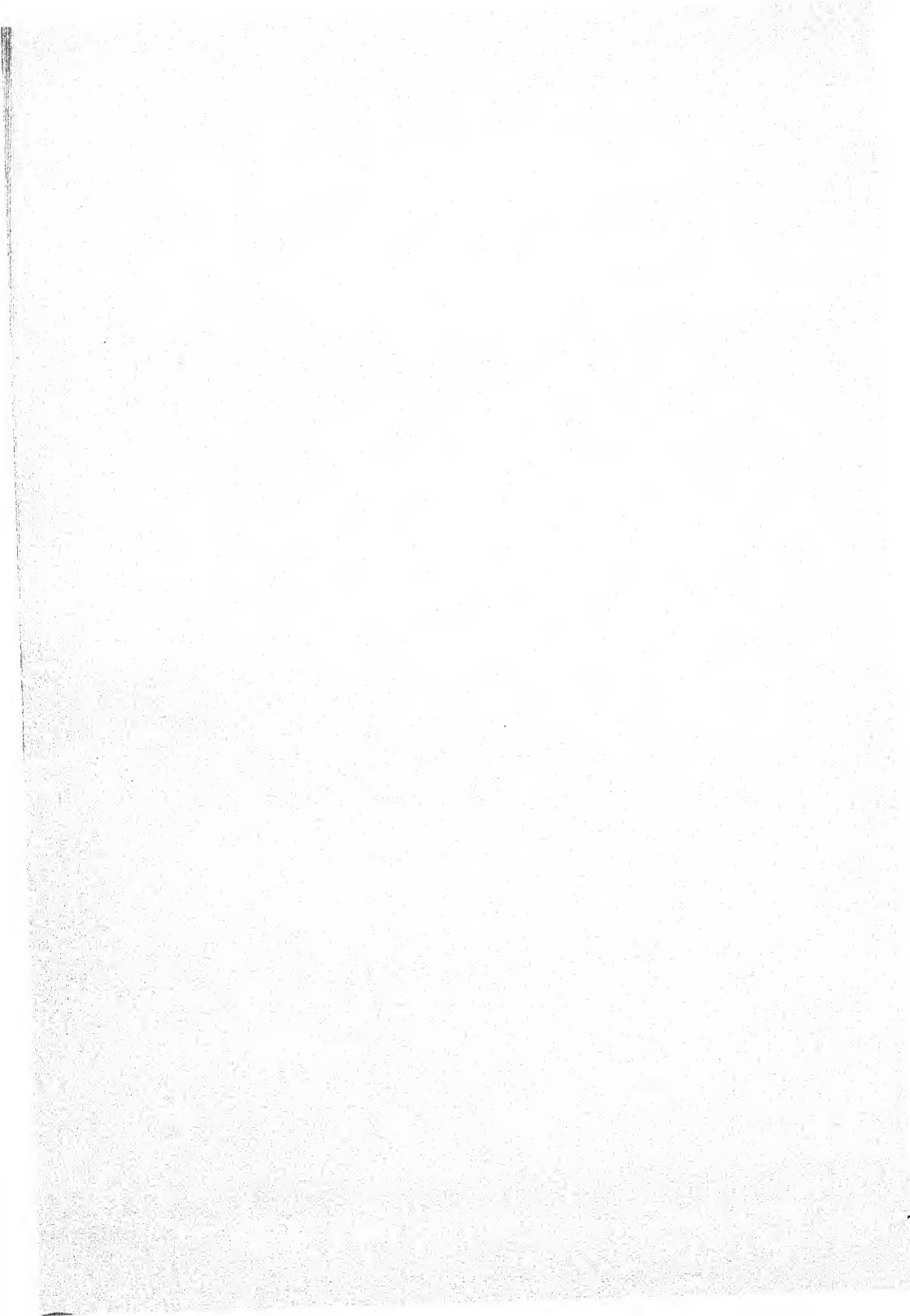
No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
82	Ramdas, G., B.A. ..	1924	Sri Ramachandra Vilas, Jeypur, Vizagapatam.
83	Ranganathan, S. R. ..	1927	Librarian, Madras University, Madras.
84	Ray, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal	1915	Diwan, Bonaigarh State, Bonaigarh P. O., Orissa.
85	Richards, F. J. ..	1924	1A Collingham Road, S. W. 5, London.
86	Rohatgi, Binayakrishna	1925	Dhaulpura Kothi, Begampur, Patna City.
87	Roy, Rai Bahadur S.C. M.A., B.L., M.L.C.	1915	Ranchi.
S			
88	Sahay, S. N.	1935	Barrister-at-Law, Patna.
89	Sarkar Ganapati ..	1926	69, Beliaghata Road, Calcutta.
90	Sarkar, Jadunath, M.A., I.E.S., (Retd.), C.I.E.	1915	Sarkaravas, Darjeeling.
91	Sarkar, Dr. Subimal C.	1930	Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.
92	Sen, D. N., M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.)	1916	Patna.
93	Seppings, E. H. L. ..	1916	Innes Road, P. O. Kemmendine, Rangoon.
94	Sham Bahadur ..	1928	Barrister-at-Law, Patna.
95	Sharma, Ram Bahadur, M.A.	1934	Advocate, Patna.
96	Sharma, Sri Ram, M.A.	1932	D.A.V. College, Lahore.
97	Shastri, Dr. A. Banerji, M.A., Ph.D.	1923	Patna College, Patna.
98	Shastri, Dr. Harichand, D.LITT., I.E.S.	1918	Principal, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.
99	Shastri I. D. Daurgadatti	1920	Superintendent, Sanskrit Association, Patna.

Ordinary Members—(Continued)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
100	Shaw, Parmanand ..	1926	Daldary Bazar, Dinapore Cantt.
101	Singh, Jaikishore Narayan	1934	Pakri State, P. O. Bajpatti, Muzaffarpur.
102	Singh, Lakhsminarayan.	1933	Advocate, High Court, Patna.
103	Singh, Rai Brajabihari Saran, M.A., B.L.	1915	Asst. Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Monghyr.
104	Singh, Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan.	1916	Amawan, District Patna.
105	Singh, Raja Bahadur Kirtyanand.	1915	Banaili, Purnea.
106	Singh, Raja Rajendra-lala, Bariha.	1916	Barsambar, Padampur, Sambalpur.
107	Singh R. B. Ramranavijaya	1924	K. V. Press, Patna.
108	Singh, Sarangadhar M.A., B.L.	1925	Ditto
109	Sinha, Mahendrakishore, B.A., B.L.	1926	Bhaimsa, Dist. Nanded, Hyderabad, Deccan.
110	Sinha, Paras Nath, B.A., LL.B.	1930	Hindustan Times, Delhi.
111	Sinha, S., Bar-at-Law	1915	Patna.
112	Sullivan, The Rt. Rev. Dr. S. J.	1929	Lord Bishop, Patna.
113	Svarup, Rai Bahadur Bishun	1920	Mahalla Maithan, Agra.
T			
114	Tandan, R. R., M.A.	1934	Muzaffarpur.
115	Tarafdar, Rev. S. K. ..	1915	Bishop's House, Chowringhee, Calcutta.
116	Taraporewala, Y. J. ..	1930	Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.

Ordinary Members—(Concluded)

No.	Name of member	Year of election	Address
1	2	3	4
117	Terrell, The Hon'ble Sir Courtney, Kt.	1928	Chief Justice, High Court, Patna.
118	Tirtha Swami, Vedananda	1933	P. O. Dhinga, Dist. Gujerat, Punjab.
119	Tripathi, Devadatta ..	1916	Kadam Kuan, Patuli.
120	Tripathi, Ramshankar, M.A., PH.D.	1932	Benares Hindu University.
U			
121	Urdhwaseshi, W. G., M.A.	1925	25, Krishnapura, Indore, C. I.
122	Urquhart, Rev. Dr. W. S., M.A., D.D., D.LITT. 1934 Principal, Scottish churches College, Calcutta.	1934	Principal, Scottish Churches College, Calcutta.
V			
123	Varma, Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. P.	1930	Patna.
124	Vidyalankar, Jaya Chandra.	1929	Daraganj, Allahabad.
125	Vogel, Dr. J., PH.D. ..	1920	Noordeindsplein, 40 Leiden, Holland.



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OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY
September 1936
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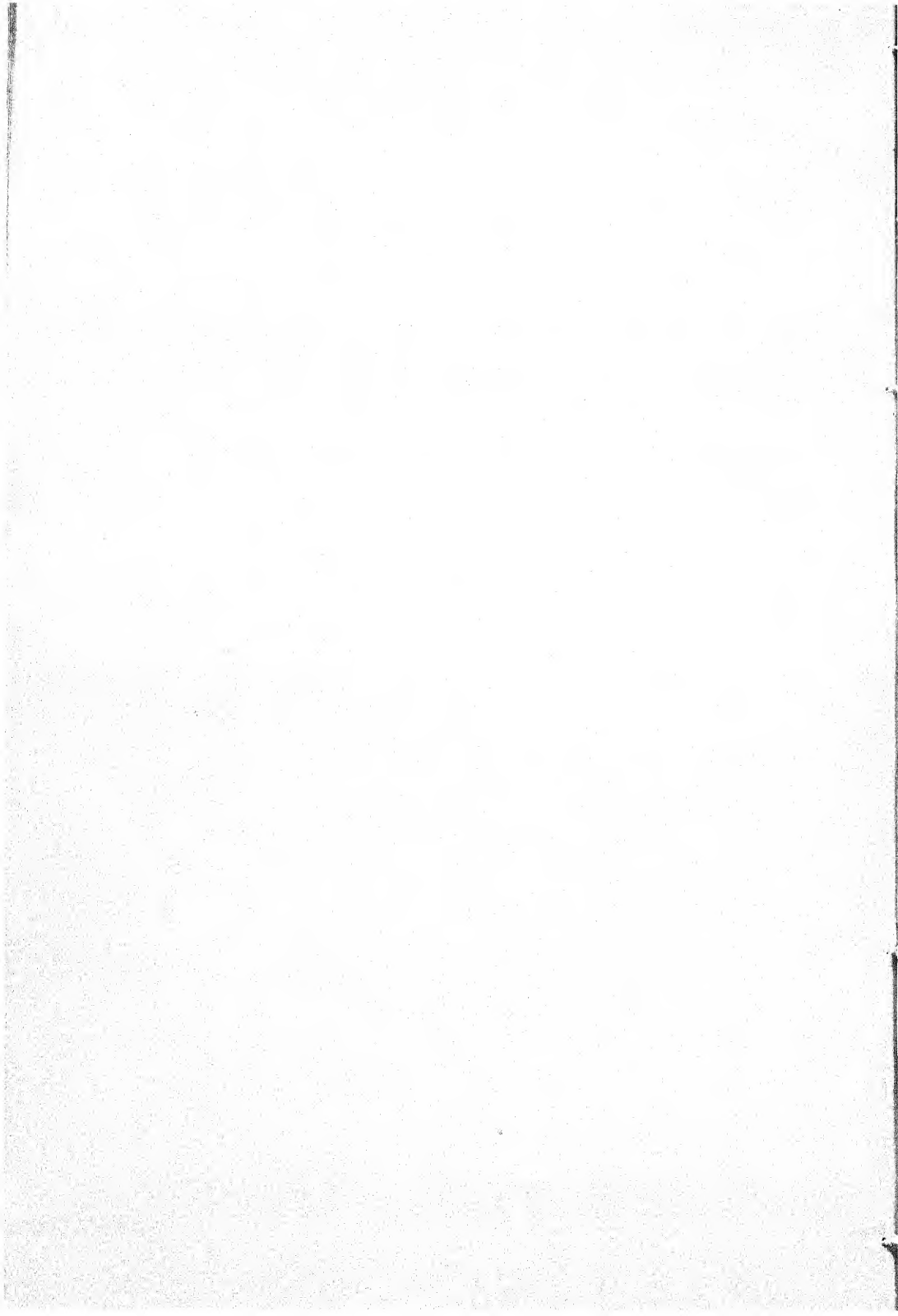
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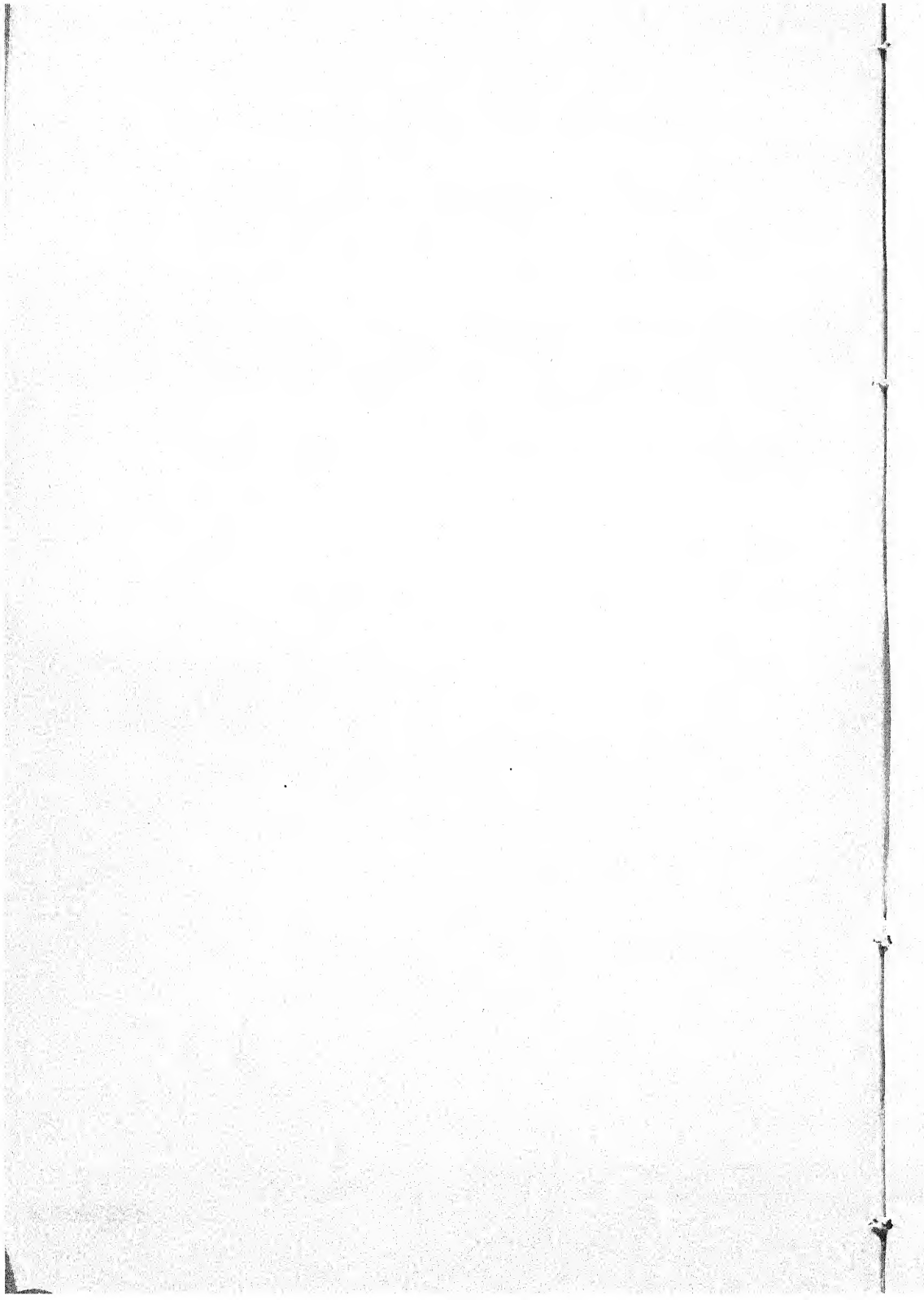
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CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY OF NEPAL
600 B.C. TO 880 A.D.

By K. P. JAYASWAL



A

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[350 A.D. to 880 A.D.]

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The chronology of the rule of Amiswarman and
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- §II. CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF AMSUVARMAN
- §III. CONFUSION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER
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§XIV

JOURNAL
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VOL. XXII]

1936

[PART III

Leading Articles

CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY OF NEPAL

[600 B.C.—880 A.D.]

By K.P. JAYASWAL

A

LICHCHHAVIS AND THAKURIS

350 A.D. TO 880 A.D.

I.—THE DATE AND ERA OF AMSUVARMAN

In the Nepal chronology the date of A m ś u v a r m a n is a pivot, like the date of Chandragupta Maurya, to move up and to move down for several centuries. A m ś u v a r m a n's date is therefore an important matter.

His date as 635-650 A. D. was postulated by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji on the basis of the Harsha Era, that is, taking the dates in his inscriptions to

be in the Harsha Era; and his view was accepted by Dr. Fleet and has been followed subsequently by Indian writers. That view needs reconsideration.

On the date of this king we have the following materials. From Tibetan sources we know that the Tibetan emperor *S t r o n g - s t a n - G a m p o* whose rule is dated at 629 A. D.¹ (V. Smith, *EH.*, 373, 376 n.), married *A m ś u v a r m a n*'s daughter between 628 and 641.² From the account of *Y u a n C h w a n g*, who began his travels in India in 629 and reached China in 645 (V. Smith, 373, 365), we gather that *A m ś u v a r m a n*, a reputed author, had passed away before the Chinese pilgrim left India, that he was '*a recent king*',³ that is, he had died not long ago. His time is thus fixed as a little before 644 or 645, from the Tibetan and Chinese sources.

Now according to Nepal inscriptions, he was alive in certain years of an unnamed era, in years 34, 39, and 44 noted in the records of his reign (Dr. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, pp. 178-180), and he

¹ According to Chinese History he died in 650 A. D. (JRAS, 1880, 438), and according to Tibetan, in 698 A. D.

² According to Waddell and Sarat Chandra Das in 641, and according to de Milloué, between 628 and 631 (V. Smith, p. 376 n.). The name of the Nepal king, the father of the Princess, is *go-cha* in Tibetan which has been translated as *Prabhā-varman* (JASB, LIX. 54), and *Jyoti-varman* (Sarat Ch. Das, JASB, L. 200). The reference does not necessarily prove that the marriage took place in the lifetime of *A m ś u v a r m a n*.

³ Beal and Watters, ii, 84, leave no room for doubt on the Chinese text. Bhagwanlal Indraji tried to doubt the translation (*IA.*, XIII. 419), and Fleet totally ignored the evidence of *Yuan Chwang*. The opinion of the Sinologues is unanimous on the passage that *A m ś u v a r m a n* is recorded as a past king by *Yuan Chwang* (*J.A.*, 1894, 58).

must have died in or before the year 48 (Fleet, p. 180) in which year the record of his successor J i s h n u G u p t a is dated and wherein A m ś u v a r m a n is mentioned as a past sovereign. In any case, A m ś u v a r m a n's rule, therefore, could not have lasted after the 48th year of this era; and as he died before 645 (Yuan Chwang) the era could not begin after (645-48) 597 A. D. There is, however, yet another reference to A m ś u v a r m a n in the Nepal inscriptions. It is an inscription of Ś i v a d e v a I, the Lichchavi king, whose feudatory A m ś u v a r m a n had been and who mentions him in an inscription dated in the year 316 of an unnamed era (Fleet, 177-78). This era was taken by Fleet to be the Gupta Era, and it is not possible to take it otherwise owing to the known date of A m ś u v a r m a n from the external sources discussed above. This era beginning as it did 316 years before the time of A m ś u v a r m a n (c. 640) must begin in the first quarter of the 4th century and the only known era which falls to commence about that time is the Gupta Era beginning in 319-320 A. D. The inscription of S a m u d r a G u p t a proves the subordination of Nepal to him. There seems to be no room for any doubt that Nepal adopted the Imperial Gupta Era. In the year 316 (635 A. D., 3rd May) A m ś u v a r m a n according to the inscription is feudatory and adviser (though dominant adviser) of Ś i v a d e v a I. The form "*Mahāsāmanta-Amśuvarmaṇā vijñāpitena mayā*"—proves conclusively the subordinate position of A m ś u v a r m a n. In his own inscriptions up to the

year 34, Amśuvarman calls himself *Mahāsāmanta*, 'High Feudatory'; and in the year 39 he drops that title and adopts '*Sri*', 'His Majesty.' Amśuvarman to start as king would therefore be dated in or about 635 A. D., not much before, and his reign [as king] will fall between 635 and 645 A. D. (Yuan Chwang)—a period roughly of 10 years at the highest. It follows, then, that his own inscription of the year 39 would be about 635 A. D., that the years 35 to 44 or 45 while Amśuvarman was alive would cover his whole reign of 10 years. His reign [as king] is thus to be dated between about 635 A. D. and 645 A. D. And the era of these lower figure years must begin in or before 600 A. D. and not after. It, therefore, cannot be the Harsha Era which began in 606-607 A. D.

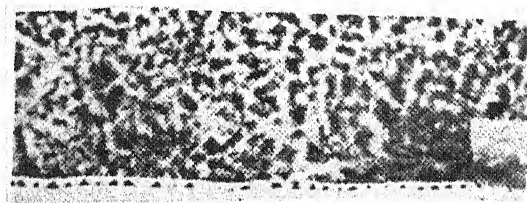
The Initial Year of the Era of Amśuvarman

There is a definite piece of information in Chinese History of the T'ang Dynasty (chapter 221)¹ giving details of Nepal History from contemporary writings which proves that Amśuvarman was dead before the year 643 A. D. In the period 642-647 A. D. when the Imperial Envoy from China—Li Y-piao—was on his way to the court of Harshavar-dhana, he found on the throne of Nepal 'the king Narendradeva [Na-ling-ti-po].' The father of this king whose name we know from inscriptions to be Udayadeva, eldest son (*Yuvarāja*) of Amśuvarman,² had been deposed by Naren-

¹ Lévi, *J.A.*, 1894, 60, 67; *J.A.*, 1900, 304.

² *I.A.*, IX. 170, insc. of the year 39.

Beginning of line 30 of Thankot Inscription of
Mānadeva and Jishṇu Gupta.



40 4

dradeva's uncle, younger brother of his father. Narendradeva was restored to throne by the Tibetan king on the condition that the former became his vassal.¹ Several times two Chinese envoys passed through Nepal between the period 642-647 and 657 A. D. while Narendradeva was ruling. It is an ascertained fact from Chinese history that from 643 A. D. to 657 A. D. Narendradeva was found on the throne.² Amśuvarman's death therefore is to be dated before 643 and after 635 A. D. when he was alive in the time of Sivadeva I. The period is further narrowed down by the discovery of a further inscription of Sivadeva I, dated 320 published by Professor Lévi in his vol. III on Nepal (p. 79)³. This is similar to his other charters mentioning the *Mahāsāmanta* Amśuvarman, who had conquered all the enemies. He was thus alive in (320 G. E.) 639 A. D., and his death must fall between 639 A. D. and 643 A. D.

Now can we get at the exact date between these two incontestible dates 639 and 643 A. D.? If my reading of the date as the year 44 in the Thānkot inscription of Jishṇu Gupta (Lévi, iii, plate

¹ The passage has been several times translated by French Sinalogues commencing with St. Julien (*JA*, 1847).

² See Lévi, *JA*, 1894, 55; 1900, 297; *Le Nepal*, i. 155; ii. 164-165; cf. V. Smith, *EH*, 366, on dates of arrivals of the mission in India.

³ Discovered by Maharaja Chandra Shamsher Jang at Khopasi (a village to the east of Bhatgaon). Plate XIII of Lévi has the date in perfect and clearest state of preservation, and reads 320, *Chaitra krishṇa-pañchamīyām*. Unfortunately Prof. Lévi, under his curious idea of Nepal Eras and of Nepal history which minimised the importance of all Gupta connexions in Nepal, read the figure as 520.

XVII), be correct,¹ we can definitely say that Jishṇu Gupta and his puppets, Mānadeva and Dhruvadeva—uncle of Narendradeva and the Lichchhavi succeeding him—ruled for 4 years (yrs. 48² and 44 in Jishṇu Gupta's inscriptions), and that the death of Amśuvarman is to be dated (643-4) c. 639.

Fortunately we have an astronomical datum in an inscription of Amśuvarman discovered and published by Dr. Bendall in his *Journey into Nepal* (IA, XV. 338). This is dated in the year 34, in the intercalary month of *Pausha* (*prathama-Pausha śukla-dvitiyā-yām*). According to the present system no intercalation is reckoned in *Pausha* or *Mārgaśīrṣa*, but that such intercalation was reckoned in the earlier period is confirmed by another inscription noted by Dr. Fleet (IA, XV. 338). Now following the system of the old Ārya Siddhānta³ the month of *Pausha* will intercalate in the period 600-700 A. D. in four years, namely in 629, 648, 667 and 686 A. D.⁴ As 648, 667 and 686 fall in the reigns of Narendradeva and later, we have to select only 629 A. D. as the date when the year 34 of Amśuvarman with *prathama* (1st) *Pausha* [about November, 23] fell. This will give the initial year of Amśuvarman's era to be 595 A. D.⁵

¹ See plate of the beginning of line 30 (enlarged) from Lévi, iii, 104, pl. XVII. Lévi suggested 500, of which there is no trace.

² IA., IX. 171.

³ See Sewell, *Siddhāntas and the Indian Calendar* (p.x).

⁴ See Sewell's Tables.

⁵ Cf. JA, 1894, 62 (Lévi, On the Chronology of Nepal), where he has taken 594, which is an error. His other astronomical facts are also inaccurate. According to the Brahmasid-

His 44th year will thus be 639 A. D.¹ We have therefore to take his death year to be that if the Thankot inscription is dated in the year 44 and his last inscription to be dated in the year 44, not 45 [the reading was doubtful between 44 and 45, Bhagwanlal Indrajī, *IA*, IX. 171 n. 27; Fleet, *GI*, I, 180, n. 5]. Otherwise it would fall (in any case) after Chaitra-kṛishṇa-pañchamī, March 639 A. D. and before 643 A. D.

*The Chronology of the rule of Amśuvarman and
Dynastic Revolution on his death*

The chronology of the reigns of Amśuvarman and Jishṇu Gupta would stand thus.

Amśuvarman

- 595 Beginning of Amśuvarman's Era.
- 625 Amśuvarman's Harigaon inscription (Lévi, iii, 85) of year 30, Jyāistha 6, fixing maintenance of his commander-in-chief, his coronation horse and elephants, and others.

dhānta (which, Lévi erroneously says, would give the same result) the intercalation of Pausha will take place in 602, 621 and 640 A. D. The Brahma-siddhānta could not have reached Nepal in 602 A. D. or 621 A. D., for it was published and came into use after 628 A. D. (Sewell, p. X). 660 A. D. = 34 of Amśuvarman will give us 606 A. D. as the initial year of the era, which we have seen to be impossible. 621 A. D. = 34 of Amśuvarman would make him dead in 635 (587 + 48th year when Jishṇu Gupta was ruling), while he was alive up to 639, the 320 year record of Śivadeva.

The astronomical calculations given above have been verified by my friend Dr. Gorakh Prasad, the astronomer of the Allahabad University.

¹ Kirkpatrick's Vamśāvalī gives Amśuvarman a reign of 42 years.

- 627 His second Harigaon insc., of year 32, Āshāḍha Ś. 13, (Lévi, iii. 93), fixing charitable allowances. His Sanga insc. of year 32, Bhādrāpada Ś. 1, giving a privilege to the village [describing Palace *Kailāśakūta* from which all his charters are issued, as a 'wonder-inspiring' building] Lévi, iii. 99.
- 629 His insc. of year 34 (Jyaisṭha Ś. 10), IA, IX. 169, on preservation of cocks, pigs, and fishes, etc.
- 629 His insc. of year 34 (prathama-Pausha Ś. 2), Bendall, p. 74. Grant of fields for repairs of a building.
- 634 His insc. of year 39, Vaiśākha Ś. 10, order issued as king (*śrī*), for administration in respect of religious (Śaiva) endowments by his sister and her children [IA., IX. 170.]; U d a y a d e v a a s y u v a r ā j a.

Amśuvarman and Sivadeva I.

- 635 Sivadeva I's insc. of year 316 Jyaisṭha Ś. 10 (Bendall, *Journey*, p. 72, IA, XIV. 97) granting privilege to a village on the advice of the *Mahāsāmanta* A m ś u v a r m a n.
- 639 Sivadeva I's insc. of year 320, Chaitra, Kṛishṇa 5, at Khopasi; privilege to the village on the advice of Ms. Amśuvarman (Lévi, iii. 79).¹
- 639 Vibhuvarman's insc. in the year 44 (or,

¹ There are two more inscriptions of Sivadeva I where MS. Amśuvarman's advice is cited in the charters, but the dates are gone—IA, IX. 168; Lévi, iii, 62 [Tulachchhitol-Bhatgaon].

45), Jyeshtha Ś., when he built a conduit by favour of His Majesty (śrī) Amśuvarman.

Jishṇu Gupta and Mānadeva

- 639 (?) Thankot inscription of Śrī Jishṇu Guptadeva, under Baṭṭāraka ['Master'] Śrī Mānadeva, '*banner of the family occupying the Lion-Throne,*' of year 44 [?], confirming the grant for a tank made by his own great-grandfather Mānadevagomin. Jishṇu Gupta had his own *Yuvarāja* Vishṇu Gupta, and his dynasty *Soma* [Lévi, iii. 104]

Jishṇu Gupta and Dhruvadeva Lichchavi.

- 643 Jishṇu Gupta (His Majesty, Śrī), at Mīna-Nārāyaṇ, in year 48, Kārttika Ś.2, makes over to a feudatory a water-course which had been dug out by the "*Mahārājadhīrāja Amśuvarma-pāda.*" The order is passed under the over-lord Dhruvadeva. Jishṇu Gupta claims his sovereignty by hereditary right and popular approval [IA., IX. 171].

There is another inscription like the above where the date is mutilated. That also is under Dhruvadeva, the banner of the Lichchavi dynasty [IA., IX. 173]. The last known inscription [IA, IX. 174] under the prosperous and victorious reign of Śrī-Jishṇu-Gupta (Śrī-Jishṇu-

Guptasya pravarddhamāna-vijayarājye) has also lost its date.

Narendradeva

- 643 Narendradeva [grandson of Amśuvarman, son of Udayadeva] found by the Chinese already restored on the Nepal throne.

It seems that 643 A. D. was the first year of the restoration of Narendradeva, when Jishṇu-Gupta had been ruling along with Dhruvadeva Lichchhavi whose name we do not find in the Vamśāvali [unless it is to be taken as identical with the *Rudradeva*]. The uncle of Narendradeva, therefore must have been Mānadeva who ruled with Jishṇu Gupta before Dhruvadeva who is placed in the Vamśāvalis after Udayadeva and is not called *Lichchhavi-kula-ketu* like Dhruvadeva but *simhāsanādhyāsi-kula-ketu* in the inscription. It appears that Jishṇu Gupta wanted to legalise his position by setting up a Lichchhavi at Mānagriha in the place of Mānadeva and sought the popular approval as against the claim of Narendradeva.

The Author of the Era 595 A. D.

What does this era which started in 595 A. D. signify?

The Guptas were expelled by Sivadeva I about this time¹. But then Sivadeva I himself uses the Imperial Gupta era and not a new era. It seems that Amśuvarman counted the era from his own coronation as *Mahāsāmanta*,

¹ See separate section on the Guptas of Nepal below.

and it is A m ś u v a r m a n 's own era. He was the founder of a new (the Ṭ h ā k u r ī) dynasty—an event sufficiently important, especially as it meant the virtual supersession of the ancient and long dynasty of the great L i c h c h h a v i s. He counted his original coronation as the reckoning of his new dynasty. That he did not take a formal second a b h i s h e k a, at least up to his 34th year, is evident from his inscription where throughout he is styled by the old title *Mahāsāmanta*, although all the paraphernalia and functions mentioned in the inscriptions are fully royal. Probably he was re-anointed in the very last year of his reign as the full title of sovereignty—*Mahārājādhiraja*—does appear on one series of his coins.¹ This was not a posthumous title given by J i s h n u G u p t a as supposed by Bhagwan Lal Indrajī and Lévi.

A telling argument against the theory of the introduction of the H a r s h a E r a into Nepal is that had it been politically introduced we would have found it also in the inscriptions of Ś i v a d e v a I, contemporary of A m ś u v a r m a n. On the other hand, Ś i v a d e v a I and his successors never adopted the era which A m ś u v a r m a n and his successors used, that is, the era of lower figures—years 30 to 153. It was thus evidently the Ṭ h ā k u r ī E r a, the era of A m ś u v a r m a n, counted from his coronation as *Mahāsāmanta*.

¹ Cunningham, C. A. I. 117. Lévi, Bhagwanlal Indrajī and Fleet have missed this piece of evidence.

A Tibetan Era in Nepal?

Prof. Lévi expounded a theory that Amśuvarman's years were in a Tibetan Era (*Le Nepal*, ii, 153-54) which, according to the dates 1203 and 1206 in Dalai Lama's letters of 1789 and 1792 A.D., should have begun in 586 A.D. The Chinese register the foundation of the Tibetan empire in the K'ai-Hoang period which falls between 581 and 601 A.D. Professor Lévi therefore suggests that there was a Tibetan Era which was also the origin of the Bengali Era called "*San*." Both these theories are untenable.

The Bengal Era though apparently counted from 593 A.D. as its initial year, has really nothing to do with any era starting in 593 A.D. It was invented in the reign of Akbar by taking the years of Hindu eras [Samvat and others] for the year of Akbar's accession and deducting therefrom his accession year in Hijra. His accession occurred in the Hijra year 963; in other systems it corresponded to 1556 A.D. ($1556 - 963 = 593$ A.D.)¹. The origin of the Bengal *San* is thus a new calculation invented in Akbar's reign, and not a Tibetan era. The speculation of Prof. Lévi connecting it with a Tibetan era and assuming a supposed Tibetan conquest of Bengal is a product of unhistorical imagination and complete ignorance of the history of the foundation of the *San-i-Bangālā*, the Fasli year of Bihar and the Vilāyatī year of the Deccan, which all have a common origin, as

¹ See Prinsep's *Essays*, ii. 168; Fleet's *Hindu Chronology* in *Ency. Brit.*, xiii.

fully recorded by Muhammadan historians¹. Prof. Lévi's method illustrates how a pure philologist makes a poor historian. Prof. Lévi, although he does not say so in clear terms, was swayed [ii. 154] by the name-ending of Tibetan kings *tsan* in attributing a Tibetan origin to the *San* of Bengal, which is not a Tibetan but a Persian word. Tibetans never had any era, that is, a continuous reckoning in their own country. They counted time in cycles and by periods (Prinsep, *Essays*, ii. 160 '*Tibetan Kalendar*'; ii. 289, '*Buddhist Chronology of Tibet*'; Waddel, *Lhasa* (1909), 449, *Tibetan Year-Cycles*). They have a fixed epoch falling in 1025 A.D. which is the year of the introduction into Tibet of the Hindu chronological system called *Kālachakra*. Csoma translated the Tibetan chronology composed in A.D. 1686 (Prinsep, ii. 289) which clearly admits that there was no Tibetan era up to 1686 A.D., that the whole idea of an era was absent in the Tibetan system. For the period before 1025 A.D. Tibet has a fixed epoch of 403 years (Prinsep, ii. 162). Prof. Lévi not finding a possible date in 586 A.D. for Amśuvarman's era, proposed that this 403 figure must be a mistake for 430 and deducting from 1025 A.D. reached 595 A.D. and said that that must be the beginning of a Tibetan era which was introduced in Nepal. Now apart from the fact that the whole of the Tibetan chronology negatives the idea of there having been an era in Tibet, Prof. Lévi's proposal to change 403 into 430 is based on no ground. The "epoch of 403 years" is not

¹ Prinsep, ii. 169.

rendered in Tibetan in figures but by a chronogram *mekba-gya-tso* which does not admit of a possible transposition in the process of copying. Further the period "403 years" is too solidly fixed and too well-attested for the interval by noted events to premise a correction (Prinsep, ii. 289).

Now "403 years" before their epoch of 1025 A.D. takes us to 622 A.D. which is really an era, the Hijra era, which Tibet came to know of very early, having come in conflict with the Arabs within the first century of the Hijra—a conflict which continued and lasted for a long time. There is not the least trace in Tibetan books of the establishment of a Tibetan era in 586 A.D., 593 A.D. or 595 A.D.—the dates proposed by Lévi.

It is not possible to hold that the years of *Aṃśuvarman* are dated in a Tibetan Era. Prof. Lévi says that the adoption of 'the Tibetan Era' signifies the subjugation of Nepal by Tibet. If so, there is no explanation as to why the real king of Nepal, the Lichchhavi *Śivadeva* (I), contemporary of *Aṃśuvarman* signing his writ in 316 (G. E.) = 635 A. D. does not adopt the so-called Tibetan Era. He and his successors continue to use another and an older era of three figures (the Gupta Era). If a Tibetan Era was politically introduced in Nepal, it would be expected that the Lichchhavi king in 635 A. D. should have used it as *Aṃśuvarman* is supposed to have used it. Tibetan influence is assumed on the ground of marriage of the daughter of *Aṃśuvarman* with the first Tibetan emperor, *Srong-tsan-Gampo*,

whose accession date is definitely 629 A. D. But we find A m ś u v a r m a n dating his Harigaon inscription in the year 30 (625 A. D.).¹ If it is in a Tibetan Era the introduction of the Era would be even before the accession of S r o n g - t s a n - G a m p o ! And if we take 'the Tibetan Era' to commence in 586 A.D. the date of A m ś u v a r m a n ' s year 30 would be 616, i.e., 13 years before the accession S r o n g - t s a n - G a m p o ! The whole volume of evidence contradicts the possibility.² There is no room for the assumption of the introduction of a Tibetan era before 629 A.D.. Yuan Chwang who passed through the Muzafferpur district in 637 A.D. and took down notes about Nepal in that year knows nothing about any Tibetan suzerainty over Nepal and treats that kingdom as an independent one. In 650 A.D. when Taosuen compiled his *Che-kia-fan-chi*³ after quoting the description by Yuan Chwang textually he adds "actually the kingdom is under the domination of the Tibetans." The era of A m ś u v a r m a n ' s inscriptions which go back to 625 A. D., i.e., some years even before Yuan Chwang's account, could not therefore be dated in a Tibetan Era. Then, if in the year 30 of A m ś u v a r m a n when he described himself as *Mahāsāmanta*, Nepal had been already conquered by Tibet, how could A m ś u v a r m a n strike his coins later

¹ Lévi, *Le Nepal*, iii, 85. This inscription was unknown to Bhagwanlal Indraji and Fleet.

² See below on the data of the Mañjuśrī History and the Chinese History which definitely date the Tibetan suzerainty after Jishnu Gupta (successor of A m ś u v a r m a n) and between 643 A. D. and 647 A. D.

³ Nanjio, *Catalogue*, (No. 1470; J.A., 1894, 60.)

with the full imperial title, that is, the title of an independent sovereign—‘*Mahārājādhirāja*’ ?¹ Prof. Lévi did not take account of this numismatic evidence at all, otherwise probably he would not have put forward his theory of a Tibetan conquest or suzerainty over Nepal and of introduction of a non-existent Tibetan Era into Nepal.

II.—CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF AMSUVARMAN

The constitutional position of Amśuvarman can be gathered from certain Nepal inscriptions and his coins; and that position when ascertained throws some light also on the question of the Era used by him and his successors.

There are nine dated inscriptions on him, giving his titles, which may be compared with the titles on his coins.

¹ Cunningham, CAI, XIII, 5.

Years and Eras	Record of	Titles of <i>Amśuvarman</i>	Corresponding titles on coins of <i>Amśuvarman</i>
¹ 316 (635 A.D.)	King Śivadeva (<i>Bhaṭṭāraka mahārāja Śrī Śivadeva</i>)	" <i>Mahāsāmanta</i> (High Feudatory) <i>Amśuvarman</i> "	Nil.
² 320 (639 A.D.)	"	"	"
³ 30 New Era	<i>Amśuvarman</i>	" <i>Śrī mahāsāmanta Amśuvarman</i> "	"
⁴ 32 " "	"	"	"
⁵ 34 " "	"	"	"
⁶ 34 " "	"	"	"
⁷ 39 " "	"	" <i>Śrī-Amśuvarman</i> "	" <i>Śrī-Amśuvarma</i> " (CAI, Pl. XIII. 4,6)
⁸ 45 or 44 New Era	private individual	" <i>Śrī-Amśuvarman</i> "	"
⁹ 48 " "	King Jishnugupta (" <i>Śrī-Jishnugupta</i> ")	<i>Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādbhirāja Śrī Amśuvarman</i>	" <i>Mahārājādbhirājasya Śryamśob</i> (Śrī-Amśu's)

¹ Golmādhītāl, Bhatgaon insc. Fleet, G I, *Intro.* 177-8; I. A.; XIV. 97; Dr. Beṇdall was the first to suggest the obvious conclusion from the known date of *Amśuvarman* that the Era must be the Gupta Era.

The inscription is by King Śivadeva I where *Amśuvarman* is adviser and his sister's son *Bhogavarman* is the *Dātaka*.

² Khopasi, outside the valley, E of Bhatgaon, Lévi, *Le Nepal*, iii. 79 (date misread as "320" for "320").

³ Lévi, *Le Nepal*, iii, 95, Pl. XIII; Harigaon insc. I.

⁴ Ibid, p. 93, Harigaon.

⁵ IA, IX. 169; G I, *Intro.* 178; Bungmati insc.

⁶ G I, *Intro.* 179.

⁷ IA, IX. 170; G I, I 179; Devapātan insc.

⁸ IA, IX 171; G I, I. 180; Kathmandu conduit insc.

The above analysis would show

1. that the title *Mahāsāmanta* is given up after the 34th year by Amśuvarman, [though the Lichchhavi king still applies it to him up to 639 A.D.];
2. that *Srī* is used as title of full sovereignty, which according to books on constitutional forms and precedents may alone denote '*His Majesty*.' The same *Srī* alone we find on the coins of M ā n a and G u ṇ a (CAI, XIII, 1, 2);
3. that the higher—the imperial—title of *mahārājādhirāja* must have been assumed by A m ś u v a r m a n after or in the year 44/45 and before the year 48, and that he had died before the inscription of J i ś h ṇ u G u p t a of the year 48;
4. that A m ś u v a r m a n was never a subordinate of the Tibetan king even up to his death (between years 44 and 48). If A m ś u v a r m a n had given his daughter to the Tibetan king, so had done the Emperor of China. The alliances prove the importance of Tibet but not suzerainty in either case;
5. that A m ś u v a r m a n adopted full kingship between the years 34 and 39, and the imperial title after 320 GI [= 639 A. D.]

श्रृंगुर्वर्मप्रसादेन कारिता सत्प्रणाली विभुवर्मणा . There is a doubt as to whether the figure after 40 was 4 or 5. [Nepal Government has extended the parade grounds over this water work; the insc. is lost probably buried under ground.]

⁹ IA, XIV. 171; G I, I. 180; Lalitapaṭṭana (Chhinnamastikā Temple).

Chaitrakrishna 5¹ in or after and the 44th year;

6. that the era of the 44th year would therefore (639-44) begin in 595 A. D., not later.

If we take into account that he must have been alive in the year of the marriage of his daughter with the Tibetan king (641) and must have died before the year 48—and at least a year before 644 (not later, when Yuan Chwang left the plains of Mid-India), we get the same result, namely, that he died between 639 and 643, and his era was counted from 595 A.D. which he ushered in or about 625 A.D. his 30th year (30th year of his birth or his rule as *Mahāsāmanta*).

If the real position of *A m ś u v a r m a n* is realized, it becomes clear that *A m ś u v a r m a n* is registering his own regnal years as a subordinate ruler in his inscriptions. The Harigaon record of the year 30, which is the earliest known record of this ruler, shows his exact status. It announces maintenance grants to a number of his officers, his (old?) animals and some idols, after the fashion of 'old kings' पूर्वराजानुवृत्त्या यथोचितप्रदानानि. The record is in form a royal writ (the donor *samājñāpayati*, 'commands'). The grants are in favour of, amongst others, 'the Commander-in-Chief' (Mahābalādhyaksha), 'the coronation elephants,' 'the coronation horse' (abhisheka-hastinaḥ; abhishekāśvasya), 'the standard-bearer,' 'the confidential leaders at the time of undertaking an invasion (or, procession? *Yātrā*). The writ is made known to

¹ Khopasi insc.

the 'Royal Palaces' (rāja-prasādeshu), and it is laid down in the end that "future kings" were not to neglect this favour of their ancestor (न कैश्चिदयम् प्रसादन्यथा करणीयो भविष्यद्भिरपि भूपतिभिर्गुरुकृतप्रसादानुवर्त्तिभिरेव भाव्यमिति) to emphasize which the Donor says that this he personally commands 'iti svayamājñā' (as opposed to, through the medium of a *dūtaka*, agent). This of course, amounts to the Donor's own signature. The date he himself puts down along with the subscript *svayam ājñā*, 'samvat 30 Jyaisṭha śukla śaś-*ṭhāyām*.' He is thus talking in terms of a full sovereign, and is directing 'kings' who are to come after him. His title *mabāsāmanta* had ceased to bear its ordinary meaning and had acquired the elevated position of a royal epithet though denoting the origin, like the *Senāpati* with the name of P u s h y a m i t r a, 'the sacrificer of two aśvamedhas' (i.e. an emperor: Ayodhyā inscription) where Pushyamitra though already an emperor is still styled as *Senāpati* by his old title. After the style of a full sovereign A m ś u v a r m a n claims the title of his throne from his respected father (वप्पपादपरिगृहीतः), not from a liege-lord. In other words, any idea of being a feudatory is excluded. And it was to punctuate this that he dates the order in a New Era.

Naturally the old dynasty of the Lichchhavis does not recognise this era of their rival and ex-feudatory and they date as usual in the old Gupta Era. He counts this New or Thākuri Era from his birth or accession as *Mabāsāmanta*.¹

¹ He is given a reign of 42 years by Kirkpatrick's authority.

The inscription of the year 30 is evidently the first donation on assuming sovereignty. Two years later in another writ of gifts—which is a long list of pious donations (Harigaon Insc. of the year 32: Lévi, iii-92) he says that he was anxious about the happiness of his subjects: कथं प्रजा मे सुखिता भवेद्...In the Bungmatī inscription of again two years later (year 34), he issues a charter to a village community through a *dūtaka* and refers to himself, addressing his successors, as ‘a former king’, पूर्वराज-कृतप्रसाद, (IA, IX. 169). He meditated at the feet of his father, that is, as formerly, there is no mention of an overlord. In the Devapāṭan inscription (IA, IX. 170) of the year 39, he is a powerful king, a reformer and has his own *yuvārāja* [‘crown prince’—Udayadeva] as *dūtaka*, giving a pious privilege to a foundation of his sister; but he has no title except *Śrī*, just as on several issues of his coins.¹ Similarly in the inscription of the year 4[4] which is a private record he is referred to only as ‘*Śrī-Amśuvarman*.’ These two records mean that *Śrī* here stands, as observed above, for ‘king’ (‘His Majesty’) and was considered quite sufficient to denote his full sovereignty.

Now let us take the inscription of Śivadeva I, the king who refers to Amśuvarman. In the Bhātgaon writ of the year 316² (Gupta Era) of Śivadeva, Amśuvarman is highly praised and described as a great conqueror (प्रख्याता-मलविपुलपराक्रमप्रशमितामितविपक्ष-प्रभावेन), and “to honour

¹ See CAI, XIII; Walsh, JRAS., 1908, p. 669.

² See Fleet, G I, p. 178 (*Intro.*) on the date; IA, XIV. 97; Bandall (*Journey*.)

his request" (एतद्गौरवात्) the privilege was granted to the village. Evidently here *Amśuvarman* is not treated in reality as a subordinate but as an equal sovereign whose request was to be respected and a privilege granted to a village in *Sivadeva's* part of Nepal on the recommendation of *Amśuvarman*. *Sivadeva's* inscription at Buddha Nilkanṭha¹, wherein the date is now missing, shows still more pointedly that more honour and fuller royal honour is accorded to *Amśuvarman* than to *Sivadeva* himself. *Amśuvarman's* great and complete successes in war (यथानेक-पृथुसमरसम्पात-विजयाधिगत-शौर्यप्रतापाहत-सकल शत्रुपक्ष-प्रभावेन,) and his success in kingship (सम्यक् प्रजा-पालन-परिश्रमोपार्जित-शुभ्रयशोभिव्याप्तदिग्मण्डलेन) are so prominently described that it seems certain that *Amśuvarman* was treated as king in these inscriptions of *Sivadeva*. Although *Amśuvarman* was ruling over the 'West', as guessed by Fleet and now confirmed by the Mañjuśrī Imperial History (p. 20), he was practically the real sovereign of Nepal and the position of *Sivadeva* had been reduced to that of a nominal, courtesy king of the 'East.'² Thus in the Gupta year 316=635 A. D.

¹ IA, IX. 168.

² He acts as Dictator in the Eastern part of the kingdom, and as sovereign in the Western part. The grant of privilege to the village of Kurppāsī which is to the E. of Bhatgaon is made 'with the king's approval' by *Amśuvarman* himself, who had dispelled ignorance by the rays of his own virtues, had established welfare by his devotion to Lord Bhava (*Siva*), and had uprooted the whole lot of enemies by the strength of his own arms [विदितमस्तु वो यथानेन स्वगुणमणिमयूखालोक-ध्वस्ताज्ञान-

A m ś u v a r m a n was a full sovereign, and that he had been so for some time. This position he had assumed with his inscription and grants of the year 30, whereby he fixes salaries and allowances for his royal officers. His reference to his coronation horse and his coronation elephants evidently means the animals of the time of his coronation as *mahā-sāmanta*, as there is no indication in the proclamation of any subsequent or recent coronation. His year 30 must be counted from his coronation as *mahā-sāmanta*. This year 30 being the year of assumption of his ruling powers, must, precede 635 A. D. the date in Ś i v a d e v a I's panegyric of A m ś u v a r m a n.

III.—CONFUSION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF VAMSAVALI EXPLAINED.

The Vamśāvalī note in the first place the M ā n a d e v a whom we know to have flourished after A m ś u v a r m a n, and whose date is known from the inscriptions (GI, 189, I.)¹; but the Vamśāvalī by a confusion register two Mānadevas *before*

तिमिरेण भगवद्भवपाद-पङ्कजप्रणामानुष्ठानतात्पर्योपात्तायतिहितश्रेयसा
स्वभुजयुगबलोत्वाताखिलवैरिवर्गणे श्रीमहासामन्तांशुवर्मणा]

¹ About one Mānadeva who flourished in the Lichchavi dynasty we have it on the basis of inscriptions that he was the son of D h a r m a d e v a, grandson of Ś a ṅ k a r a d e v a, and great-grandson of V ṛ ṣ i ṣ h a d e v a, and that he lived c. 705-733 A. D. (IA, IX. 163; GI, I, 182; the Changu Narayan Pillar inscription which Mānadeva himself dated 386 = 705 A. D.; IA, IX. 166; the Paśupatinath Temple inscription of the reign of Mānadeva, dated 413 = 732-33 A. D.; IA, IX. 178 : insc. of J a y a d e v a II of the year 153 at Paśupati Temple mentioning M ā n a d e v a in the genealogy giving his descendants M a h i d e v a and V a s a n t a d e v a, son and grandson).

Amśuvarman. If we look into the list [in IA, XIII 412] we find that M ā n a d e v a is first placed after D h a r m a d e v a, two steps above V a s a n t a d e v a, which is his correct position in the inscriptions. Then the name is reported (as No. 25) *once more* after V a s a n t a d e v a (no. 23) and U d a y a d e v a v a r m a n (no. 24) and one step above Ś i v a d e v a (no. 27), predecessor of A m ś u v a r m a n. We have evidence for the existence of this second Mānadeva. According to the inscription of Jishṇu Gupta at Thankot¹ a Mānadeva who was not a Lichchhavi, ruled as the sovereign (*Bhaṭṭāraka*) of Jishṇu Gupta. According to the Mañjuśrī History, U d a y a d e v a succeeded Amśuvarma and was succeeded by Jishṇu Gupta. This is correct, as Udayadeva is *Yavarāja* of Amśuvarman in his inscription. U d a y a d e v a came after A m ś u v a r m a n, and not before him. After the list—Vṛishadeva to Vasantadeva—which agrees literally with that in the Vamśāvalī, the inscription of Jayadeva II gives, as unconnected with the above in the direct line, (1) U d a y a d e v a, (2) N a r e n d r a d e v a, Narendradeva's son (3) Ś i v a d e v a II and the latter's son (4) J a y a d e v a II (inscription dated 153 = 748 A. D.) Against this the Vamśāvalī have two different data :

¹ Lévi, *Le Népal*, iii. 104.

- (1) *IA*, xiii. 413;
Lévi, ii. 92, 112
- (2) *Kirkpatrick's Vamśāvali*
24. Udayadeva, son of 23.
25. Mānadeva varman son of 24
26. Guṇakāmadeva varman,
 son of 25
27. Śivadeva varman, son of
 26, made Devapāṭana
 his capital
28. Narendradeva varman
 son of 27
29. Bhīmadevavarman, son¹ of
 28
28. Bhīmadevavarman—In his
 reign the Ahīr Dynas-
 ty of the Guptas
 restored, who were
30. Viṣṇudeva varman, son
 of 29
29. Viṣṇu Gupta
31. Viśvadevavarman, son of
 30
30. Kṛishṇa Gupta
- [Viśva Gupta—
Lévis' V.] father-in-law
 of Amśuvarman.
31. Bhūmi Gupta
- New Dynasty*
32. Śivadeva varman
 expelled the Guptas
 and restored the Sūrya-
 vamśas
- New Dynasty : Thākuriś*
32. Amśuvarman
33. Amśuvarman

It is evident that Kirkpatrick's Vamśāvali here accords with the facts known from inscriptions that Śivadeva [I] who is said to have restored the Sūryavamśis (i.e., the Lichchhavi dynasty, supposed to be a branch of the Ikshvākus—*Sūryavamśa*¹) was followed by Amśuvarman. It inserts Viṣṇu Gupta (*varmā* of other Vamśāvalis), Kṛishṇa Gupta, etc. before Śivadeva I, as interlopers. They, as a dynasty, are called "the Guptas," and Ahīrs by

¹ See *IA*, IX. 178, inscr. of Jayadeva II, where descent is traced from Sūrya.

caste. They were the Later Guptas of Nepal¹ and evidently they claimed suzerainty. They are not in the line of the Lichchhavis. 'Bhīmavarma' is also described as 'Bhīma Gupta' in an earlier list of "the Guptas" wherein Harsha Gupta, Vishṇu Gupta and Jaya Gupta (as the last) also figure (Lévi, ii 73)². These are all Later Guptas. Jaya Gupta is known from his coins of c. 600 A.D.³ Excluding this list of the Gupta interlopers—Bhīma (28 or 29), Vishṇu (30 or 29), Kṛishna and Viśva or Bhūmī (31 or 30)—we get the Vamśāvalī list as

1. Udayadeva
2. Mānadeva
3. Guṇakama deva
4. Śivadeva
5. Narendradeva
6. Śivadeva
7. Amśuvarman

In the light of the inscriptions, the succession is

Udayadeva

|

Narendradeva

|

Śivadeva (II)

We know the time of Śivadeva II, as he was the father of Jayadeva II who dates his inscription in 153 (748 A.D.). This Śivadeva thus

¹ See below.

² The List of the Guptas is given in two places, once in the beginning where Nepal history begins and then under the Lichchhavis, in its proper setting. See below.

³ CMI, II, 3; CIM, p. 121. See below.

will not be the *Sivadeva* contemporary of *Aṁśuvarman*, and has been rightly designated by Fleet as *Sivadeva II*. The *Vaṁśāvalis* hence have fallen into a confusion in putting *Aṁśuvarman* below *Sivadeva II* owing to the identity of the names of the earlier *Sivadeva [I]* and the later *Sivadeva [II]*. The *Vaṁśāvalis* have copied two independent lists :

I	II
Udayadeva	Sivadeva I
Narendradeva	Aṁśuvarman
Sivadeva II	

In the second list which is certainly of earlier kings they had two more names above *Sivadeva I*—namely *Mānadeva I* and *Guṇakāmadeva*. That list of earlier kings will thus be :

Mānadeva
 Guṇakāmadeva
 Sivadeva I
 Aṁśuvarman¹

Was there, then, an earlier Mānadeva, a Mānadeva I, who flourished before Sivadeva I and Aṁśuvarman, and was he succeeded by a Guṇakāmadeva?

According to the inscriptions there is no room for *Guṇakāmadeva* either in the succession later than *Sivadeva I*, as *Mānadeva* of *Jayadeva's* inscription was succeeded by *Mahideva*, his son, who was succeeded by his son *Vasanta-*

¹ See further discussion below.

deva (also called Vasantasena). There is also no room for a *Guṇakāmadeva* in the other list beginning with Udayadeva which the inscriptions of Jayadeva II and Jishṇu Gupta fix as *Udayadeva*—[*Mānadeva*]*—Narendradeva—Sivadeva II—Jayadeva II*. As we shall see below there is no room for a *Guṇakāmadeva* to come in between *Udayadeva* and his son *Narendradeva*. Here coins help us. The *Mānāṅka* and *Guṇāṅka* coins are twins, one follows the other. We have thus the most positive evidence for the existence of *Guṇa (kāma) deva*¹. *Mānadeva*, predecessor of *Guṇakāmadeva* has to come earlier than *Amśuvarman* and *Sivadeva I*.

Let us see if we have any other proof for the existence of a *Mānadeva I*, that is, a *Mānadeva before Sivadeva I*.

IV.—MANADEVA I.

There is good evidence for the existence of an earlier *Mānadeva*, earlier than *Amśuvarman*, who should be called *Mānadeva I*. *Amśuvarman* himself mentions a '*Mānagriha* gate' to his palace, a god *Māneśvara*, a vihāra *Māna-vihāra*. *Sivadeva I* issues his charter from *Mānagriha*. This would show that there was a *Mānadeva* before *Amśuvarman* and *Sivadeva I*.

This is again confirmed by the *Mañjuśrī Imperial History* (p. 20)². It introduces the *Lichchhavi* line

¹ The style *Mānāṅka* and *Guṇāṅka* has been imitated from the Gupta coin legend *Vikramāṅka* of *Chandra Gupta II* and other Guptas (Cf. *Garudamaṇḍika* and *Parākrāmāṅka* of *Samudra Gupta*. Lévi, ii 108.)

² See extract below, § VI.

with *Mānavadeva* which has been rightly taken by Lévi to be a mistake for *Mānadeva*. He is placed there definitely before *Vṛishadeva* and as his predecessor. In the *Vaṁśāvalī* there is no *Mānavadeva* above *Vṛishadeva*. *Vṛishadeva*'s time is about 650 A. D. (G. I., p. 189, *Intro.*). The whole succession of 6 generations, from *Vṛishadeva* to *Vasanta* *deva* II, is one from father to son. *Vasanta* dates his charter in 415¹ (G. E. = 734 A. D.). The inscriptions of *Vṛishadeva*'s great grandson *Mānadeva* are² dated 705-732 A. D. *Vṛishadeva* came to the throne some time after *Sivadeva* I. In the genealogy of the *Vaṁśāvalīs* we have this order:

16 *Sivadeva* varman (Lévi's *V*, ii. 92).

17 *Rudradeva* varman

18 *Vṛishadeva* varman (I. A., XIII. 412).

Here it is evident that the *Sivadeva* I of the inscriptions is the *Siva (deva) varman* of the *Vaṁśāvalīs*. *Rudra-varman* is omitted in some *Vaṁśāvalīs* (Lévi, ii. 92), probably he is the same as *Dhruvadeva* of the inscription of *Jishṇu Gupta* under whom *Jishṇu-Gupta* grants privileges (I. A., IX. 171).

Exact Date of Mānadeva I

We have now, thanks to the researches of my revered and learned friend the *Rājaguru Śrī 6 Pandit Hemarāja Śarmā*, C.I.E., a material on the exact date of this *Mānadeva*, i.e., *Mānadeva* I has come to light. It is contained in a

¹ See below, the date is 415, not 435 as read by Bhagwanlal Indraji (I.A., IX. 167).

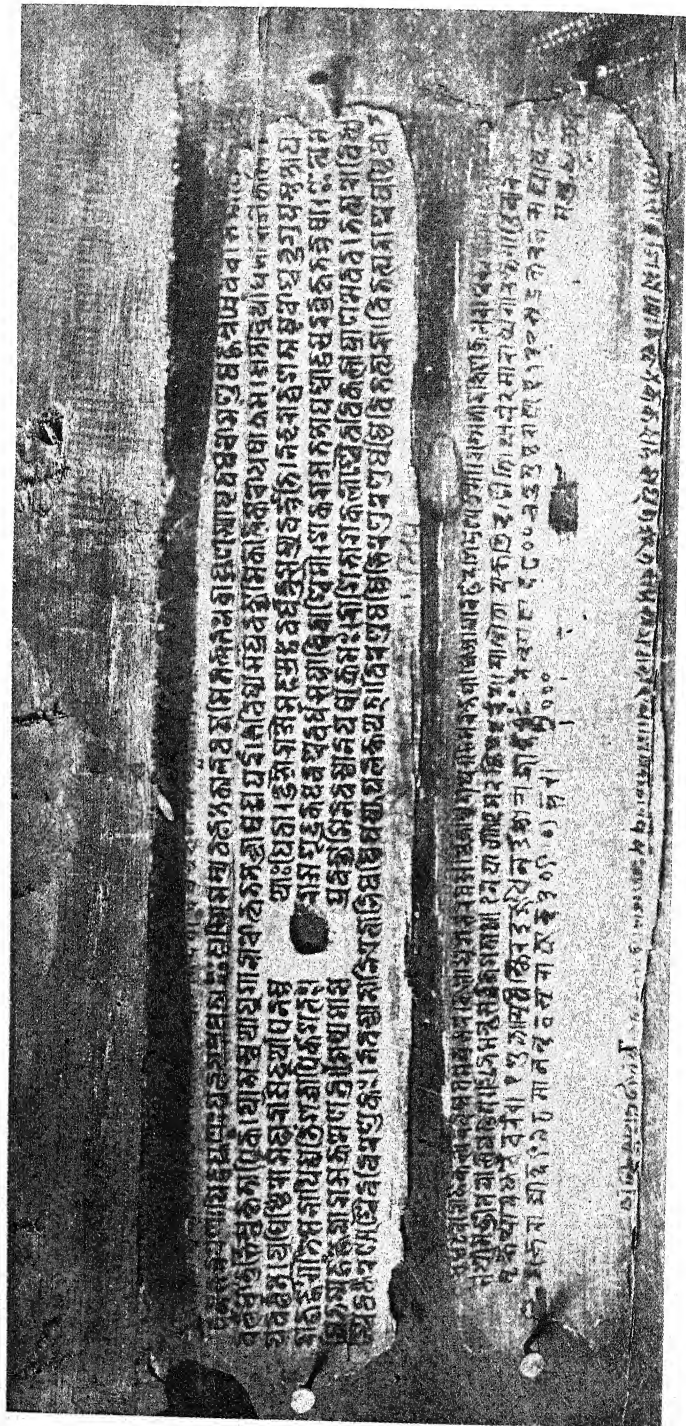
² I.A., IX. 163, 166; Fleet, G.I., I., 182.

palm-leaf manuscript which gives his date as equivalent of 576 A. D. The Rājaguru, when he gave me his datum, was of opinion that this Mānadeva for whom he supplied the date from the manuscript was the Mānadeva of the inscription of Changu Nārāyan and that it proved a Mānadeva Era which was the era used by Amśuvarman. While I do not accept those views on account of M ā n a d e v a ' s (III's)¹ dated inscriptions at Changu Nārāyan and Paśupatināth and the other dated inscriptions discussed above and the cross-checks for A m ś u v a r m a n ' s years, I gratefully utilize the datum in establishing the time of an earlier Mānadeva, M ā n a d e v a I.

There is a manuscript of a book on Hindu Astronomy called *Sumati-tantra*, which belongs to the State Library of Nepal. The manuscript is in characters what are locally known as the *Gomo lipi*. From its script the date of the palm-leaf manuscript would be the 12th century. I reproduce the pages from a photograph very kindly given to me for that purpose by the learned Rājaguruji. I am told by that scholar that, in the body of the work, in giving examples of calculations the author uses as a pivot the equivalent of the Christian year 576. This would indicate that the author lived very near that date. The author by a chronogram which is contained in the first folio photographed gives the following chronology in verses in Sanskrit of the type of the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* and other Buddhist works. These verses I

¹ Mānadeva II is the Mānadeva of Jishṇu Gupta's insc.

Leaves of the Sumati-tantra



reproduce below from the photograph. Beginning with the Kali Era, i.e. 3102 B. C., 'the reign of Yudhishthira and Duryodhana,' the author roundly puts 2000 years for the pre-Nanda period and 800 years more for the pre-Chandragupta (Maurya) period. He gives further 132 years to the Maurya kingdom; then 247 years to that of Śūdraka, that is, the Sātavāhanas. This brings us to the era of Śaka. Then there is an interval of 498 years. On the next page, a subsequent annotator has noted at the end that this interval of 498 brings the chronology to the reign of Mānadeva, and the kingdom of Mānadeva is brought down by 304 years i.e., down to the Nepal Era. The initial year of the Nepal Era falls in 879-880 A. D. (the year beginning on the 1st Kārttika Sudi—*G.I.*, Intro. 74). 498 years before it will take us to 576 A. D. as the year of Mānadeva I. Knowing as we do the initial year of Śaka—78 A. D., 498 years after it brings us to the same year ($78 + 498 =$) 576 A. D. These three dates are the only definite dates which the Nepal astronomers—the author of the *Sumati-tantra* (the '*Sumati system*') and the annotator—knew: the Śaka era, and the initial year of Mānadeva I, and the Nepal Era. The annotator could calculate it from both the eras if he knew the correct interval from either. In the 12th century when the book was copied it is very likely that the astronomers of Nepal knew the correct date of Mānadeva I. I have myself seen a number of hand-written books in possession of the Rājaguru which are note-books of the past centuries of Nepal astronomers, recording chief contemporary events,

made and left as heirlooms, for future use by their successors. Documents four and three hundred years old both on paper and palm-leaves are commonplace in Nepal families even today. I found one family possessing two hundred palm-leaf sale-deeds of the time of the Malla dynasty. They bear the original royal seals intact.¹ I saw a whole book—a long paper-roll folded as pages—which was originally written in 721 N.E = 1601 A. D. by the builder of the Mahābodhi temple at Bhatgaon, noting in full the description of the process of building the temple as a guide for future repairs. The book is being used today for repairing the damages caused by the earthquake of 1934. The habit of valuing old records and the climate are both in favour of this fortunate circumstance. It is thus reasonable to suppose that the annotator of the *Sumati-tantra* actually had reliable records before him for the date of Mānadeva I.

The chronology before the Śaka Era is not reliable, but its dates about Chandragupta Maurya and the dynasty of Śūdraka (Simuka = Śūdraka Sātavāhana) are interesting, being very near the true marks.

¹ Three of these I have brought and deposited at the Patna Museum. We have discovered in British India thousands of sealings of Hindu times but not a single example of a document with a sealing attached. Now we can see from the Nepal documents, discovered for the first time, how the seals were actually attached to documents by the royal office. They were clay (unbaked) sealings of a very cementing composition. A strip of palm-leaf tied the document after the fashion of inserting strips of leather in our leather shoes and then the joint was sealed. I hope to publish these examples in this Journal.

The text is as follows :—

- L2.)यातास्तथा युगाना(+)वा कृत मन्ता(?)थ द्वापरं।
 भविष्यं संप्रवक्ष्यामि कालिकं वा यथाक्रमं।
 जातो दुर्योधनो राजा कलि (. .) (L3.) प्रवर्तते।
 युधिष्ठिरो महाराजो दुर्योधनस्तथाऽपि वा।
 उभौ राजौ सहस्रे द्वे वर्षन्तु सम्प्रवर्तन्ति।
 नन्दराज्यं शताष्टं वा इन्द्रगुप्तस्ततो पर (म्)।
 L4.) राज्यङ्करोति तेनापि द्वात्रिंशच्चाधिकं शतम्।
 राजा शूद्रकदेवश्च वर्षसप्ताब्धिचाश्विनौ।
 शकराजा ततो पश्चाद्भुवनं प्रकृतन्तथा।
 इत्येते (भा) (L5.) षितं मह्यं ज्ञेया राजा कमेणतु

[Note]युधिष्ठिर दुर्योधन उभौ राज्याब्द २००० [,]नन्द राज्याब्द
 ८०० [,]चन्द्रगुप्त राज्याब्द १३२ [,]शूद्रकदेव राज्याब्दशक राज्याब्द
 ४९८ [,]मानदेवस्य राज्याब्द ३०४[.] शुभम्

The translation is :

(Line 3) Duryodhana was born in Kali.

Yudhishtira and Duryodhana : “the two kings last for 2000 years.”

“Nanda’s kingdom (rājya) lasts for 800 years.”

“Chandragupta is after that. He also rules for 132 years.”

“The king Śūdraka for 7, 4 (abdi) and 2 (āsvinau) (i.e. for 247) years.

“After that, similarly, king Saka, 8, 9, 4 (that is, for 498) years.”

For the Nanda-rājya, it gives the year (3102 B. C.—2000 =) 1102 B. C., and for the beginning of the Maurya kingdom it gives (1102-800 =) 302 B. C., for the Sātavāhana kingdom, (302-132 =) 170 B. C., and for the Saka kingdom, (247-170 =) 77 A. D.

(elapsed) i.e. 78 A. D. The dates for the commencement of the Maurya kingdom and the Sātavāhana kingdom are short by about 22 years each. The year for the commencement of the Nanda-Rājya is hopelessly wide off the mark.

It is clear that the author of the chronology took chief reigns as land-marks, and not always eras. There were Yudhishṭhira, Nanda, and Śaka Eras, but there was no Chandragupta Era, there was no Sūdraka Era. There is no trace of an Era of Mānadeva I, for we find Śivadeva I the Lichchhavi using not a recent era but the Gupta Era in 635 A. D. Nor could the Era of Amśuvarman be a Mānadeva Era, commencing from 576 A. D., for in that case Amśuvarman must be dead in $(576 + 48 =) 624$ A. D. but he was alive in 635 A. D. (the date of Śivadeva I's inscription and later (see above). Evidently the author was a contemporary of Mānadeva I and used his coronation year for his calculations.

We are on firm ground in taking 576 A. D. as the first year of M ā n a d e v a I, as it receives corroboration not only from the script on the *Mānāṅka* coin, which Dr. V. Smith assigned to the 6th century A.D. (C. I. M., p. 281) but also from the dates of V ṛ i ṣ h a d e v a and Ś i v a d e v a I, before whom M ā n a d e v a I must come.

Another copy of the *Sumati-tantra* is in the British Museum Library. It is a palm leaf manuscript dated in Nepal Era, 476 (1356 A. D.). The copy is much later than the one to which reference is made above. With its help we have to read *Kali-sandhyam* in our line 2. It reads *śatāśbṭaṅcha* against *śatāśbṭam vā*

(line 3) of my manuscript¹. While these are minor improvements, the two important figures for *Sūdraka* and *Saka-rājā* are clearly wrong in the British Museum copy which reads राजा शूद्रक देवश्च वर्ष सप्ता द्वि चाश्विनौ
in place of " " " " द्वि "

and शक राजा ततो पश्चादसु चन्द्र कृतन्तथा,
in place of " " " " रन्ध्र "

These two figures would date the Saka era twenty years earlier than its true date which the other manuscript gives correctly. The interval between Saka and Mānadeva, read by it as of 418 years as against 498, is proved to be wrong by the next interval of 304 years which brings the chronology to 880 A.D., the beginning of the Nepal Era. The British Museum ms. will put Mānadeva at 496 A. D. (418—78 A. D.) or at 476 A. D. taking its other mistake (of 20 years placing Saka at 58 A. D.). The last interval of 304 will then bring the chronology to 800 A. D. or 780 A. D., that is, there will be a discrepancy of 80 or 100 years. The two mistakes in the British Museum copy are produced by simple misreadings in Nepal scripts: *dvi* (द्वि) for *bdhi* (ब्धि) and *chandra* (चन्द्र) for *randbra* (रन्ध्र).

The British Museum copy has a prose line after the text ending with *kramena tu* which is not to be found in the older manuscript—

सेषा युताश्च कृत अम्बराग्नि ३०४ श्रीमानदेवाब्द —प्रयुज्यमाना
एतानि पिण्डकलिवर्षमाहुः ॥

¹ *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum* by Cecil Bendall, (1902), pp. 193-94, 467. No. 3564. Although the opening passage quoted gives the name as *Sumati-tantra*, it is wrongly catalogued as *Sumata*.

“The rest (of the kings), added together, employ the year (era ?) of Mānadeva for 304 (years)—these years are called the collective Kali reckoning.”

Dr. Bendall, not following the chronology of the text, added the figure 418 (after Śaka) to 304 and obtained 800 A. D. as the date of Mānadeva, while Mānadeva begins, according to the system followed in the chronology, when the 498 or 418 period after Śaka ends.

V.—LICHCHHAVI KINGS

The complete list of the L i c h c h h a v i kings as in the Vamśāvalī may be divided in three parts.

Serial numbers according to the order in the Vamśāvalī. (I.A., XIII. 412; Lévi, ii. 91-92, 122).

I

Names noted in Jayadeva II's inscription.

And other inscriptions.

- ¹1. Bhūmivarman
(capital at Bāṇeśvara).

Names Nos. 1, 2, 4-16 purposely omitted in Jayadeva II's insc. (I.A., IX. 178).

¹ Kirkpatrick's authority gives five more names to this dynasty which is unanimously called Ś ū r y a - V a m ś ī. These five names are given separately by the Vamśāvalī, other than Kirkpatrick's, under S o m a v a m ś ī Dynasty. This is a wrong division, as the Vamśāvalī themselves note the connexion between B h ā s k a r a v a r m a n (no. 5 and the last) of the so called *Soma vamśa* and B h ū m i v a r m a n (no. 1 of the *Sūryavamśa*) as that of adoptive father and son. How could then the Vamśa change ?

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 2. | Chandravarman | |
| 3. | <i>Jayadeva</i> ¹ I | Jayadeva I according |
| 4. | Varsha-varman
[Vrishavarman
I K.] | to J.II's insc. he was
founder of the Ne-
pal dynasty. An |
| 5. | Sarva-varman | earlier king <i>Supu-</i> |
| 6. | Prithvi-varman | <i>shpa</i> is noted as hav- |
| 7. | Jyeshtha-varman | ing flourished at |
| 8. | Hari-varman | Pushpapura; "omit- |
| 9. | Kuvera-varman | ting 23 Kings" there |
| 10. | Siddhi-varman | comes Jayadeva I |
| 11. | Haridatta (built
4 Nārāyana Tem-
ples including
Changu Nara-
yan and Nīlak-
anṭha Jalasāya-
na ² Temples) | ' <i>the victorious.</i> ' Then
<i>omitting in the inter-
val eleven kings,</i>
there comes the
12th according to the
inscription but the
18th V r i s h a -
d e v a , according to |
| 12. | Vasudatta | the Vamśāvalis |
| 13. | Śrīpati | Śivadeva I ³ |
| 14. | Śivavṛiddhi-
(varman) | (I. A., IX.) |
| 15. | <i>Vasantadeva</i> I | Dhruvadeva |
| 16. | Śivadeva I | I. A., IX. 173 |

¹ '*Jayavarmā*' in the Vamśāvalis which have throughout for nos. 1 to 14 name-ending *varman*. Kirkpatrick's Vamśāvali has *deva* from no. 15 onwards, while other copies occasionally add *varman* to *deva*. Inscriptions have always *deva*. I have followed generally K.'s list for name-forms. His copy is the oldest and more valuable.

² *Jalasayana*, a colossal, lying figure of Vishṇu, is a magnificent stone image in Gupta style.

³ I. A., XIV. 97 (Bendall); I. A., IX. 168 (Bhagwanlal Indraji); Lévi, iii, 61, *Dūtaka*-Bhogavarmagomin, mentioning the request of A m ś u v a r m a n; the date is wholly gone. Prof. Lévi insists on reading all figures in Ś i v a d e v a 's records as 500 (+) instead of 300 (+) as read by Bhagwanlal Indraji, Bendall and Fleet. The last record has no trace of the date, yet he sees here also 500. The reading 300 (+) is corroborated by the figures in records of subsequent kings—of Mānadeva II, Vasantasena, etc. (386, 413, 435) (G. I., I. 180) and by the new, Khopasi, insc. of Ś i v a d e v a I published by Lévi himself (iii. 79) where his plate (XII) reads clearly 300 (+ 20). This also mentions A m ś u v a r m a n.

II

17.	Rudradeva ¹ (given by some and omitted by K.)		
18.	Vṛishadeva II (a noted Buddhist pious founder)	(12) Vṛishadeva	Vṛishadeva I.A., IX. 163
19.	Śaṅkaradeva [Revival of Śai- vism (erected a trident at Paśupati) ²	(13) Śaṅkaradeva	Śaṅkaradeva
20.	Dharmadeva	(14) Dharmadeva	Dharmadeva
21.	Mānadeva	(15) Mānadeva	Mānadeva
22.	Mahideva	(16) Mahideva	
23.	Vasantadeva II	(17) Vasantadeva	Vasantasena

Jayadeva II omits the first two names of the list and he counts 17 as against (23-2) 20 successions³ down to V a s a n t a d e v a II. There are therefore 3 extra names in the V. list, or, rather 5 if we transpose M ā n a d e v a and G u ṇ a k ā m a d e v a from the part III (see below, and § IV above). These extra names fall between no. 3 J a y a d e v a I, and no. 18 V ṛ i ṣ h a d e v a, the later names being confirmed by inscriptions. And as the existence of nos. 16 and 17 (Dhruvadeva) is certain from contemporary records, the excess has to be adjusted between no. 3 and no. 15 taking account of Mānadeva I

¹ Lévi, ii. 92, 95-96, regards him as identical with Śivadeva and thinks that the name is transposed from the Malla list.

² The trident is still existing. The big metal Nandi, attributed to him by some Vamśāvalis to his son, is also still there.

³ The Vamśāvalis regard the successions as from father to son in each case, which is to be ignored unless confirmed by the evidence of inscriptions or contemporary writers.

and Guṇakāmadeva. According to the inscription of Jayadeva II and the evidence on Mānadeva I and Guṇakāmadeva the kings have to be numbered thus:

1. Jayadeva I (c. 350 A.D.)
- 2-7. Six kings (which should include Haridatta, see below), against 11 of the Varṇśāvalis
8. Vasantadeva I
9. Mānadeva I, 576 A.D. (see § IV)
10. Guṇakāmadeva
11. Sivadeva I—635-639 A.D. (Khopasi insc. 320 G. E.)
- 11a. Dhruvadeva c. 643 A.D. (Jishṇu Gupta's insc. of yr. 48) not taken into account probably owing to his being an unlawful successor
12. Vṛishadeva
13. Śaṅkaradeva
14. Dharmadeva, 705 A.D.
15. Mānadeva II, 705, 732 A.D.
16. Mahideva
17. Vasantadeva II, 735 A.D. [G.E. 415¹; dead in 732 A.D., yr. 153, *āsīt*]

Out of Nos. 4 to 14 of the Varṇśāvalis (wherein the extra five names must fall), Haridatta, no. 11, must be a correct name. Vaishṇavism was introduced into his reign and his Vaishṇava monuments can still be identified. Although the present temple of Chaṅgu Nārāyan is much later but that the shrine must go back to about his time is proved by the inscription

¹ The reading of the figure is 415, not 435; cf. plate 2 in I.A., IX, with plate 3.

of Mānadeva II on the dhvaja standard at Chaṅgu-nārāyan, which is in early Gupta style¹, and, by the grand Jalāsāyana figure at Nilakanṭha which is again typically Gupta, and which is mentioned by Amśuvarman in his Harigaon inscription of year 32.² As to the other names we have at present no means to check and to accept or reject. But there should be a presumption of correctness in their favour, as a very high percentage of data in the lists of the Vamśāvalis is proved to be correct. The number of 11 princes of the list as against 6 out of the unnamed 11 of the inscription of Jayadeva II means that between Jayadeva I and Vasantadeva I (no. 1 to 8 of my list above) the first eight kings, there were two contemporary lines ruling as in the later period. This system of double rule seems to have been borrowed from the home constitution of the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī.

The Vamśāvalis after their no. 23 present a great confusion, which has been already solved with the help of the inscriptions to some extent, and the solution can be carried further with the help of new data.

III

This portion of the so-called Lichchhavi list I am marking as part III. The list is a mixture of the names of the EARLY THĀKURĪ Dynasty with some names of the Lichchhavis transposed and

¹ It is also mentioned by Amśuvarman at Harigaon (Lévi, iii. 94).

² Lines 14-15 (Lévi, iii. 95).

names of one more dynasty, 'Gupta-Ahīr', that is, the Later Guptas of Nepal (see § 6—7).

Varaṣāvalī list

Kirkpatrick, 260; Bhagwanlal Indraji, 13 I.A. 413.

Wright, 124—130; Lévi, ii. 92, 122.

24. Udayadeva

25. Mānadeva

26. Guṇakāṁdeva

27. *Sivadeva* ('transferred the seat of government to Devapātana')

28. Narendradeva

29. Bhīmadeva varman

According to K's V., Gupta Dynasty of Ahīr caste	{	30. Viṣṇu gupta (K) (Viṣṇudeva varman—others)
		31. Viśva Gupta (Viśvavarman— others) gave his daughter in marriage to <i>Aṁśuvarman</i> , founder of the Thākuri Dynasty. K's <i>Varaṣ.</i> gives after no. 30—
		31. Kishnu Gupta
		32. Bhūmi Gupta

33. Sivadeva expelled the Guptas; and restored the
Sūryavarṁśī (the Lichchhavi) dynasty (K.)

A m ś u v a r m a n [595—539 + (?) A.D.]

Against this we have the following succession
from inscriptions (I.A., IX. 170, 174, 178).

[*Varaṣ.*] *Inscriptions*

[24.] Udayadeva, (*Yuvarāja* in yr. 39) deposed by
his younger brother (Chinese History).

[25.] Mānadeva (III) (evidently brother of 24, as
27 Narendradeva, restored by Tibetans,
was son of 24).

[28.] Narendradeva [ruling from 634 to 657, according to Chinese (Thang) History].

[29.] *Sivadeva II.*, yr. 119.

J a y a d e v a II, yr. 153 (Vamśāvalis omit him).

The order in V. between 27 and 28 is transposed, and Guṇakāmadeva is brought down from below Mānadeva I (above Sivadeva I) to be placed below no. 25 Mānadeva III, above Sivadeva II.

These are all later than A m ś u v a r m a n whose last date in inscriptions in the year 44 (or 45). These are all, as we shall see presently, Ṭhākuri names. J a y a d e v a II, son of Narendradeva, is neither in the Ṭhākuri list nor the Lichchhavi list of the Vamśāvalis. The reason for this is explained in the Ṭhākuri section. A m ś u v a r m a n has been placed in the V. list after S i v a d e v a II who lived about the year 119. There is fortunately only one A m ś u v a r m a n and we easily detect the mistake. There have been two mistakes. No. 25 and 26 have been removed from their place above S i v a d e v a I to be placed, above S i v a d e v a II. A m ś u v a r m a n's history is transferred to the time of S i v a d e v a II from S i v a d e v a I which is evident from K.'s copy. In the eighteenth century, Vamśāvali copies still preserved the close association of the history of S i v a d e v a I and A m ś u v a r m a n, and Kirkpatrick's copy for that reason introduced even a third Sivadeva (no. 33). But later editions noting (correctly) only two S i v a d e v a s, cut A m ś u v a r m a n off from S i v a d e v a altogether owing to their insertion of several names (nos. 30, 31,

32) above Amśuvarman's, which fortunately for us Kirkpatrick's copy specially notes as names of an intervening family who were defeated by Sivadeva I. That Sivadeva II can not be a contemporary of Amśuvarman is clear from the dated inscription of Sivadeva II (of the year 119) and from the date of his father known to us from Chinese History based on contemporary writings.

Now as to the "Guptas" who were expelled by Sivadeva I according to Kirkpatrick's *Vamśāvalī*, is there any trace of theirs in the inscriptions?

These Guptas seem to be the ancestors of Jishṇu Gupta whose inscriptions we have as nos. 9, 10, and 11 of Bhagwanlal Indraji (I.A., IX. 171, 173). A new inscription of his is published by Lévi (*Nepal*, iii. 102, pl. XVII; Thankot inscription). The last one bears the date (samvat) 44(40 + 4)¹ the figure for 40 is distinct (line 30th). The writ was dated while *Bhaṭṭāraka* (Sovereign) Śrī Mānadeva [II] was '*the banner of the enthroned family*' at Mānagrīha; it was issued by Śrī Jishṇu Gupta Deva from Kailāsa kūṭabhavana².

¹ It is difficult to imagine how could Prof. Lévi read 500! I am giving an enlarged copy of the portion (beginning of line 30) from his plate. See my plate VII.

² *Kailāsakūṭa* was the seat of the Dictator, and *Mānagrīha* was the seat of the nominal king. Amśuvarman built this famous Palace Kailāsa kūṭa, of which he is very proud in his Sanga insc. (Lévi, iii 99). His family after him ruled from it (we have reference to it in inscriptions down to the time of Sivadeva II (9 I.A. 174), while the Lichchhavis lived at their Palace Mānagrīha, (G.I, I, 188-189) built evidently by Mānadeva I (576 A.D.—) as Amśuvarman named one of the gates of his own palace after *Mānagrīha*. In this inscription we have the novel position that Mānadeva (II), a younger son of

It confirmed a donation, the document of which had been lost; it was originally made by the great grandfather (*prapitāmaha*) of Jishṇu Gupta, whose name was Mānagupta Gomin. It refers to certain taxes payable in *kārshāpanas* and one of the taxes was *Malla-kara*. This had been evidently imposed to meet the incursions of the Mallas which were put an end to by Mānadeva III who in his Chaṅgu Nārāyan inscription says that he crossed the Gaṇḍakī with his cavalry and elephants and conquered the Malla towns (Lévi, iii, 14)¹.

Mānagupta Gomin must have been a subordinate ruler having Thankot, i.e. the beginning of the valley, under his jurisdiction. The title *gomin* meant in Gupta times '*honourable*'

Aṁśuvarman and a younger brother of Udayadeva (§ IX) is installed by Jishṇu Gupta (who calls himself 'king,' '*deva*') at Mānagṛiha and he himself takes his residence at Kailāsakūṭa. This shows that Kailāsakūṭa was the official seat of the official Dictator.

For the time being by the above arrangement the Lichchavi Dynasty was wholly dispossessed on the death of Aṁśuvarman. But this was only for a year or so, for soon after we find the Lichchavi king Dhruvadeva at Mānagṛiha once more during the Dictatorship of Jishṇu Gupta. Jishṇu Gupta in both cases was the real ruler, and although the Varmāvalis ignore him, he is noted as king by the Mañjuśrī History (§ VI).

The family emblem of the Thākuriś was Nandi seated on Kailāsakūṭa—see plate 12, I.A, IX.

The latest mention of Mānagṛiha is found in the Isapaligaon inscription of the year 489—808 A.D. published by Lévi in his volume iii, pl. VIII, p. 59. [This inscription, where the writing is distinctly much advanced, most effectively destroys the theory of Lévi to read the date figures in Śivadeva I's inscriptions as 500 +, instead of 300 + as read by Bhagwanlal and confirmed by Fleet and Bendall].

¹ This text (lines 22-25) was recovered from the buried portion of the pillar, not available to Bhagwanlal Indrajī.

and is used as a name-ending in respectable names—e.g. *Chandra gomin*, the Grammarian, *Bhogavarmagomin* in Amśuvarman's inscription. Māna Gupta is not described as a king, or given any title. The two generations before Jishṇu Gupta would cover the two names Vishṇu Gupta (no. 30) and Viśva Gupta (31), the latter being the father-in-law of Amśuvarman, whose place in K.'s Vams. is given to Bhūmi-Gupta (32). Viśva Gupta and Bhūmi-Gupta were the last of the Nepal Guptas, and Sivadeva I defeated them and "restored" the Lichchhavi dynasty. Evidently the Lichchhavi dynasty had suffered an eclipse at the hands of these 'the Ahir' Guptas, probably in the time of or just after Guṇakāmadeva I, as no coin is struck by Sivadeva I.

Jishṇu Gupta described himself (under Mānadeva II) as an ornament of the moon dynasty (*Somānvaya-bhūshaṇa*) and as having succeeded to a hereditary throne. Kirkpatrick's authority relates that these 'Aheer' Guptas were a branch of the Goalā Guptas. But the Nepal Guptas claimed to be Kshatriyas of the Moon Dynasty. The Moon Standard on the coins of the Imperial Guptas implies the same claim. Jishṇu Gupta is not mentioned in the Vamśāvalis or the inscriptions of the Lichchhavis or the Ṭhākuris. Officially he was the Dictator; his *Yuvarāja* Vishṇu Gupta did not come to the throne. The way he refers to Amśuvarman [*śrī Amśuvarmapādaiḥ*, IA, IX. 172] shows that he was related to him, evidently through the latter's marriage

with Viśva Gupta's daughter. Jishnu-Gupta seems to have been the son of Viśva Gupta. He to make room for himself in the Lichchavi constitution—for the position which had been occupied by Aṁśuvarman, and which lasted up to the year 320 (639 A.D.) when Śivadeva I inscribed his last known order—seems to have removed Mānadeva II, the usurper, the second son of Aṁśuvarman, and set up Dhruvadeva Lichchavi in the brief period of his total dictatorship of 3 or 4 years. In the inscription under the sovereignty of Dhruvadeva (IA, IX. 171) he protests that he belongs to a pious family (*puṇyānvaya*) and that his rule is supported by the Pauras (*paurā śritaśāsana*), which probably implies commotion about the year 48 (643 A.D.) when very soon he was going to be dispossessed by Narendradeva, son of Udayadeva. Both he and Dhruvadeva are ignored in the Varṁśāvalis and Thākuri inscriptions, as usurpers. Except for the Mañjuśrī History¹ we have had no reference to him in literature. He imitates the coins of Aṁśuvarman.

Dhruvadeva did not belong to the direct Lichchavi line and his selection as king must have been at the cost of Vṛishadeva. There is no coin of Dhruvadeva; the right of coinage was exercised by Jishnu Gupta.

We can date the order of succession of this part thus, taking Udayadeva the *Yuvarāja* as the eldest son of Aṁśuvarman:

¹ See below, § VI.

<i>Lichchhavis</i>	<i>Guptas</i>	<i>Thākurīs</i>
Dhruvadeva	JishṇuGupta	Udayadeva
(643 A.D.) ¹	with his Yuvarāja	Mānadeva II
Vṛishadeva	VishṇuGupta	(between yrs.
	(yr. 48)	44 and 48)

Saṅkaradeva

Dharmadeva [upto 705,
defeated and killed the
Tibetan in 705 A.D.,
(JRAS, 1880, 438) and
set up four Pillars of
Victory]

Mānadeva III, 386 GE.

(=705-732)

Mahādeva (after 413 GE. =
732 A.D.)

Vasantadeva 415 GE.

(=734 A.D.)

Narendradeva

(643-657)¹

Sivadeva II,

yr. 119 (714
A.D.)²

Jayadeva II,

yr. 153
(748 A.D.)

J a y a d e v a II after detailing the Lichchhavi family from Vṛishadeva to Vasantadeva II gives '*within*' (*asya antare*) the period of this dynasty (*varṇāsya*) his own genealogy contemporary with those Lichchhavi kings. He naturally omitted the interlopers J i s h ṇ u - G u p t a, M ā n a d e v a III, and D h r u v a d e v a. Owing to D h r u v a d e v a intervening between

¹ Lévi, ii, 164. Narendradeva, son of Udayadeva, succeeded with the help of the Tibetans and was ruling in 643, while the year (48) in which the reign of Dhruvadeva is dated, also corresponds to 643 A.D.

² His reign (714 A.D.) falling 57 years after his father's, he must have been a baby on the death of his father.

Sivadeva I and Vṛishadeva, the Lichchhavi kings are taken up from Vṛishadeva, and after finishing that line the contemporaries—the Ṭhākuriś—are given, which necessitates the omission of Amśuvarman. The descendants of Amśuvarman probably imply a claim to be Lichchhavis by the inscription of Jayadeva II. This is explained by the statement in some Varṇśāvalīś (cited in Landon's *Nepal*, ii. 315) that Amśuvarman had been adopted as son by Śivadeva I. This seems to explain the anomalous position of the Ṭhākuriś both in the inscription of Jayadeva II (IA, IX. 178) and the Varṇśāvalī list. This also explains the revolutions in the time of JishṇuGupta, Mānadeva II and Dhruvadeva.

When Jayadeva II wrote his inscription in the year 153=748 A.D. the Lichchhavi dynasty had already become extinct with the death of Vasantadeva II who is mentioned as a past king [*āsīt*]. In the reign of Jayadeva II, the Ṭhākuriś alone come to possess the whole kingdom solely. We do not find any trace in inscriptions or in the Varṇśāvalīś of any successor of Vasantadeva II in the Lichchhavi line.

The mysterious reason for omitting 11 Lichchhavi kings between Jayadeva I and Vṛishadeva is the well-established Hindu historical custom (as in the Purāṇas) to omit names of kings in a dynasty when they cease to be independent. The Guptas exercised dominion over Nepal from Samudra Gupta downwards. Hence we find only Jayadeva I mentioned, who according to the chronology set out above and

calculated also by Fleet, flourished in the time of Samudra Gupta. For the time of Samudra Gupta we have his Allahabad inscription proving that Nepal was one of the tributary states in the class which were in close touch with the Imperial Government, paying regular tribute (*kara*). There is nothing to indicate that there happened any change in that condition under Chandragupta II and his immediate imperial successors. Either in the reign of Kumāragupta I or Skandagupta, we find Haradatta establishing Vaishnavism in Nepal and actually copying Gupta architecture. His pillar of Garuḍa has the exact formula of Gupta pillars¹ and the Garuḍa is a copy of the Guptan Garuḍa²—a human figure with wigs,—which implies that Haradattadeva was owning the imperial Gupta suzerainty. When the Gupta Empire breaks up on account of the rise of the empire of the Maukharis (c. 550 A.D.—570 A.D.) we find Mānadeva I (576 A.D.) striking his own coin in Nepal. But this attempt was short-lived, for we

¹ See description in IA, IX. 163. "Its lower half is square, half of the upper part is octagonal, higher up it becomes sixteen-cornered, and finally round." It is about 20 ft. high.

An inscription was inscribed on it later by Mānadeva III, while the pillar stood. It has no reference to the pillar itself. The shrine existed before Amśuvarman who made a provision for it in his Harigaon writ of year 32 (Lévi, iii. 94, line 7; the original name was *Dolaśikharasvāmin*, the hill being called *dola*, 'swing').

I found fragments of Gupta sculptures there and have brought one piece to the Patna Museum.

For Gupta writing of the fourth and fifth centuries in Nepal, see Bendall's *Journey*, p. 5.

² That is the Garudamadanka.

find the Nepal Guptas asserting sovereignty in the last quarter of the 6th century—an assertion which lasted down to the time of Śivadeva I and Amśuvarman.

Out of this list these names mark changes in the religious history of Nepal :

Haridatta (deva)—about 450 A.D., like the Imperial Guptas in the plains made Vaishṇavism the royal cult of Nepal.

Mānadeva I to Vṛishadeva—Buddhism reigned supreme after the Imperial Gupta influence, disappeared in the reign of Mānadeva I (576 A.D.). Coming after the Śaiva Amśuvarman who patronised Buddhism merely as a ruler, Vṛishadeva about 660 A.D. made Buddhism again popular (*Sugatasaśana-pakṣha-pāṭi*, I.A., IX. 178). But his son Śaṅkaradeva, about 680 A.D., is regarded as a second Śaṅkarāchārya for having revived Śaivism at the cost of Buddhism. He has left his monuments at Paśupati and is universally credited by the Buddhists to have abolished monasticism in Nepal Buddhism (Mahāyāna), forcing every *Bhikṣhu* to lead married life. There have been no wifeless Bhikshus in Nepal ever since; the vihāras are occupied by married Buddhist priests.

After Śaṅkaradeva the Lichchhavis remain markedly Śaiva and Vaishṇavite.

The greatest figure in the period is Dharmadeva. His son Mānadeva III, who in the very year of his accession (705 A.D.) marched against the Mallas, to meet whom since the time of Śivadeva I (yr. 320, Lévi, iii, 69, 107) there had been a

Malla-kara impost in Nepal, records that his father had set up four Pillars of Victory. The reason for this we get from Tibetan History as recorded by the Chinese (translated in JRAS, 1880; 438, 456). The king of Nepal snapped the Tibetan suzerainty brought over Nepal by *Narendra deva* (643-657 A.D.). He gave battle to the Tibetan king (*Ch'inush silung*) and killed him (705 A.D.).

We find *Sivadeva II* employing imperial title in his inscription of 714 A.D., which means that *Mānadeva III* in his later years was reduced to the position of a *rājan* (as in his inscriptions), the real power passing to the *Thākuri* line. It was during the minority of *Sivadeva II* that *Vṛshadeva*, *Śaṅkaradeva* and *Dharmadeva* revived the *Lichchhavi* line and its prestige.

VI—DATA OF THE MANJUSRI HISTORY ON NEPAL

On the history of Nepal we have a valuable source in the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* in its book on Indian History. The text, edited with the help of the Tibetan translation [my *Mañjuśrī Imperial History*, § 12, p. 40] is as follows :

भविष्यति तदा काले उत्तरां दिशिमाश्रुतः ।

नेपालमण्डले ख्याते हिमाद्रेः कुक्षिमाश्रिते ॥५४९॥

राजा मानवेन्द्रस्तु लिच्छवीनां कुलोद्भवः ।

सोऽपि मन्त्रार्थ-सिद्धस्तु महाभोगी भविष्यति ॥५५०॥

विद्या भोगवती नाम तस्य सिद्धा नराधिपे ।

अशीतिवर्षाणि कृत्वासौ राज्यं तस्करवर्जितम् ॥५५१॥

ततः प्राणात्यये नृपती स्वर्गलोके जगन्मसु ।

तत्र मन्त्राशु सिद्धयन्ति शीतला शान्तिकपौष्टिका ॥५५२॥

तारा च लोकविख्याता देवी पण्डरवासिनी ।
महाश्वेता परहितोद्युक्ता अखिन्नमनसां सदा ॥५५३॥
इत्येवमादयो प्रोक्ता बहुधा नृपतयोस्तदा ।
अनेकधा बहुधाश्चैव नानारूपविवर्णिताः ॥५५४॥
शास्तुपूजकास्तेऽपि म्लेच्छराजान् है ।

T.453 b. वविषः सुवृषश्चैव भावसु शुभसुस्तथा ॥५५५॥

भाक्रमः पदक्रमश्चैव कमलश्चैव कीर्त्यते ।

भागुप्तः वत्सकश्चैव (भास्वांश्चैव) पश्चिमः ॥५५६॥

[§ 12 b. Fall of Nepal]

G.६२२ उदयः जिह्नुनो ह्यन्ते म्लेच्छानां विविधास्तथा ।

अम्भोधेः भ्रष्टमय्यादा बहिःप्राज्ञोपभोजिनः ॥५५७॥

शस्त्रसम्पातविध्वस्ता नेपालाधिपतिस्तदा ।

विद्यालुप्ता लुप्तराजानो म्लेच्छतत्करसेविनः ॥५५८॥

५४९, देववन् (ल्ह-ल्दन्) । ५५०. मानवदेवस्तु । ५५४. नृपतयस्तदा ।
५५५. हिमवद्वासिनः । वृषः । भूभासः सुभूभासस्तथा । ५५६. पराक्रमः
(फ-रोल्-ग्नोद्-जिद्) । भूगुप्तः (स-स्रुङ्क=भूपालः) । ५५७. डङ्क-छुल्
(शीली, जिष्णुः) । ततः परं (दे-डोर्) । परपुरुषोपसेविनः (फिद्य-रोल्-
स्क्वे द्गुप्स्-जो-वर्-स्योद्) । ५५८. विलुप्तास्तत्र राजानो । ५५९.
देव-द्विज-प्रियाः ।

[§ 12 c. Revival of Nepal]

अनेका भूपतयो प्रोक्ता नाना चैव द्विजप्रिया ।

भविष्यन्ति तदा काले चीनं प्राप्य समन्ततः ॥५५९॥

The Mañjuśrī History (§ 12, text, p. 40) says :

- (1) At that time in the North, in Nepāla-maṇḍala, in the valley of the Himālaya, there will be king *Māna-vendra* (read *Māna-deva*) born of the dynasty of the Lichchhavis. He would be very prosperous (*mahābhogī*)—the Vidyā Bhogavatī will be established in that king. For eighty years he ruled and made the country free from robbers (549-551) (*Here follow the names of certain goddesses* (552-553).

- (2) Then there will be various (*babudhā*) kings (*dynasties*) several and various (*anekadhā* and *babudhā*), of various castes (? *nānā-rūpa-vivarnitāḥ*)—they will be all Buddhists, and foreigners (*mlechcha-rājānaḥ*; Tibetan : Himālayan races or residents).
- (3) *Vṛisha*; *Śuvṛisha*; *Bhāvasu* (T.—*Bhūbbāsa*); *Subhasu* (T.—*Subhūbbāsa*); *Bhākrama* (T.—*Parākrama*); *Kamala*; *Bhāgupta* (T.—*Bhūgupta*); *Vatsaka*; [*Aṁśuvarman*, T.—*Bhāsvān*] the Western (535-56).
- (4) *Udaya* and *Jishnu* in the end. After that (Tibetan-*tataḥ param*) there arose several kings under the Mlechchhas who broke all rules (*bhraṣṭa-maryādā*) and were dependants of outsiders (T.) (557).
- (5) Then the overlord of Nepal (*Nepalādhipatiḥ*) was defeated and killed in battle (by arms); the kings who had lost Vidyās, servants of the Mlechchha robbers, disappeared. There will be several kings, lovers of (Hindu) Gods and Brahmins, having |China (Tibet) on their frontier (558-559).

The above data are highly important, as they give a tale different from the Vamśāvalis, and in accord with Chinese history and inscriptions. Section (1) gives the successful rule of M ā n a d e v a I. His goddess *Bhogavatī* is undoubtedly the *Śrī-Bhoginī* on the *Mānāṅka* coin. Section (2) mentions various contemporary dynasties which rose to power in Nepal after Mānadeva I. One of them is headed and represented by *Vṛisha* in whom we may recognize the Lichchhavi *Vṛishadeva*. *Bhāvasu* *Subhasu*, *Bhākrama* and *Kamala* seems to represent some Kirāta family, while *Bhūgupta* corresponds to the Vamśāvali *Bhūmigupta*, the last of the 'Aheer Guptas', who was defeated by *Śivadeva* I or *Aṁśuvarman* whom Śivadeva I credits with victories on his

enemies. *Vatsaka* is unrecorded otherwise, but seems to be connected with *Bhūgupta*. Another contemporary is *Aṁśuvarman* (of the West) whose name is lost in the Sanskrit text but is supplied from the Tibetan translation. We find *Aṁśuvarman* in his inscriptions ruling over the Government (*adbikarāṇa*) of the West. It seems that apart from the Guptas there arose at least one more local family to power, and the kingdom after *Mānadeva* I was sorely torn to pieces, and that it was reunited by *Aṁśuvarman* under *Sivadeva*. *Aṁśuvarman* set up the government of the West with full powers of sovereignty. *Vṛishadeva* and *Aṁśuvarman* are treated as contemporaries.

(4) *Udaya* and *Jishṇu* (*Gupta*) are placed at the end of this list and noted to have been the last independent sovereigns of Nepal. After *Jishṇu* the country passed under the domination of the *Mlechchhas*, i.e. the Tibetans, until the overlord of Nepal, that is, the Tibetan king, was killed in battle. Then followed Brahmanical kings—a description fully true of the kings from *Dharma deva* to *Vasanta* [sena], *Sivadeva* II and *Jayadeva* II. The defeat and killing of the Tibetan overlord (705 A.D.) is borne out by Chinese History (JRAS, 1880, 438; V. Smith, EH., 381).

Who was *Vatsaka*?

We have seen that the two Gupta lists in the *Varṇśāvalis* really constitute one series.¹ The first

¹ See section VII of this study.

list is from Jaya Gupta I to Jaya Gupta II—8 rulers (Lévi, II, 72; IA, VII. 89). Jaya Gupta II settled down, according to Kirkpatrick's *Vamśāvalī*, near Janakpur (Tarai). His name is omitted in the Nepal list by other *Vamśāvalīs*, where *Yaksha Gupta* is the last Nepal Gupta. We find base gold and copper coins of Jaya Gupta II (in characters of circa 600 A. D.), and a mould to forge his gold coins has been discovered in Nālandā excavations this year. This verifies the truth of the *Vamśāvalī* datum about the Gupta dynasty of Nepal. The *Vamśāvalīs* have the following kings in the two lists:—

(Bhagwanlal, Wright, Lévi)

(Kirkpatrick)

[within the Lichchhavi list]

Bhīmadeva Bhīmadeva (displaced by
Aheers, IA,
VII. 90)

Vishṇudeva Vishṇu Gupta

which corresponds with the Gupta list

5. *Bhīma Gupta*
6. *Mati* (or, *Maṇi*) *Gupta*
7. *Vishṇu Gupta*

It seems that up to *Bhīma Gupta* there was one line of the Guptas who were displaced by the other line beginning with *Vishṇu Gupta*. *Mati-Gupta* or *Maṇi Gupta* was a prince of the displaced line.

Kirkpatrick's *Vamśāvalī* gives two more names after *Vishṇu Gupta*

Kisnu Gupta
Bhūmi Gupta

These names are not found in the other *Vaṁśāvalis*, probably *Kishnu Gupta* is a misreading and duplication of *Vishṇu Gupta*, but *Bhūmi Gupta* is supported by the *Mañjuśrī History* which has

Bhū Gupta

Vatsaka

In the other list the *Vaṁśāvalis* after *Vishṇu Gupta* have

Yaksha Gupta

It seems that after *Vishṇu Gupta* there were probably two branches:

Vishṇu Gupta
|
┌───────────┐
Yaksha Gupta Bhūmi Gupta

That is, *Yaksha Gupta* of the *Vaṁśāvalis* would correspond with the *Vatsaka* of the *Mañjuśrīmūla kalpa*. *Vatsaka* seems to be a nickname.

Now we are helped here by Nepal coins on the identification of *Yaksha Gupta*. We know from the description of Nepal coinage in the Chinese History that in 643 A. D. the Chinese noticed the coin which agrees exclusively with the coin of *Vaiśravaṇa*—‘man on one side, and bull on the other.’¹ This coin therefore must belong to a king who flourished before 643 A. D. He thus would be either a contemporary or a predecessor of *Arṁśuvarman*. There is no doubt that *Arṁśuvarman* imitates this coin by adopting *Kāmadohī*² (*Kāmadhenu*) with the calf at udders on his

¹ See below sec. VIII. The reading on the *Vaiśravaṇa* coin is *Vaiśravaṇaḥ*—see plate I. 4 of Mr. Walsh, JRAS, 1908, 669.

² Not *Kāmadehī*, as formerly read. The corrected reading is by the *Rājaguru Pt. Hemarāja Śarmā*. *Kāmadohī* = Skt. *Kāma-*

coin. The coin must therefore belong either to Sivadeva I or some other contemporary. The legend on the coin *Vaiśravaṇa* suggests that it was struck by Ya k s h a G u p t a. 'Vaiśravaṇa' may very well stand as rebus, as Vaiśravaṇa is the king of the Yakshas. His nickname *Vatsaka* ('little calf') probably originated from his representation on the coin as the little calf attached to the Kāmadhenu. It is also possible that he had a second official name as *Vaiśravaṇa*.

The Gupta list would stand thus—

NEPAL

5	Bhīma Gupta	c. 575 A. D.
7	Vishṇu Gupta	c. 600 A. D.
8	Bhūmi Gupta	c. 625 A. D.
8a	Yaksha Gupta	c. 625 A. D.
[Tarāi]		
8b	Jaya Gupta II	c. 625 or 640 A. D.

VII—THE GUPTA DYNASTIES OF NEPAL

There are two Gupta Dynasties noted in Nepal histories, and both are confirmed by coins and other evidence. The coins establish their connexion with the Imperial Guptas.

All the *Vaiśāvalis* state that the history of Nepal begins with the 'Gupta Dynasty' who were of the Goālā caste [Sanskritised in some as *gopāla*]¹.

dhule. It represents the country [of Nepal]—cf. the political maxim :

राजन् दुधुक्षसि यदि क्षितिधेनुयेनां तेनाद्य क्त्समिव लोकममुं पुषाण ।

¹ Wright's *History of Nepal*, 107-109; Bhagwanlal Indrajī, XIII, 1A, 411-12; Lévi, *Nepal*, ii. 72, 74; Cf. Kirkpatrick,

This dynasty which is specifically given the name of the Gupta Dynasty, consists of eight names and its first name is lost which is replaced by a phrase *bhukta-mānagata* meaning 'the elapsed years of the reign.' After this dynasty the Vamśāvalis introduce a dynasty of three names and call them the Aheers (Ahīrs) 'from the plains of Hindustan.' The oldest authority, namely the one cited by Kirkpatrick in 1793 A. D., definitely says that they were Rajpūt descendants from *Mahīpa Gopāla* (King Cowherd), that they levied their army in the country situated between Simraongarh and Janakpur (Tarai) and entered and subjugated Nepal. This authority therefore states that the so-called Ahīrs were only a branch of the dynasty which Kirkpatrick has left unnamed and which is officially designated as the *Gupta Dynasty* in the Vamśāvalis. There is thus no distinction historically between the Goālās and Ahīrs, as there is none between the two terms—*Goālā* and *Ahīr*. The descendants of these so-called Ahīrs are once more given in the Lichchhavi list above Śivadeva I and Amśuvarman, by whom they were finally driven out of Nepal. There are therefore practically two lists of these Guptas (the Goālā-Ahīrs). Their chronology may be calculated back from the known date of Amśuvarman and Śivadeva I. When the Nepal histories say that the Gupta-Ahīr line was broken by the Kirātas it should be taken to refer to a Kirāta revival three generations above Amśuvarman. The introduction into the Gupta-Ahīr-Amśuvarman

Historical Sketch of Nepal in his *Account of the Kingdom of Nepal* (1811), 255-257.

chronology, of the long line of the Kirātas who flourished before and after Aśoka is a result of confusion. The two Kirāta lines—(1) the pre-Christ Kirātas and (2) the pre-Amśuvarman Kirātas—have been mixed up together. Nepal History should have and would have begun with the Kirāta Dynasty and not with the Guptas but for that confusion. The Kirātas who intervene just before the line of Amśuvarman are called “Yellung Kirāta” in Kirkpatrick and *Ya-lanwa* in Lévi's edition¹ which is treated as the proper name of the first king. *Ya-lanwa* is most likely the ethnic name *Limbu*, a well-known division of the Kirātas still on the eastern frontiers of Nepal. The next name *Pavi* of the Vaniśāvalī is noted in the Mañjuśrī History (p. 40, text)² as *Vavi-sha*, placed between *Mānadeva I* and *Vṛisha (deva)*, as a Himālayan Mlechchha and Buddhist by religion.

The Gupta lists and their chronology should be arranged as follows :

(A)

1. Jaya Gupta I
 2. Parama Gupta
 3. Harsha Gupta
 4. Bhīma Gupta
 5. Mati [or Mani] Gupta
 6. Vishṇu Gupta
 7. Yaksha Gupta
- Jaya Gupta II [K.]

¹ Lévi, ii. 78, corresponding to *Ya-Lambasa* of Wright.

² See extract in § VI above.

(B)

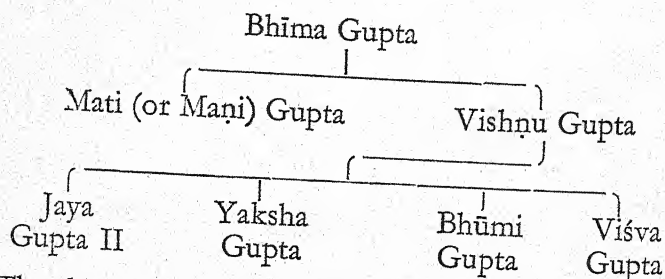
Branch of the above

1. Vara-simha
2. Jaya-Mati simha [Jaya-Simha K.]
3. Bhowany (K.) or
Bhuvana-simha.

(C) *Their descendants, mentioned in the Lichchhavi list¹*

1. Bhīma (deva)
2. [Vishṇu Gupta (K.); *Vishṇu deva*-others]
[Kishnoo Gupta (only in K.)]
3. Viśva Gupta (L.) (*Viśva deva*-others; father-in-law
of Amśuvarman)
4. Bhūmi Gupta (only in K.) but confirmed by
Mañjuśrī History, which gives Bhū Gupta as a
contemporary of Amśuvarman

It seems that from *Bhīma Gupta* (A, no. 4; C, 1) lines branched off. No. 6 of A corresponds with no. 2 of C; and no. 5 of A corresponds with no. 2 of B.



The dates assignable to the Gupta dynasty of Nepal, composed of section A and C, would be :

¹ Bhagwanlal Indraji, XIII, *IA*, 412, ii. Lévi 74, Wright, 109, Kirkpatrick, 256.

¹ 13 *IA* 413; 2 Lévi 122; Wright, 130; Kirkpatrick, 260-61.

Jayagupta I	c. 500 A.D.	
Parama Gupta	c. 525 A.D.	
Harsha Gupta,	c. 550 A.D.	
Bhīma Gupta	c. 575 A.D.	dispossessed by the Lichchavis [probably by Mānadeva I who succeeded in 576 A.D.]
Vishṇu Gupta	c. 600 A.D.	He actually reigned in the valley; his endowment <i>Vishṇu-nātha</i> still exists 8 miles north of Kathmandu ¹
Jaya Gupta II	}	
Yaksha Gupta		
Viśva Gupta		
Bhūmi Gupta		

c. 625 A.D. the time of the conquest of Amśuvarman under Sivadeva I who is noted to have expelled them

As to the position of Section B, it is certain that they had their seat in the Tarai. There being no room for them from 500 A.D. to 600 A.D.—they, —another branch of the same family—the *Mahāpāla gopāla* i.e. the 'Imperial Guptas'—must come after Jaya Gupta II, when the family was dispossessed in Nepal, in other words, after 625 A.D.

VIII—COINAGE

Coins of Nepal Guptas

This is confirmed by the gold coins of Varasimha which have been assigned to the seventh century, Allan opining that they 'cannot be before the

¹ Kirkpatrick, 191.

seventh century; nothing is known of their attribution.' The coins are illustrated in V. Smith's Catalogue of the Indian Museum, pl. xvi. 14. and Allan's Gupta Coins (British Museum) pl. xxiv. 11. The legend is read doubtfully by Rapson as "*Vāra [-sena or simha]*".¹ It has "*Kramādityaḥ*" on the reverse. On the obverse there is a cow in the style of the Kāmadhenu of the Nepal coins of Vaiśravaṇa and Amśuvarman. Dr. V. Smith could not decide between "bull? or cow,"² an uncertainty which will be caused to everyone who would be introduced first to the Nepal Kāmadohī. The name is *śrī Vara [simha]*. Although certainly related to the Imperial Gupta coinage, the coin of Varasimha, has the weight not of the Gupta system but of Nepal coins, the weight of the three gold coins of Varasimha being 162.3, 162.5, and 169 grs. which as Smith says is 'abnormal' and 'not easy to explain' (p. 98). It is explainable only on the weight system of Nepal which we find there in vogue in the coinage of Vaiśravaṇa and Amśuvarman (Cunningham, CAI., xiii, 3, wt. 172; xiii, 6, wt. 169 grs.).

Varasimha in dispossessing Jayagupta II must be taken to have dispossessed him in the Tarai. Only three coins of Varasimha have been found up to this time, and one of them was obtained by Col. Rivett-Carnak at Benares. His coins should be looked for in Champaran. We know now about Jayagupta II's coins that they were current

¹ JRAS, 1900, 131.

² p. 122.

near Magadha, as a mould to forge his gold coin has been just discovered (dug out) at Nālandā.¹ His principality must have been near Nālandā wherefrom the coin could be passed into the territory of its circulation or it could be discounted even in Magadha as that of a recognized feudatory. J a y a G u p t a 's coins are the most debased gold coins of the whole of the Gupta series, having only $\frac{1}{8}$ gold, which shows that he was in terrible financial straits. We have both his copper and gold coins. His title on his coins is *Prakāṇḍayaśah*. His copper coins have the Imperial Garuḍa, proving that he belonged to the Imperial Gupta family. His coins have been assigned by V. Smith to c. 600 A.D.

VIII—LICHCHHAVI COINAGE

It seems that on the weakness of the Gupta imperial organization [c. 500 A.D.] a branch from Magadha or North Bihar entered into Nepal and took direct possession of Nepal. The Lichchhavis then naturally became direct subordinates to the local Guptas. About 576 A.D. M ā n a d e v a I reasserted the independence of the Lichchhavi dynasty and struck his coins. He was followed by G u ṇ a d e v a (or Guṇa-kāma-deva) of the Guṇāṅka coins. They are a twin system of [*Mānāṅka-Guṇāṅka*] coinage. The names M ā n a d e v a and G u ṇ a -

¹ This was brought to me by Mr. G. C. Chandra, Supdt. A.S., C.C. to be deciphered. This is exactly of the type illustrated by Cunningham in CMI, pl. II. 3. The mould is made from a coin.

² V. Smith, CIM, p. 121; Cunningham, CMI, pl. II, 3; Allan, 153.

kāma-deva were transferred from between Vasantadeva I and Sivadeva I to a position below Vasantadeva II and above Sivadeva II in the Lichchhavi list. The confusion was caused by the appearance of Mānadeva II (contemporary and sovereign of Jishnugupta) there between Vasantadeva-Udayadeva and Sivadeva II. This led to the transposition of Mānadeva I and Gaṇakāmadeva as nos. 25 and 26 of the Lichchhavi list from their original position between nos. 15 (Vasantadeva I) and 16 (Sivadeva I).¹

On the evidence of coins there seems to be an assertion by the Lichchhavis in the time of Mānadeva I who coins his money. Now the Mañjuśrī Imperial History supplies the numismatic identification of the female figure on the coins of this king: *Srī-Bhoginī*. It says that the Vidyā worshipped by Mānadeva (who lived before Vṛishadeva) was *Bhoga-vatī*. Mañjuśrī's Imperial History begins the Lichchhavi line with him, for he was the first to become independent of the Imperial Guptas. The coin of Guṇa follows immediately Mānadeva's coin. But we gather from the coin of Vaiśravaṇa that the family had again a set-back. There is no room for this last coin after Amśuvarman and the coin of Amśuvarman and that of Vaiśravaṇa are so connected that one must follow the other. The design of *Kāmadobī* (the reading as corrected from *Kāmadebī* by the Rājaguru Pandit Hema-

¹ 13 IA, 412.

r ā j a Ś a r m ā appears on these two coins only. Amśuvarman's successor J i ś h ṇ u G u p t a abandons it, and the *Paśupati* series which follows J i ś h ṇ u G u p t a¹ abandons it. If it came after the *Paśupati* series—its date would be c. 800 A.D. which will be too late for the script of the *Vaiśravaṇa* coin. The coin should therefore come before Amśuvarman and after Mānāṅka and Guṇāṅka coins, where it has been already placed by numismatists (see Cunningham, C. A. I. 116). But as there is no name in the Lichchhavi list to whom it can be assigned, it has remained unassigned. We may take it to belong to 'the revived (Ahīr) Gupta dynasty,' where it can belong either to Y a k ś h a G u p t a or B h ū m i G u p t a. 'Yaksha' corresponds to '*Vaiśravaṇa*,' the king of the Yakshas. The legend acts as the rebus, if not the actual regnal name of the king. It may be safely presumed that the line of V ṛ i ś h a d e v a, Ś a ṅ k a r a d e v a, D h a r m a d e v a, etc.—strikes the *Paśupati* coins under the new Śaiva influence, in the name of their Deity, *P a ś u p a t i*, with changing symbols—the Trident probably signifying the reign of Ś a ṅ k a r a d e v a who dedicated the large trident noted in Nepal history and come down to our time. His son is accredited to have donated the copper *Nandi* at *Paśupati*. The Sun symbol on the *Paśupati* series denotes the *Sūryavarṇa* of the Lichchhavis. The *Paśupati* coinage has 'six distinct types'¹ and from V ṛ i ś h a d e v a to V a s a n t a - d e v a we have 6 kings.

¹ E. H. Walsh, J.R.A.S., 1908, 681.

In weight the Vaiśravaṇa coin does not belong to the series of Paśupati, but to that of Mānāṅka, Guṇāṅka and Amśuvarman. The Paśupati series is subsequent to Vaiśravaṇa.¹

Chinese History on Nepal Coinage

The Chinese have described the coinage of Nepal about 643-651 A. D. Wang-Hiuen-t'se, in his description² of the kingdom of Nepal under king Narendradeva, relates that Nepal "*has copper money which bears on one side the figure of a man and on the reverse a horse.*" In the other edition of the Thang history (called *The New History*), the description of the money is "*on one side it bears the figure of a man and the reverse a horse and a bull, and has no hole in the middle*" (that is, unlike Chinese coins).

This description is only applicable to the following coins:

(1) Coin of *Vaiśravaṇa* (Cunningham, C.A.I., pl. XIII, 3; Walsh, JRAS, 1908, p. 669, pl. I. 4). Here there is on the obverse what Cunningham describes—"*The types [of Nepal coins] are few in number. The principal type shows the king seated on a throne holding a flower in his right hand*" (p. 114) also further—"*Deity or Raja, seated to front*" (p. 116). The reverse has a cow (not bull). The very small calf is mostly very indistinct—e.g. on the coin illustrated by Mr. Walsh where letters and other features of the coin are all clear but the calf is difficult to distinguish. The cow

¹ E. H. Walsh, J.R.A.S., 1908, 681.

² Preserved in the History of the Thang Dynasty; J. A., 1894, 66. The passage has been translated several times. See Lévi's citation, *Nepal*, i. 163-64; n2 at p. 164.

is so drawn that by a man in the street it may be taken as a bull.

(2) Coin of *Mānādeva I* (*Mānāṅka*) where the figure of the goddess *Bhoginī* may well be mistaken for that of a man (see Mr. Walsh's plate, fig. 1). The griffin on the reverse has the perfect appearance of a horse.

(3) *Amśuvarman's* series having on one side the cow [which can be mistaken for a bull] and on the other the 'horse' (really griffin) (CAI, xiii. 4; Walsh, I. 5) is the only other nearest approach, but probably it has to be ruled out for not having any human figure. *Jishṇu Gupta's* coin has similarly to go out, because it has the griffin on one side but no human figure or the cow on the other side but *vajra* in a decorative style.

Hence the Chinese party who saw Nepalese copper coins in 643 to 651 A.D. based their description on the coins of *Mānādeva I*, *Vaiśravaṇa*, and also possibly of *Amśuvarman* ('New History': 'horse and bull'). It seems that *Mānāṅka*, *Vaiśravaṇa* and *Amśuvarman's* coins had been largely minted and they mainly supplied the needs of currency up to c. 650 A. D.

The value of copper in the *Madhyadeśa* (*Madhes* of the present-day Nepalese) was $\frac{1}{8}$ th of silver, but probably in Nepal it was still more dear. *Jishṇu Gupta's* inscription at Thankot¹ calculates all

¹ Lévi, *Nepal*, iii. 104 (lines 23-25, p. 107 : *kare cha yena kārshāpanan deyan tenāshṭau paṇā deya yenaushṭau paṇā deyaṃ tena paṇa-chatuṣṭayaṃ Malla-kare cha paṇa-chatuṣṭayan deyaṃ*).

taxes in *kārshāpaṇas*, which confirms the Chinese testimony of a copper currency. So does also the fact that we have found no silver coin of the period in Neapl. But Amśuvarman's inscription of the year 30,¹ mentions both *pu.* (i.e. *purāṇa* = silver punch-marked pieces) and *pa.* i.e., *paṇa*. It is possible that the reference is only for the purposes of calculation into *Kārshāpaṇas*. In any case silver was rare in Nepal.²

On the vexed question of the date of Nepal coins, the Chinese description is evidence of that the age of the *Mānāṅka* and *Vaiśravaṇa* coins cannot be later than 643 A. D. and that *Paśupati* coins had not come on the scene yet and that they have to be dated after 651 A. D.

It is not possible for the *Mānāṅka* coin to belong to *Mānadeva II*, contemporary of *Jishṇu Gupta*, as he ruled for a year or so, and could not leave so numerous a series, nor of course can it belong to *Mānadeva III* [of the *Changu Narayan* inscription] who came half a century later.

[On the absence of Nepal coinage between c. 800 to 1300 A. D., the discussion is to be found in this thesis in § XII].

¹ Lévi, *ibid*, p. 93 (Harigaon insc.).

² The T'ang History mentions silver in Tibet in the same period. See Bushell's translation, JRAS, 1880, p. 442—"They have abundance of gold, silver, copper and tin."

IX—DYNASTIC REVOLUTION ON THE DEATH OF ĀMSUVARMAN

The Line of Udayadeva

The line of Udayadeva is a puzzle. It is given both in the inscription of Jayadeva II, great grandson of Udayadeva, as if it belongs to the Lichchhavis. It is given in the Varṇāvalī as the concluding portion of the Lichchhavis line. The puzzle is solved by Chinese datum to be discussed below and the Thankot inscription of Jishnugupta mentioning a Mānadeva, not as 'the banner of the Lichchhavi dynasty' the usual dynastic description, but as 'the banner of the dynasty seated on the throne' (*siṅghāsanaḍḍhyāsi-kula-ketu*).¹ It is necessary to remember throughout these discussions that according to one view—e.g. Lévi's—Āmśuvarman married the daughter of Śivadeva (the name *Viśva* supposed to be a corruption of *Śiva*), and according to the other as noted in a Varṇāvalī in possession of the Baḍā Kāzi of Nepal (cited in Landon, ii, 315) Āmśuvarman was adopted by Śivadeva as a son, who was some sort of a nephew to him. The inscriptions do not however show that Śivadeva treated Āmśuvarman as his son, but this by itself is not sufficient. The name ending-*deva* in the name of *Udaya-deva*, who was in every event the immediate successor of Āmśuvarman need not trouble us, as Āmśuvarman's admitted descendants did adopt the *deva*-ending.

¹ Lévi, iii. 107.

What happened on the death of Amśuvarman we gather from an unexpected quarter—Chinese history of the T'ang Dynasty. According to the inscription of Jayadeva II, King Udayadeva's son was Narendradeva.¹ About this Narendradeva there is a volume of information in the Chinese history. His dress, his palace [Kailāsakūṭa], the coinage current in his time, and his international status are all described in detail. That account says that the father of the king *Na-ling-ti-po* (*Narendradeva*), whom the Imperial Ambassador met in Nepal in 643 A.D., had been deposed by his (Narendradeva's) uncle, the younger brother of his father; whereupon Narendradeva sought the help of the Tibetan king (*Strong-tsan-Gampo*) who restored him to the throne of Nepal and made him his vassal. In 651 A.D. Śrī Narendra (*Chi-li-Na-lien-to-lo*) sent a mission to the Chinese Emperor. This was a year later than the death of Strong-tsan-Gampo. Narendradeva was still ruling in 657 A.D. when a Chinese ambassador passed through Nepal².

We thus get the definite news that Udayadeva, father of Narendradeva was deposed by his younger brother who became king. Naturally the name of this collateral and usurper is not to be

¹ The reading and interpretation of Bhagwanlal Indrajī (I.A., IX, 178) has been corrected by Fleet (G. I., I., 187) which correction I have verified in Nepal. The learned Rāja-Guru Pt. Hemarāja Śarmā who has gone deep into the matter is of the opinion that it is not possible to maintain the reading *trayodaśa* of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī.

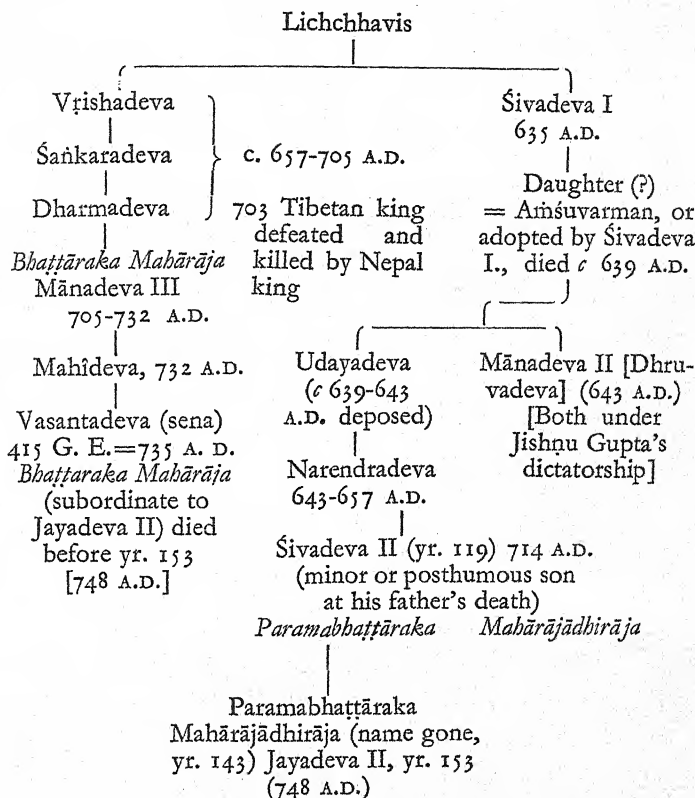
² J.A., 1894, 63ff; 1900, 302.

found in the genealogy given by the grandson of Narendradeva, Jayadeva II. But we know his name from the inscriptions of Jishṇu Gupta who, three or four years after the last inscription of Amśuvarman (dated 40 + 4 or 5), was ruling from the *Kailāsakūṭa* Palace of Amśuvarman as the Viceroy of Dhruvadeva who was residing at Mānagṛiha, the palace of the Lichchhavi kings. Before that time Jishṇu Gupta ruled also as the viceroy of Mānadeva (who should be called Mānadeva II as opposed to the later Mānadeva, great-grandson of Vṛishadeva, who should be called Mānadeva III). The date in the inscription at Thankot wherein Mānadeva II is king, is not distinct now¹ but it is not difficult to decide whether Dhruvadeva was the uncle of Narendradeva, or Mānadeva II who dispossessed his father. For Dhruvadeva's date being the year 48 (= 643 A.D.) he must be the latter of the two, as Narendradeva had succeeded by 643 when he was on the throne. Then Dhruvadeva is specifically described as a Lichchhavi, while Mānadeva II is significantly described by a new appellation—*'the banner of the entroned family'*—i.e., the family of Amśuvarman as opposed to that of the Lichchhavis. That also proves that Amśuvarman had also assumed full sovereignty in his last year. This is also certain that in the short period between the year 44 of Amśuvarman

¹ Lévi reads it doubtfully as 500? But I do not find this figure. On the other hand the date reads like 44, see plate XVII, last line (Lévi, iii)—See my enlarged reproduction herein.

and about 48, and before 643 A.D., Udayadeva was dethroned by Mānadeva II. The Vamśavalis correctly place *Mānadeva* between Udayadeva and Narendradeva (with the addition of one more name, *Guṇakāma-deva*, after *Mānadeva*, as a mistaken transposition from his place below *Mānadeva* I, for there is no room for *Guṇakāmadeva* here). Taking four years (the difference between Arṇsuvarman's date 44 and of Jishṇu Gupta 48), Udayadeva at the earliest must have succeeded Arṇsuvarman four years before Narendradeva, 643, i.e. *circa* 639 A.D., and latest in 642-643 A.D.

Now the line of Udayadeva when dated from Chinese data and inscriptions exhibits the ups and downs in the political position of the Lichchhavi-Ṭhākuri line and the pure Lichchhavi line in the following manner:



Mānadeva II and Dhruvadeva both had their residence at Mānagriha, hence there was no room for Vṛishadeva from c 639 to 643. Narendradeva was the king of the whole of Nepal in 643 and he was such a king up to 657 at least. Hence Vṛishadeva and his line rose to power after Narendradeva and during the minority of Śivadeva II, whose record we find 63 years later than his father's. During this interval Vṛishadeva, Saṅkaradeva, Dharmadeva, and Mānadeva III succeeded.

Dharmadeva's position seems to have been great, he set up four Pillars of Victory according to the Changu Narayan inscription of his son Mānadeva III. This is confirmed by Chinese sources. The king of Nepal killed the Tibetan king in war in 703 A.D. or 705 A.D.¹

Mānadeva in the beginning of his reign (386 G. E. = 705) carried war against the Mallas and reached the Gandak (North Bihar).² But in 732 his position is that he is merely described by a subordinate of his as *Srīmānadeva-nṛpati* (I.A., IX. 167) while his contemporary Śivadeva II (119 = 714 A.D.) is styled with Imperial titles *Paramabhṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* (I.A., IX. 174). And 24 years later, evidently in the reign of Jayadeva II the same imperial title still continued in the line, the family employing the Thākuri era, year 143, (I.A., IX, 176); while Vasantadeva (sena) in 415³ G. E. = 735 A.D. is only *Mahārāja* and a simple (not *parama*) *Bhṭṭāraka*.

Vasantadeva must have been dead when Jayadeva II in the year 153 = 748 A.D. said about him '*āsīt Vasantadevaḥ*' (I.A., IX, 178).

The Mañjuśrī History correctly records the situation that after Udaya came Jishnu

¹ In 703 A.D. according to E. H. Parker, *Journal of Manchester Oriental Society*, 1911, pp. 129-52, cited by V. Smith, EH., p. 381; 705 A.D. according to Dr. Bushell, JRAS, 1880, 438.

² See Changu Narayan inscription, lines recovered by Lévi (iii, 14).

³ I.A., IX. 167. The figure is 415, not 435; cf. plates 3 and 2 for the figure 10 (I.A., IX), and chart of figures in Bendall's *Cambridge Cat.* and Bühler's chart for 30.

and that Jishṇu was the last independent king of Nepal, that the kings after him became subordinate to the Mlechchhas (Tibetans), and that the overlord of Nepal (Tibetan king) having been killed by arms, there arose several kings, lovers of 'Devas' and 'Brāhmaṇas.' These latter were the Lichchhavis of the line of Vṛishadeva. Although Vṛishadeva was a patron of Buddhism, Saṅkara, Dharma, Mānadeva III and also probably Vasantadeva, and certainly Sivadeva II and Jayadeva II were distinctly Brāhmanical, devotees of Vishṇu and Śiva, to whom their dedicated monuments still survive.

There is no trace of any Tibetan overlordship after 703 A.D. which is a landmark in their international relation—a point entirely missed by Lévi. Their imperial titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* from 714 to 738 fully establishes their independent position.

The T'ang History, bks. 256—257, gives the contemporary history of Tibet, which has been translated by Dr. S. W. Bushell, physician to the British Legation at Peking, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1880, p. 435ff. According to it, Strong-tsan-Gampo (Chinese—Ch'itsung-lungtsan) died in 650 and was succeeded by his grandson, aged 8, whose son Ch'inushsilung was killed in his expedition against Nepal and was succeeded by a minor son aged 7 in 705 A.D. It was not until 755-756 (two successions later) that the Tibetan king once more rose to military greatness by attacking China and taking her capital in 756 A.D. Between 740 and 769 A.D. Tibet

was defeated by Mukṭâpīḍa Lalitâditya of Kashmir.¹ Between 822 and 842 Tibet again goes down and a civil war ensues (842), and in 849 Tibet becomes a broken vassal of China. It becomes thus evident that in Dharmadeva's time (703) Tibet is defeated, and down to the time of Jayadeva II (748 A.D.) Nepal was absolutely her own master, there being weakness in Tibet up to 755.² C. 800 Nepal was strong enough to defeat the great Jayâpīḍa.

It is noteworthy that the family of Mānadeva II is not named by Jishnu Gupta at Thankot as the *Lichchhavi-kula-ketu*, but as *singhāsanaḍhyāsi-kula-ketu* (Lévi, iii, 105). This fully confirms the view that Udayadeva and his brother were not technically Lichchhavis, but Thākuriṣ. It should be noted however that Yuan Chwang regards the kings before Aṁśuvarman and after him (even including Aṁśuvarman) as Lichchhavis. That is, in the Thākuri family the predominant element was the Lichchhavi affiliation.

The date of Narendradeva (643-657) definitely contributes to the ascertainment of the correct date for Aṁśuvarman. He must have

¹ Mon. Lévi has not noticed the Nepalese victory over Tibet of the year 703 A.D. and has gratuitously held Nepal to have been subject to Tibet from the time of Śivadeva I and Aṁśuvarman down to 880 A.D., while the Chinese historians themselves state the Indians states that used to approach China against Tibet ceased to do so at 760 A.D.—S. Julien, J.A. 1842. 2.

² V. Smith, EH., 386-87.

died not later than 643, or *minus* 4 or 3 years of Jishnu Gupta's rule, c 640 or 639 A.D.

It was in the time of Narendradeva that Nepal for the first time became a vassal of Tibet, that is, about 643 A.D. This is definitely stated by the Chinese history. This happened as a result of Narendradeva's seeking help of foreign intervention and not as a result of any military invasion. It was Narendradeva who furnished 7000 cavalry to the Chinese ambassador along with the Tibetan force of 1200, to dislodge Arjuna or Aruṇāśva, and not Amśuvarman as erroneously stated by Fleet.¹ Narendradeva's name is specifically noted by the Chinese writers in this connection.

It is likely that the marriage of the alleged daughter of Amśuvarman with Strongtsan-Gampo took place, if in 642 A.D. the agreed date, not in the lifetime of Amśuvarman but after him and in the period when the Nepalese king was seeking the help of Tibet. If the lady was a sister of Udayadeva, she was the daughter of Amśuvarman. If she was a sister of Narendradeva, she was Udayadeva's daughter. The Tibetan word translated as *prabhavarman* may stand either for *Amśuvarman* or *Udaya (deva) varman*. In the closing years (about the year 44) Amśuvarman was *Mahārājādbhirāja*. That title, the chronology, and the Chinese records are all against Amśuvarman's having accepted the

¹ GI, I., 190.

suzerainty of Tibet. And so is also the express authority of the Mañjuśrī History which definitely dates the foreign domination of Nepal *after* J i s h ṇ u G u p t a.

X—ARCHITECTURE, EPIGRAPHY AND CONSTITUTION

Chinese account of Nepal, 643-651 A.D.

[HISTORY OF THE THANG DYNASTY, c. 221¹]

People, Currency, Arts, Sciences and Worship

“The kingdom of Nepal is right to the west of Tibet. The inhabitants have the custom to shave their hair just to the level of the eye-brows. They pierce their ears and suspend therein tubes made of bamboo or horn of cattle. It is a mark of beauty to have ears hanging upto the shoulders. They eat with their hands without using spoons or sticks. All their utensils are made of copper. The merchants there, moving and stationary, are numerous; cultivators, rare. They have coins of copper which bear on one side a figure of man and on the reverse a horse [*New History*: They have coins of copper which bear on one side a figure of man and on the reverse a horse and a bull, and which have no hole in the middle]. They do not pierce the noses of their bulls. They clothe themselves with a single piece of cloth which envelops the body. They bathe themselves several times a day. Their houses are constructed of wood. The walls of these are sculptured and painted. They are very fond of scenic plays, they take pleasure in blow-

¹ J. A. 1894, 65ff.

ing trumpets and beating drums. They understand fairly well calculation of destiny and researches in physical philosophy. They are equally clever in the art of the Calendar-maker. They adore five celestial spirits, and sculpture their images in stone. Each day they wash them with purifying water. They roast a lamb and offer it in sacrifice."

The King

"Their king, *Nalingtipō* (Narendradeva) adorns himself with true pearls, rock crystal, mother-of-pearl, coral, and amber; he has in the ears rings of gold and pendants of jade, and a breloc belt ornamented with the figure of the Buddha. He seats himself on a seat of lions.¹ In the middle of the hall one spreads flowers and perfumes. The nobles and the officers and all the court are seated to the right and to the left on the ground; at his sides are ranged hundreds of soldiers having arms."

Kailāsakūṭa Palace in 643-657 A.D.

"In the middle of the palace there is a tower of seven storeys roofed with copper tiles. Its balustrade, grilles, columns, beams, and every thing therein are set with fine and even precious stones. At each of the four corners of the tower there projects a waterpipe of copper. At the base there are golden dragons which spout forth water. From the summit of the tower water is poured through runnels which finds its way down below, streaming like a fountain from the mouth of the golden Makara."

¹ Cf. Thankot inscr.—*simhāsanaḍhyāsi-kulaketu*.

The Vamśāvalis throughout mention the construction of palaces of nine storeys and seven storeys and of copper-roofing temples. The art of Nepal excited the admiration of the Chinese, themselves highly artistic.

Architecture and Temples of Nepal in 657 A. D.

The following passages from Chinese History (translated from French by Dr. Banerji-Sastri) prove that in the year 657 A.D. when the Ambassador Wang Hiuentse passed through Nepal once more (in the reign of Narendradeva whom he had known since 643 A.D.) his companions saw a petroleum spring in the neighbourhood of Kathmandu, which might be rediscovered with profit.

The architectural style which is now known as the pagoda style was already in vogue in Nepal in the middle of the seventh century. The Chinese saw there then such temples and secular buildings, the like of which they had not seen or known in their own country. The style travelled from Nepal to China, and not *vice versa*. The style was not known in China before, while every house in Nepal in its essentials is composed in that style. It was a Nepalese invention, and such is also the opinion of Mr. Landon (ii. 257-58) who can speak on the subject with authority as he studied the question in China also. Throughout Tibet and Mongolia the style is unknown. This shows that in China it was an importation, at first as a Buddhist religious architecture from Nepal.

The passage bearing on the palace of Narendra-

deva which was no other than the *Kailāsakūṭa*, of which Amśuvarman was greatly proud (inscription of the year 34), is cited above. The Varṣāvalis too note the great Palace and Secretariate built by Amśuvarman (Wright, p. 133).

Wang Hien-ts'e on Nepal

I.—“The *Si-kouo-bing-tchoan* of Wang Hien-ts'e says: In the second year of Hien-king (657) an imperial order sent Wang Hien-ts'e and some others into the kingdoms of the West to offer to the Buddha a Kaśāya. They went to *Ni-po-lo* (Nepāla) towards the South-West. Arrived at *Pouo-lo-tou*, they came to the east of the village at the bottom of a depression. There was there a small lake of water on fire. If one takes in hand some lighted fire to illuminate it, suddenly on its surface appears a luminous fire which emerges from the very bosom of the water. If one wishes to extinguish it by drenching it with the water, the water changes into fire and burns. The Chinese envoy and his followers placed thereon a cooking vessel and thus prepared their nourishment by heating. The envoy interrogated the king of the country; the king replied to him : Yore, in striking strokes with a staff, one made to appear a chest of gold; order was given to a man to drag it out. But each time that one pulled it out, it replunged. Tradition says that it is the gold of the diadem of *Mi-le P'ou-sa* (Maitreya Bodhisattva), who is due to come to complete the path. The Nāga of fire protects it and defends it; the fire of this lake

is the fire of the Nāga of Fire.”¹

II.—“To the South-East of the capital, at a small distance, there is a lake of water and of fire. In going one li towards the East, one finds the fountain *A-ki-po-li*² (the *Fa-youen-tchou-lin* bears : *A-ki-po-mi*; the same alternations in the two redactions of the *History of the T'angs*). Its circumference is of 20 pou (40 paces). In the dry time as in the season of the rains, it is deep; it does not dissipate but keeps on steaming always. If one holds in hand some lighted fire, the entire tank takes fire; the smokes and the fire rise several feet high. If one drenches this fire with some water, then the fire becomes more intense. If one launches therein powdered dust, the flame ceases and what one throws therein turns to ash. If one places a cooking vessel over the water to prepare the food by heating, it is well-heated. There was in olden time in this fountain a coffer of gold. A king ordered to drag this coffer out. When one had brought it out of the mud, the men and elephants pulled at it without succeeding in making it come out. And in the night a supernatural voice says : Here is the diadem of Maitreya Buddha; creatures could not assuredly obtain it, because the Nāga of Fire guards it.”

“To the South of the town, at more than 10 li, is found an isolated mountain covered with an extraordinary vegetation; Temples are disposed there in numerous storeys which one would take for a crown

¹ *Missions of Wang*—Fragment IV, drawn from *Fa-youen-tchou-lin*, chap. xvi, p. 15b, col. 17.

² *Agni-puri*, or *agni-pushkarî*—K. P. J.

of clouds. Under the pines and the bamboos, the fishes and the dragons follow man, tame and confiding. They approach the man and come to receive what to eat. Who does them violence causes the ruin of those his own."

"Recently the orders of the Empire passed by this kingdom and thence extended far. Now it depends on *T'en-fan* (Tibet)."¹

III.—"In the capital of Nepal there is a construction in storeys which has more than 200 *tch'eu* of height and 80 *peu* (400 feet) of circumference. Ten thousand men can find place in its upper part. It is divided in three terraces² and each terrace is divided in seven storeys. In the four pavilions, there are sculptures to make you marvel. Stones and pearls decorate them."³

Epigraphy of Nepal of the 7th and 8th centuries

Epigraphy of Nepal is a peculiar matter—it is puzzling, especially when one first takes to it. Writing in Nepal is very stationary, the result being that epigraphs of the seventh century appear to be older by several centuries, judged from the standard of the plains. This lead Professor Lévi to assign records dated in Gupta Era to Śaka Era and a supposed Lichchhavi Era. The best authority on Nepal paleography is Dr. Bendall who made a very deep study of manuscript paleography of Nepal and with that knowledge he had no hesitation in

¹ Fragments II and III.

² "Court-yards" in the *Vamśāvalis* (Wright, 133).

³ *Chen-kia-fang-tchi*. Cf. *Le Nepal*, per S. Lévi, vol. I, pp. 157-9.

assigning correct dates to Nepal lithic inscriptions. He found Gupta characters of the fourth and fifth centuries which were distinct from the Amśuvarman group (*Journey*, p. 5). Outside the Kathmandu group of towns no search has been made at sites of the old seats of governments. The Kailāsakūṭa mound is yet to be excavated.

In the meantime I may emphasize the archaic nature of Nepal epigraphy by citing one example. There is a copy of the law Digest *Kalpataru* of Lakshmīdhara, which was written in the time of the author—12th century. I was anxious to see it, but as the owner General Kaisar Shamsheer Jang was away from Nepal I could not see it. My friend the Rājaguru told me that the manuscript which is (on palm leaf) in Nāgarī has notes on the margin of leaves in Gupta characters. Similarly the Rañjana script still current in Nepal is only a variety of Gupta letters. It is so common that ordinary engravers made seals for me in this script.

As Gupta writing persisted in Nepal, so did Guptan and post-Guptan style in sculpture in Nepal. At every step I was deceived by sculptures, a few centuries old, giving an impression of the 9th century and 8th century technique.

Origin of Dual Sovereignty in Nepal

Dual Sovereignty is a bad working hypothesis to the modern political theorist. But it is fully attested and authenticated by the history of Nepal—not only of the period reviewed above but also of the subsequent periods—fully borne out by colophons

of manuscripts noted by Bendall (Nepal Catalogue, i, Introduction), by inscriptions [e.g., Bendall's *Journey*, p. 15] and notices in the *Vaiśāvalis* of "joint rule"—down to our own time. It is in the very soil of Nepal and works well, wonderfully well. Its origin lies in the dual constitution of the Lichchhavis—of the *Rājā* and *Upa-Rājā*—which they carried from Vaiśālī into Nepal. Even in their Monarchical days they could not shake it off. The curious sight of two sovereigns in the new Svayamabhū nāth inscription¹ and in the Early Thākuri history puzzled me until the Lichchhavi constitution of the republican Vaiśālī was recalled. This *Dvairāja* system which was fully known to Ancient Hindus and which the Jaina sūtras ask their monks to avoid, is suitable for a constitutional oasis like Nepal. It, at the same time, put a limit to her power of expansion.

Nepal in the past, as to this day, has been mainly oligarchical and never purely monarchical. Therein lies both her strength and weakness.

XI—THAKURIS AFTER JAYADEVA II

The list of the *Vaiśāvalis*² for the period 880 A.D. to the present dynasty has been confirmed³ by the researches of Dr. Bendall based purely on dated

¹ JBORS, XXII. 81.

² Bendall's *Vaiśāvali*, *Nepal Cat.* i, p. 21; Bhagwanlal Indrajī's ed., I.A., IX. 413, other *Vaiśāvalis* in Lévi's *Nepal*, ii. 131-132; Kirkpatrick, 261-262.

³ Only the Third Thākuri Dynasty—I.A., IX, 414—6 names—Jayachandra Malla to Aśoka Malla coming before Jayasthiti Malla (1380-1354 A.D.), never ruled and are to be excluded. They must have been subordinate rulers.

manuscripts of Nepal (*Cat.*, p. 21ff). It is therefore not necessary for me to deal with the list after Rāghavadeva (880 A.D.). The names from Rāghavadeva to the end of the dynasty in the *Vamśāvalī* cited by Bendall (14th century) are:

Rāghavadeva 880 A.D. (46 yrs. 6 months)
 Jayadeva (III) (10 yrs.)
 Vikramadeva (8 yrs. 9 months)
 Narendradeva (III) (1 yr. 6 months)
 Guṇakāmadeva (II) (65 yrs. 5 months)
 Udayadeva II (1018¹ A.D., according to the
 total of the above reign-period; (5 yrs. 5
 months)

Nirbhaya (MS., 1008; A.D.) (K., 7 yrs.)

Joint rule { Bhojadeva (dated MS., 1015 A.D.,
 not in Bendall's V. list)
 [Rudra not in any V.]
 Lakshmikāmadeva (1015 A.D., dated
 manuscript) (21 yrs.)

Jayakāmadeva, 1039 A.D., MS., 'reign over half the kingdom' (20 yrs.) (Bendall's V.; at first joined with the two above).

Against this we have in the other lists :

[Rāghavadeva, only in K., 63 yrs.]

12 Jayadeva (III) (15 yrs.)

13 Balārjunadeva (17 yrs.) [in K. he is
 above Rāghavadeva]

14 Vikramadeva (12 yrs.)

[Narendradeva, only in K., 1½ yrs.]

15 Guṇakāmadeva (II) (51 yrs.)

¹ There must be a mistake of at least 10 yrs. because the next king's date is 1008 A.D. (Bendall, p. 21).

[Udaya, only in K., 6 yrs.]

[Nirbhaya, only in K., 7 yrs.]

16 Bhojadeva (8 yrs.)

17 Lakshmīkāmadeva (22 yrs.)

In the latter list no. 13 Balārjunadeva is extra. But in the list of Kirkpatrick's *Vaṁśāvalī*, which is in age next to Bendall's and earlier than Wright's and Bhagwanlal's, we have Balārjuna above Rāghavadeva who is omitted by other *Vaṁśāvalīs*. Hence the correct order seems to be that Balārjunadeva should come before Rāghavadeva¹, i.e.

[12] Balārjunadeva

Rāghavadeva

[13] Jayadeva III etc.

The succession of the *Ṭhākuri* line before Rāghavadeva, thus corrected, stands in the following order. [Fortunately at this period we begin to get reliable reign-periods. The *Vaṁśāvalīs* place these below *Amśuvārman*, 42 yrs., K., but they come really below Sivadeva II, as *Amśuvarman* is misplaced from below Sivadeva I to below Sivadeva II; and Jayadeva II (son of Sivadeva II) is omitted. Then the order runs thus :]

(2) Kṛitavarman [18 yrs. (K.), 654 A.D.²]

(3) Bhīmārjunadeva I [39 yrs. (K.), 672 A.D.]

(4) Nandadeva 'introduced the Era of Śālivāhana in Nepal' [13 yrs. (K.), 711 A.D.]

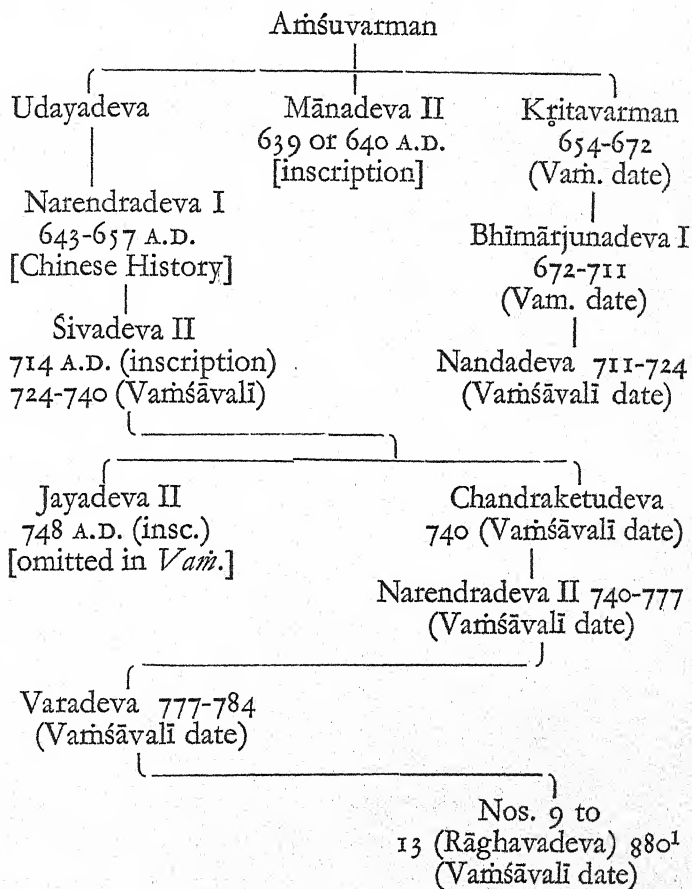
¹ In K. the names Balārjuna and Jayadeva have been repeated three times—evidently the composer who was consulting three authorities copied three orders. All this confusion is cleared up by Bendall's authority.

² Dates are calculated back from 880 A.D. for Rāghavadeva (see above).

- (5) Sivadeva II (K.) 16 yrs., 724 A.D.
[Vīradeva—other recensions]
- (6) Chandrakṛtudeva, [omitted by K., did not complete even a year according to others] 740 A.D.
- (7) Narendradeva [instituted Tibetan Buddhist worship, and several foundations] 37 yrs. (K.), 7 yrs. (W.) 740—777 A.D.
- (8) Varadeva, 17 yrs. (K.), 23 yrs. (L.) 8 yrs. (W.) 777-784 A.D.
- (9) Saṃkaradeva 12 yrs. (all authorities) 784-796 A.D.
- (10) Vardhamānadeva 13 yrs., 16 yrs., (K.) (Bhīmārjunadeva (K.) 812 A.D.
- (11) Balideva 13 yrs., 16 yrs. (K.) 828 A.D.
- (12) Balārjunadeva 36 yrs., (36 yrs., 7ms. (K.), other 17 yrs.) 844 A.D.
Rāghavadeva 46 yrs. (Bendall) 880-926 A.D.

It seems that Kṛitavarman and Bhīmārjunadeva I did not reign; no reign period is given to them by Wright's Vamśāvalī, nor is any event ascribed to them. They are mere names. They might have been feudatories, or only ancestors introduced here to give a complete genealogy from Amśuvarman. Their reign-periods given in Bhagwanlal's and Lévi's Vamśāvalis—87 and 93 years—attempt to bridge the time roughly between Amśuvarman and Sivadeva II. The alternative years for them in Kirkpatrick's Vamśāvalī (18 and 39) will make their branch begin about c 654 A.D.

The line should be counted from No. 5 Śivadeva II, the three names before are probably of feudatories. The descent seems to have been thus :



The omission of Jayadeva II by the Varṇsāvalī in both lists—Lichchhavi and Thākuri—is significant. After Śivadeva II the main authority seems to have passed to Chandraketudeva whose

¹ Kirkpatrick, p. 202.

succession is noted to have been disputed, evidently, by Jayadeva II who is not given the full title of sovereignty in his inscription. Probably Chandra-ketudeva was the elder, and Jayadeva II a usurper. Śivadeva II is given both in the Lichchhavi line (no. 27) after Udayadeva and Mānadeva (with the misplaced Guṇakāmadeva) and in the Ṭhākūrī line. This confusion resulted in the Chroniclers because they had read the inscription of Jayadeva II, and on account of the claim of the descendants of Aṁśuvarman to be the true Lichchhavi heirs¹. But the chronology adopted by the Vamśāvalis² is correct and agrees with the inscriptional dates and dates from Chinese History. The Ṭhākūrī list further proves by the repetition of Śivadeva II that the line of Udayadeva really descended from Aṁśuvarman.

*Defeat of Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya (782—813 A.D.)
of Kashmir by Nepal*

Jayāpīḍa, the Karkoṭa king of Kāśmir, whose history is related at length by Kalhaṇa in his History of Kāśmir, c. iv, verses 402-659, came to throne 48½ years after the accession of Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya who had been invested by the Emperor of China in 733 A.D. He therefore became king in or about 782 A.D. and ruled for

¹ One *Vamśāvalī* cited in Mr. Landon's book *Nepal*, ii, 315 (Baḍā Kaji's *Vamśāvalī*) says that Aṁśuvarman had been adopted as son by Śivadeva I.

² That is, the chronology based on the date 880 A.D. for the beginning of the reign of Rāghavadeva, founder of the Nepal Era.

31 years, up to 813 A.D. He is related to have minted an unprecedented quantity of copper dinnāras (verse 617) which is attested by "multitudes" of his coins surviving today.¹ Jayāpīḍa distinguished himself both as king and scholar. He had great daring and desired to be Emperor of India. His exploits extended from the plains of Hindustan to Nepal. He was utterly defeated by the able tactics, peculiarly Nepalese, of the king of Nepal, and was taken prisoner. He was confined in a high stone-tower over the Kāla Gaṇḍikā (modern *Kālī Gaṇḍak*) until rescued by his faithful minister Devaśarman who persuaded the Nepal king to promise to release him for a ransom, and obtained an interview with his master on that pretext. This episode has been unnecessarily disbelieved by V. Smith (p. 387). The very details and circumstantial and internal evidence furnished by Kalhaṇa affirm the truth of the account. It should be remembered that it was recent history in the time of Kalhaṇa who wrote his History in 1148-1150 A.D. The account runs as follows :

Jayāpīḍa started on a *dig-vijaya* with a large cavalry and reached Prayāga (413-417). After establishing his influence by his marriage at Puṇḍravardhana where he went secretly, he defeated the king of Kānyakubja with the help of Bengal and carried away his imperial Lion (*simhāsana*) Throne (471) and returned to Kashmir after three years, where he was welcomed by his people, who were keen to suppress his traitorous minister Jajja. He made Udbhaṭa, a man of letters, President of his Council, and the famous Dāmodaragupta, author of the *Kuṭṭanī-mata*, his chief minister. He put up buildings, made reforms,

¹ V. Smith, EH, 387.

blished a 'Moving Bank' to follow his army, and assumed the name *Vinayāditya* (517).

He went as a spy into the eastern kingdom of Bhīmasena, evidently on his border, and was taken prisoner, from which condition he escaped simulating a contagious disease. On his release he invaded the neighbouring kingdom of Nepal, which was under King *Ara mu ḍ i*.

King *Ara mu ḍ i*, endowed with the art of war and valour, a skilled tactician, planned *Jayāpīḍa*'s defeat (verse 531). He allowed *Jayāpīḍa* to enter the kingdom and retreated to 'a great distance' with his army, occasionally making himself visible to the pursuing *Jayāpīḍa* (533-34) who all the time imagined on account of his success in small encounters during the pursuit that he was having a victorious march. *J.* planted himself on the bank of a river near a large lake, to the east, when on the second or the third day he found to his 'indignation' the enemy facing him with his colours on the other side of the river. The enraged *Jayāpīḍa* ordered his army to cross the river which was only knee-deep. [The Nepalese knew their terrain and knew the use of their rivers]. The Kashmir army and their king were swept down by the current which suddenly rose and became irresistible. Cries arose from the bed of the river of distress and that of joy from the opposite bank. *Ara mu ḍ i* promptly had *Jayāpīḍa* caught at a great distance down the river by the alert Nepalese soldiers with the aid of skins and brought before him with his fine clothes and ornaments of royalty having been deprived by the river. The occasion was celebrated by the Nepalese. He was assigned to a tall tower of stone on the river *Kāla Gaṇḍikā* [the river now called *Kālī Gaṇḍak* in western Nepal] where he was very closely guarded by the trusted men of the 'wise king' of Nepal (546-548). *Kalhana* notes that ślokas composed by the king *Jayāpīḍa* in that confinement, looking down upon the free river, were recited by learned men with pathos even in his own days (550).

Then follows the proposal to king *Ara mu ḍ i* by the

Kashmir minister to release Jayāpīḍa on receiving a ransom and on condition to make Kashmir a dependency of Nepal. Devaśarman received permission to meet his master Jayāpīḍa, and affected his escape by ultimately committing suicide and thereby offering his body as a float.

This latter detail may be an exaggeration of an accident in the attempt of the minister to swim across the river with his master. But the rest of the account is a matter of fact narration recorded by Kashmir at the cost of her own reputation—a statement against her own interest.

Prof. Lévi not recognising the name in the Varṇśāvalis, declared with his Tibetan bias, the king called *Aramuḍi* to be a Tibetan. But Kāshmirīs knew the Tibetans too well to make a mistake like that. *Kāla Gaṇḍikā*, still called *Kālī Gaṇḍak* and the western portion of Nepal where the scene is located offer verification of the story.

In the Nepal Varṇśāvalis we have four steps above Rāghavadeva, founder of the Nepal Era of 880 A.D. (Bendall, *Nepal Catalogue*, p. 21; I.A., IX, 413) *Vara-deva*¹. *Vara-deva* or 'King *Vara*', (771-784 A.D.)² suits the chronology to be a contemporary of Jayāpīḍa (782-813 A.D.). *Vara* seems to have changed into *Ara*. Varadeva ruled a second

¹Varadeva
Śaṅkaradeva
Vardhamānadeva
Balideva
[Rāghavadeva]
Jayadeva

The chronology from Rāghavadeva downwards is fully detailed and made certain by Dr. Bendall.

² See above the preceding part of this section.

time, having entered a monastery as a Buddhist monk (Wright, 142).¹ Or, *Ara* [in Kāshmîrî meaning hair (Grierson, *Dictionary*, p. 41)] and *mudî* (*mudîta*) might denote 'monk' king.

There seems to be in the *Vamśāvalī*s, which are a record of superstitious Buddhist priests interested in glorification of Tāntrika gods and goddesses and their idols, the historical account as degenerated into a fantastic story. *Karkoṭa* is the name of the dynasty to which *Jayāpīḍa* belonged. It is also the name of a famous Nāga worshipped in Kashmir and elsewhere in India. The *Vamśāvalī*s note that *Gorakh-nath*, the saint, arrived in Nepal in the reign of *Varadeva* and arrested *Karkoṭa Nāga* and imprisoned him in a hillock (Wright, pp. 140, 143). This caused a great mischief resulting in a draught. Then king *Varadeva* sought the help of *Āchārya Bandhudatta* who rescued and released *Karkoṭa* and established happiness in the valley. *Bandhudatta* had the pleasure of crossing rivers on the body of *Karkoṭa* all the same.

Fortunately the History of Kashmir has preserved this account which illustrates the successful traditional tactics of Nepal. Throughout the historian of Kashmir has used words of high respect for the Nepal king who defeated the idol of Kāshmîr history—a most courageous figure, a most able king, an accomplished scholar, their greatest patron of men of letters and of letters—although his last days were marked with disregard for temple property which he largely

¹ This will fall after 784 A. D.

resumed, and contempt for the Brahmin caste, yet he remained a figure of whom Kashmir has been proud.

There is no reason to transfer from Nepal this chapter of glory to Tibet or to the domain of romance, as done by Lévi and Smith.

XII—PALA'S CONNEXION WITH NEPAL AND NEPAL'S LATER COINAGE

In the last quarter of the eighth century, that is, in the period after Jayadeva II, the Pāla Paramountcy begins in India, which remained on the increase in the reign of *Dharmapāla* (c. 800) and *Devapāla* (c. 850 A. D.) whose paramountcy did reach the Himalayan hill states (Kira) and their borders (Assam). The Pāla emperors came in conflict with a Himalayan people called the *Kāmbōjas* who broke the Pāla power for a time and who actually set themselves up at Dinajpur, where one of the routes from Nepal leads down to. This eclipse of the Pālas falls to be in the epoch when Nepal starts her own era in 880 A. D. Under *Mahipāla I* the Pāla empire recovered (about 978 or 980).¹ During his reign Buddhism in Tibet was revived by new missions from Bihar, and we take it that Nepal was not ignored. *Nayapāla*, his successor, who defeated *Karna Kalachuri* was succeeded by a wicked and weak son, *Mahipāla II*, who was succeeded by the powerful *Rāmapāla* (1084-1130). His rule covered Mithilā and Assam (V. Smith, E. H., 416). We have positive evidence, which had been

¹ V. Smith, E. H., pp. 414-415.

missed so far, that R ā m a P ā l a was the suzerain of Nepal also.

A palm-leaf manuscript—*Kubjikāmatam* which is a part of the Tāntrika Buddhist work *Kulālikāmnāya* is in the Nepal State Library (H. P. Sastri, Catalogue, p. 54) which is in Newārī characters. It notes in the colophon that the manuscript was copied under the reign of the Buddhist Emperor R ā m a p ā l a d e v a :

Parameśvara-Parama-bhaṭṭāraka

parama-Saugata-Mahārājādhirāja

Śrīmad-Rāmapāladevasya

pravardha—(i.e. pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājye).

The portion in front of *parameśvara* is read as *Rāma-devasya* which if it refers to the Nepal king has to be read as *Vāmadevasya* whose time as ascertained from manuscripts of his reign and his predecessor and successor is between 1077 and 1090 A. D. (Bendall, Nepal Catalogue, *Intro.* p. 22).

We have thus positive proof of the fact that at least in the time of R ā m a P ā l a Nepal was under Pāla suzerainty. It is very likely that under D h a r m a P ā l a and D e v a P ā l a a similar state obtained.

We do not find Nepal striking her own coins from about 800 A. D. onwards. This is probably explained by the fact of the Pāla domination, which was immediately followed by the K ā r n ā ṭ a k a domination beginning with N ā n y a d e v a . At the close of the K ā r n ā ṭ a k a period we find Nepal imitating the coin of Alauddin Khilji.¹ Then follows a troubled period until stability is restored under

¹ See separate article on the Unrecorded Muhammadan Invasion of Nepal in JBORS., XXII. 81.

Jayasithimalla¹ (1380-1394). Nepal acknowledged nominal suzerainty of Delhi as noted by Tavernier.² And naturally we do not find a Nepal coinage until permission for establishing a mint was obtained from the early Moghuls.

Nepal thus from 800 A. D. or at any rate from 1080 A. D. remained as part of the Indian Empire up to Moghul days in international theory, which found a tangible expression in the history of her coinage—the absence of coinage. The same is to be predicated of her in the Imperial Gupta times as well.

B

EARLY DYNASTIES OF NEPAL

XIII—"NIMISHA DYNASTY" [205 A.D. TO 350 A.D.]
AND KIRATA DYNASTY [590 B.C. TO 110 A.D.]

The Vamśāvalī³ other than Kirkpatrick's give five names at the close of the native Kirāta Dynasty and before the Sūryavamśa, i.e., the Lichchhavī Dynasty of Nepal—*Nimisha* (*Nevesit*—K.)—*Manāksa* (or *Matāksha*), *Kāka-varman*, *Paśupreksha-deva* (founder of the Paśupati Temple who introduced Aryan population from Hindustan) and *Bhāskara-varman* (who conquered the whole of India, and being childless adopted *Bhūmivarman*). They call this

¹ There was a Khasiyā invasion (1328 A. D.—Bendall, p. 10) and to that period must belong the curious clay coins of *Mathi singha Khasiyā*. The legend, in Nāgarī, is on the milled edge.

² II. ch. XV.

³ Bhagwanlal Indraji's recension summarised in I. A., XIII. 411 at 412; Wright's copy in his *History of Nepal*, 112; Lévi's copy summarised in his *Nepal*, ii. 83.

Somavamśî dynasty. With *Bhūmivarman* whose grandson was *Jayadeva I* (mentioned in the inscription of *Jayadeva II*) the later *Vamśāvalis* begin a new dynasty (the *Sūryavamśa*). But Kirkpatrick's authority while mentioning this adoption, does not begin a new dynasty and treats the two groups as forming one dynasty '*Nevesit*'. It begins the dynasty with *Nevesit*. This *Nevesit* is really *Nevesi* corresponding with *Nimisha* of the later works, which have really turned **Nivisi* into *Nimisha*. '*Nivisi*' represented **Nichivi* (**Nisivi*) = *Nichbhivi* (Manu) = *Lichbhavi*. There was no distinct dynasty of a *Somavamśa* of the five rulers in the original authorities.

The seven rulers before *Jayadeva I* were rulers obviously in the plains, that is, at *Vaiśālî*. They annexed Nepal about 200 A. D. and established a direct government there, marking the event with the installation of *Paśupati*—which is a *Mukha-lînga* of the style of the *Nāga-Vākātakas*, i.e., of the period.¹ '*Nimisha*' being only the dynastic name the first ruler of Nepal would be *Mānāksa* or *Matāksa*, and the effective founder, *Paśuprekha* the third king, who is credited with the introduction of Hindu caste-rules and population (of four *varṇas*) from Hindustan, and as being the founder of *Paśupati's* Temple.

His successor *Bhāskara varman*, the great conqueror of India, is probably the grandfather of *Samudra Gupta*, and father-in-law of *Chandragupta I*. He was still probably the President

¹ See my *History of India*, 150-350 A. D., the plates and description of the *Nachnā* and other images.

of the Republic at Vaiśālī, for the coins of C h a n d r a G u p t a I are struck by the "*Lichchhavis*." He seems to have defeated Magadha and evidently his dominions were large enough to entitle C h a n d r a G u p t a I to call himself *Mahārājādhirāja*. The seat of government changed from Vaiśālī to Nepal where his adopted son B h ū m i v a r m a n succeeded and the plains passed on to C h a n d r a G u p t a I and his Queen, the Lichchhavi lady. In Nepal J a y a d e v a I turned the state into a monarchy or a double kingship.

The succession seems to have stood thus :

Bhāskara-Varmā [or,-Deva]
|
Daughter=Chandra Gupta I
Bhūmi-Varmā (or,-Deva)
|
Jayadeva I

We may roughly date the Early Lichchhavis :

c. 205 A. D.	Mānāksha
c. 230 A.D.	Kāka-varman
c. 255 A. D.	Paśuprekshadeva
c. 280-305 A. D.	Bhāskaravarman
c. 305 A. D.	Bhūmivarman
c. 330 A. D.	Chandravarman [Is he the same as Chandra- Gupta I?]
c. 340 or 350 A. D.	Jayadeva I ¹

The Lichchhavi monarchy in Nepal probably retained its original character of divided sovereignty,

¹ This date is calculated on the basis of Jayadeva II's inscription : See Fleet, *GI*, I. p. 189; and other data in the section on Lichchhavi list, *supra*.

otherwise the position of Amśuvarman's dictatorship and Śivadeva's sovereignty is not explicable. Probably even before Amśuvarman some similar arrangement obtained.

Nimisha is said to have displaced the Kirāta Dynasty in Nepal—(205 A.D.).

The original Kirāta Dynasty which is the first dynasty of Nepal had 28 kings.¹ It was under the 15th Kirāta—Sthunko—that Aśoka visited Nepal. According to the Nepal Chronicles the autonomy of Nepal was maintained by Aśoka under the Kirāta dynasty. This may or may not be correct, as Aśoka's son-in-law Devapāla and his daughter became permanent residents there. After Aśoka and Daśaratha the original dynasty would have revived in Nepal Proper. In the Western part of Nepal in Śuṅga times we find silver coins of Śuṅga princes (Sumitra)², Imperial and local (Śivapālita). It is possible that early Śuṅgas might have exercised suzerainty over Nepal. But the continuous line of the Kirāta House entitles us to assume a continuous autonomy. The succession of 15 kings from the time of Aśoka and Sthunko would bring the dynasty to about 110 A. D. [see below].

We have thus a gap between the Kirāta and the Lichchavi epochs—110 A. D. and 205 A. D.

¹ The Gupta and Ahir dynasties introduced before the Kirātas (600 B. C.-110 A. D.) who are treated again with the kings of the Sixth and Seventh centuries A.D. are really misplaced here; it simply signifies that Hindu history in Nepal begins with the Gupta Period.

² Almora coins of alloyed silver; JBORS, XX. 301.

—which is not filled up by the written history of Nepal.

Here coins come to our help. Mr. E. H. Walsh has recorded (JRAS., 1908, p. 677) that a hoard of Kushan coins was dug up in the neighbourhood of Kāthmāṇḍu. They were coins of Weṃa Kaḍphises and of Kanishka. It seems that the Kushan rule might fill this gap of hundred years. Though evidence is not yet conclusive.

The beginning of the Kirāta dynasty (13 generations before Aśoka) is to be dated about 600 B. C.

The Kirāta Kings

Omitting *Yalamva* and *Pavi* [omitted in K.], as belonging to the Second Kirāta dynasty of the sixth century (§ VII), the approximate dates of the kings of the First Kirāta Dynasty will be as calculated below on the basis of the date of Sthunko, contemporary of Aśoka :

2.	Dhaskam	..	..	..	C. 590 B.C.
3.	Valamva	..	..	..	C. 565 B.C.
4.	Hṛiti	..	..	..	C. 540 B.C.
5.	Humati	..	...	..	C. 515 B.C.
6.	[Tuskhah] K.	..	..	..	C. 490 B.C.
7.	Jitedāsti [Sroopast-K.]	..	..	..	C. 465 B.C.
8.	[Galimja]	..	..	..	C. 440 B.C.
9.	P (T)ushka Pamcham (K.)	..	..	..	C. 415 B.C.
10.	Suyarma [King-king-king (K.)]	..	..	..	C. 390 B.C.
11.	Parba [Soonand-K.]	..	..	..	C. 365 B.C.
12.	Thun̄ka [Thoomoo-K.]	..	..	..	C. 340 B.C.
13.	Ker̄ke	..	..	..	C. 315 B.C.
14.	Svananda [Jaighree-K.]	..	..	..	C. 290 B.C.
15.	Sthun̄ko [contemporary of Aśoka]	..	..	..	C. 265 B.C.
16.	Gighri [Suenkeh-K.]	..	..	..	C. 240 B.C.

17.	Nane [Thoor-K.]	..	..	..	C. 215 B.C.
18.	Luk [Thamoo-K.]	..	..	..	C. 190 B.C.
19.	Thor [Barmah-K.]	..	..	..	C. 165 B.C.
20.	Thoko [Ganjeh-K.]	..	..	..	C. 140 B.C.
21.	Varma [Kashkoon-K.]	..	..	..	C. 115 B.C.
22.	Guja [Teeshoo-K.]	..	..	..	C. 90 B.C.
23.	Pushka [Soogmeea-K.]	..	..	..	C. 65 B.C.
24.	Kesu [Joosha-K.]	..	..	..	C. 40 B.C.
25.	Suga [Gontho-K.]	..	..	..	C. 15 B.C.
26.	Sansa [Khembhoom-K.]	..	..	..	C. 10 A.D.
27.	Gunan [Galijang-K.]	..	..	..	C. 35 A.D.
28.	Khimbu	..	..	..	C. 60 A.D.
29.	Paṭuka	..	..	..	C. 85 A.D.
30.	Gasti	..	..	..	C. 110 A.D.

It may be noted that the popular tradition in Nepal today is that the first dynasty of Nepal was *Kirāṭi*, second *Newārī*, and lastly *Gorkhā*.

C

A RETROSPECT

XIV

The history of Nepal is a part of the history of India and of the Hindu Race. The valley was colonized by the Hindus both consciously and by natural process of expansion. Yet it is the history of a colony, with its distinctive features. Those features may be summarised in this way. The ruling dynasties, though mostly Hindus from the plains of India—the Mauryas, the Lichchhavis, the Kārṇāṭakas, the Gorkhas—have a tendency to establish a system of divided sovereignty which works happily in that happy valley of Paśupati. There is much less cause

for jealousy in that system on the soil of Nepal than anywhere else. Joint rules and regencies are a familiar problem in the Lichchhavi times, in the Thākuri times, in the Malla times and in the Gurkha times—two kings occupying the same town or contiguous towns afford a picture of a Mitāksharā family agreeing upon, as we say in Hindu law, a ‘division for the convenience of enjoyment’ rather than upon an actual division by metes and bounds. This divided sovereignty would baffle theorists of political science but has been a familiar, good working system in Nepal.

There is always a sort of internal weakness, but to the outside world Nepal has always shown strength. Throughout her history there has been no case of traitorous betrayal. Internally weak, but externally strong is again a political problem which is explainable by its republican origin noticed above. Nepal’s whole history bears out the rule that the little kingdom can defend itself most effectively—it defeated Tibet in her palmyest days when Tibet was the first power in Asia, it defeated Kashmir when Kashmir was the first power in India, it defeated King Shamsuddin, the most brilliant Muslim soldier of the 14th century. Small, and ‘internally weak,’ Nepal is a successful state against the invader. And why? Its republican Lichchhavi origin explains the mystery. Its strong political sense is a Lichchhavi heritage.

Nepal has been in Hindu times mostly a member of the Indian Empire. But for centuries, being situated between two large empires—China and India—Nepal has evolved a wise international policy,

wherein she has hardly ever taken a false step. Owing to that wise policy, her international position today is such as it had probably never been before. She enjoys and rightly the complete confidence of her powerful neighbour.

AN ACCOUNT OF FIROZ SHĀH TUGHLUQ
(From *Sirat-i-Firoz Shāhi*)

(In continuation of JBORS XXII. Part II. Page 107.)

By PROF. K. K. BASU, M.A., T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur

VERSE

(Oh Emperor !)

None conceive that ye should bend down thy head,
For the Kayanian¹ crown to cast its shade over
thee.

It's humility thou hast shown, for, the people
Know, the Jupiter glories not in a mantle !

Aḥmad Ayāz threw open the door of insurrection at Delhi. Having cast aside servitude and laid the foundation of contest and rebellion, he spent the public money and the jewels in drawing up an army. He joined his hands with the forces of the enemies, drew out the sword of malevolence from the sheathe of amity and placed the oppressors and the tyrants to domineer over the inhabitants of the city (Delhi). The disorder and disturbance caused by this rebel were fomented and stimulated during the absence of His Majesty (from Delhi), or else, how could he, in the presence of the Emperor, dare to tamper with the people's safety and extend his hands

¹ کبایان and کبایان "great kings," the surname of the second dynasty of the Persian Kings.

(of oppression) over the life and property of the citizens.

VERSE

The tie (of security) was snapped, so that
To the Almighty complaints were made.
The malevolent seized the gentle,
In life and property none was safe :
Not a vestige of compassion left in the city,
No repose in the city nor peace among people.
In malice their hearts the tyrant scratched,
And for the treasury was no safety left.

The rebel Ayāz led astray the people of the country and placed in confinement the inhabitants of Delhi, in order that, the simple natured and patriotic soldiery who attended the stirrup of the Emperor, might be drawn to his side. Possessing abominable rebellious disposition, he held his head high and took recourse to deception. His Majesty, the refuge of the people, May God his Kingdom perpetuate ! On receipt of this information set out with continuous marches towards Delhi.

VERSE

(An Emperor such that)
His sword removed the wrinkles from the face of
the Heavens,
His justice removed the curve of the bow,
His scimitar read out the *Khutba* of conquest and
victory,
His justice bore happy news of peace and safety.

The pestilential wind of his anger in the thick of
 battle
 Poured like sweat the brain of the enemy into his
 mouth.

None but ye the crown is becoming,
 The country for ever should place its trust on thee !
 By the Grace of God, the khāns, maliks, amirs,
 zemindars, title-holders, Hindurajas, nobles and
 plebeians of Siwistan, Multan, Lahore, the renowned
 city of Dipalpur, Sāmāna and Sannam drew up their
 forces and marched out for the purpose of meeting
 the Emperor.

VERSE

All kings of renown placed themselves before him.
 Kings of mature judgment entrusted their shoulder
 to him.

They (the Khāns, the Maliks etc.) put on the
 ring of servitude on their ears and placed the burden
 of slavery on their shoulders. When, at the propi-
 tious conjunction of the stars, the Emperor reached
 Fatehābād (Delhi), the well-wishers (of the State)
 handed over the key of sovereignty to him and with
 it their good wishes and sympathy. His adversaries
 were covered with the robes of destruction.

VERSE

(Oh Emperor !)
 Each of your enemies in a manner different
 And at the lapse of time the Age ran down ;
 One died, the other The Lord by thy dagger
 Cut off the throat, (and) the third with his family
 mowed down.

and it was so on account of the felicity of the Emperor, the refuge of the world !

VERSE

The tone that the country received from you

No tulip (ever) received from the river-bank !

The enemy who ran away from thee

Found not any way of escape on any side.

Those who had joined Aḥmad Ayāz turned themselves away from him out of fear of the Emperor, the world-grasper¹ and placed their hands of obedience upon the dust of the court.

VERSE

Where on the earth are those rebels today

Whose necks are not in the collar of the Emperor's
fiat ?

The munificent palms of thy hand (oh Emperor !)
is a ocean in pouring liberality

Whose confines extend to the shores of *Tasnim* !

The Zephyr with its odour of rose bears relation
with thy (benevolent) nature,

In thousand tales and with numerous tongues
people talk of it.

The partisans of Aḥmad Ayāz made a representation of their helplessness to His Majesty and prayed to him for their freedom from confinement.

VERSE

From the withered heart of the oppressed the
words of the petition emerged,

¹ The name of a fountain in paradise.

From eyes overflowing of beautiful face its (petition) head line came out.

Thus appeal the jaded heart and the heart burnt—
 “Oh Emperor ! Fortune and Religion are festive and hopeful (on account of thy existence).”

The Young are discourteous to the old,
 The Frivolous domineers over the Wise,
 The Avaricious afflict the Nobles,
 The Irreligious distress the Holy people.

Oh, Emperor of the world ! save the people from
 such calamity,
 Oh, Jewel pure ! free the country from such
 tyranny.

The time is such that retaliation be made at the
 point of lance,
 The place is such that thy sword should take
 vengeance;

The men of substance have left the country on
 some plea,
 (But) The poor cannot run away; they look forward to you !

Show mercy to those that have been dishonoured,
 And to those that have been cited in the stories.

Oh, King ! from thee there should be battle, and
 from Fortune help and assistance

Oh, Emperor ! from thee resolution and from God
 Victory.

Oh, Sovereign exalted ! excessive grace

God has blessed you with and the country too !

God, The Glorious and Most High, has entrusted
 the Sultan with the task of setting the oppressed
 at liberty and providing a panacea for the ills of the

wretched, like us. The nobles are harassed by the miscreants and the generous are oppressed by the workers of iniquity.

VERSE

The nobles scratched their ears
And raised lamentation from grief and distress of
the heart.

The spine of the excellent (people) was broken
While the Fools received support !

Meanwhile, Khān-i-Jahān, the chief Vizier of
the court, to whom Prosperity was a guide and
Fortune an escort, (and a person for whom)

VERSE

The banner of sovereignty reached the celestial
globe;

The Vizierate found no other vizier like him.

For him melted withered tyranny in the palate of
the world.

And the water of life (of the tyrants) trickled at
the point of his sword;

For fear of his banner, like the shooting stars
Hundreds of (evil) spirits left the country, one
upon the other.

accompanied by sons and grandsons made his way
to the Emperor, the chosen of God, May He perpetuate his kingdom !

VERSE

(Oh, Emperor !)

Before thy disposition and power, liberality and
speech,

Like Kisra,¹ Faghfur,² the kings of India³ and
Tartary⁴

The Sultan possesses many a slave like thee,

For thy excellent conduct (oh vizier !)

The Sultan renders princely honour to thee !

The title of *Khān-i-Jahān*, a designation that had never been conferred on any other vizier since the beginning of the world, was bestowed upon him as a special mark of distinction; he was also made conspicuous by the bestowal of immense kingly favours, presents and compassion upon him.

VERSE

It's for this (oh vizier !) the Sultan loves thee;

Thy countenance is for him lucky.

None is more sympathetic to thee than he,

And none more sincere than thee in the army !

After the (said) incident, (the other) amirs and maliks, for the most part, came out of that accursed body (of rebel).

VERSE

Oh King ! thy custody when thou wishest

Bestows safety to brimstone from the fury of fire.

To him really the sovereignty is entrusted

Whom thy ordinance gives shelter under the
(royal) umbrella !

From the heat of excessive fear they (the amirs and maliks) took shelter under the shadow of

¹ کسری The surname of several kings of Persia, like Ptolemy among the Egyptians, or Caesar with the Romans.

² The general name of the Emperors of China.

³ The text reads, چہال

⁴ خاقان

imperial commiseration and in the refuge of royal protection. Later on Aḥmad Ayāz who had made a show of arms (now) became perturbed and he found no other way than in apologising and submissively going along the imperial train. Thus Time, the skilful physician, while attending to the disease of vanity applied his remedy to the (deranged) brain (of Aḥmad Ayāz) for awakening him from the sleep (of self-conceit) and brought out the cotton of negligence from his ears of understanding and made to trickle the drops of lesson down his overweening nose. Aḥmad Ayāz became ashamed of his evil actions and took recourse to the court with weeping eyes.

The Sultan, May God maintain his sovereignty, blurted out, "I do not intend to cause any material harm to any person and have no other end in view than that of bestowing presents, favour, sympathy and kindness upon the nobles and the common people." "Those who," the Sultan further declared, "regard themselves as being excluded from the (royal) compassion can speak out; their own actions are responsible for their evil fortune and not I!"

VERSE

The star canopus¹ revolves round the earth
At some places it makes soft skins² and at others
it makes skins perfumed.

¹ The star canopus is also supposed to give red colour to stones.

² انبان soft skins (of goats etc.) of the finest kind such as they call Spanish or Cordova leather.

Miscellaneous Articles

PROFESSOR WINTERNITZ ON THE KAUMUDĪMAHOTSAVA

By PROF. DASHARATHA SHARMA

In the Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume Prof. M. Winternitz contributes a learned paper on 'historical dramas in Indian Literature.' Dealing with the Kaumudīmahōtsava therein he criticises Mr. K. P. Jayaswal for assigning the drama to 340 A.D. and assuming that 'Chañḍasena was no other than the king who assumed the name of Chandragupta after his grandfather's name. He gives the following reasons for his views :

(a) 'It is difficult to see how the worthy Chandragupta I, whose father Ghaṭotkacha was already king of Magadha, ruling from Pāṭaliputra, who was the third king of the Gupta line, and the first Mahārājādhirāja of the dynasty, could be possibly identical with the cursed 'Chañḍasena,' the traitor and usurper.'

(b) 'A verse which occurs twice (Acts II, 15, and V, 9) alludes to the love of Saunaka and Bandhumatī, told in Daṇḍin's *Avantisundarī-kathā*, and that of Avimāraka and Kuraṅgī, the subject of the *Avimāraka* ascribed to Bhāsa.'

(c) The authoress was well acquainted with Kalidāsa's poetry.

- (d) The drama 'has some points of contact with the *Mudrārākṣasa*.'
- (e) 'The old *viṭa* (in Act V) who revels in remembrances of the pleasures enjoyed in the company of *hetaeras*.....reminds us more of the modern *Bhāṇas*, than of pre-Kālidāsan poetry.'

At first sight Dr. Winternitz's position seems to be the right one. But it is unfortunately vitiated by a number of flaws overlooked by the learned writer while criticising Mr. Jayaswal's thesis. If it could be proved that Chandragupta's father Ghaṭōtkacha was already king of Magadha, ruling from Pāṭaliputra, as asserted by Dr. Winternitz, Mr. Jayaswal would have no case, worth the name, left to fight for and substantiate. But as far as my knowledge goes, there is not a single inscription, new or old, to bear out the learned Doctor's statement. Chandragupta's father is invariably mentioned, not as the ruler of Magadha, but merely as Mahārāja Ghaṭotkacha, and must have been therefore like many others a feudatory *sāmanta*, owning allegiance to the Magadha family. His son, the future Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta I of the Gupta inscriptions, is known to have married into the Lichchhavi family, and increased his political power thereby. The *Kaumudīmahōtsava* says the same thing about Chanḍasena. It is, therefore, by no bold flight of sheer imagination but by legitimate historical deduction that Mr. Jayaswal concludes that Chandragupta I and Chanḍasena of the drama are identical. That Chanḍasena is the Prākṛta form of Chanḍasena does not perhaps need any demonstration.

It is found as such in inscriptions as well as coins.¹ Further as pointed out by me in the note 'Chañḍasena of the Kaumudīmahōtsava,² the Sanskrit name Chandra is itself alluded to in the verse.

बह्माणो रेवइ मुह् महिमअणिव्वत्तिअं उदयराअं ।

साभळवसनकलङ्को सोहइ चंदव्व वळभद्दो ॥

(वहन् रेवतीमुखमधुनिर्वर्तितमुदयरागम् ।

श्यामलवसनकलङ्को शोभते चन्द्र इव वलभद्रः ॥)³

To quote from the note 'Here Mantragupta's spy, wandering in the guise of a musician, speaks not only of the moon, but also of Chandra, the Gupta ruler. Both can be described as श्यामलवसनकलङ्क, the one on account of the dark spots on her surface, and the other on account of the sin incurred by the slaughter of his adoptive father. The phrase वहन् रेवतीमुखमधुनिर्वर्तितमुदयरागम् is clear in its application to the moon. But it has also a covert reference to Chandragupta whose उदय 'rise' was brought about (निर्वर्तित) by his marriage with a Lichchhavi princess.'

We can have other reasons too for the equation of Chandragupta and Chañḍasena. The drama calls the latter a Kāraskara. Now the Kāraskaras are, as

¹ 'For Chandra becoming Chañḍa in Prākṛita see the inscription of Chañḍasāti, the Sātavahana King, published in E.I. Vol. XVIII, p. 317, and coins of Śrī Chandra Sāti where Chandra becomes Chañḍa.'

(Jayaswal's History of India, 150 A.D.—350 A.D., pp. 113-114).

The Prākṛita name Chañḍasena is turned into Chandrasīmha by Kṣemendra. Somadeva, however, gives it as Chañḍasena in his Sanskrit version of Bṛhatkathā. This shows that the Prākṛita Chañḍa has been always regarded as the equivalent of not merely Chañḍa, but also of Chandra. (See Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, Nirṇayasāgara edition, p. 321).

² JBORS, Vol. XXI, 1935, Part I.

³ Kaumudīmahōtsava, IV, 2.

rightly pointed out by Mr. Jayaswal, a subdivision of the Madras or Jartikas. So in other words the *Kaumudīmahōtsava* calls Chandragupta a Jartika or Jāt. If inscriptional or literary evidence were to conflict with the statements of the drama, we should have every reason to doubt the truth of the latter. But curiously enough it does not. Chandragōmin's illustration 'the Jarta (King) defeated the Hūṇas,' proves that the Guptas were Jāts. The Poona plates of Prabhāvatī Guptā gives their gotra as Dhāraṇa. Now these Dhāraṇas still survive as Dhāraṇiyā Jāts, or Jāts of the Dhāraṇagotra in the Bikaner State, and the adjoining districts of the Punjab. I have sometimes even felt that even the Kāraskarāḥ are represented by Karavāsara Jāts of these parts. Attention may also be drawn to the fact that the Jāts here still use the word gotra for these caste-subdivisions of theirs.¹

So much about the equation of Chaṇḍasena and Chandragupta would, I think, suffice to prove the reasonableness of Mr. Jayaswal's view. We now turn to the literary allusions and points of resemblance which Prof. Winternitz adduces to prove the late date of the *Kaumudīmahōtsava*. The reference to the love of Avimāraka and Kuraṅgī, the subject of the *Avimāraka*, ascribed to Bhāsa does not go far to prove the learned Professor's contention. In the first place the thirteen Trivandrum plays are now generally admitted to have been actually written by Bhāsa, the poet whose dramatic works are referred

¹ cf. JBORS, XXII, p. 109 on the caste of the Guptas as recorded in Nepal chronicles.

to in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the *Harṣacharita*. Secondly the story was well known in the time of *Vātsyāyana*, the author of the *Kāmasūtra*, who is believed to have flourished somewhere in the 4th century. Its popularity in or about 340 A.D. can be shown by *Vātsyāyana*'s statement that 'when a woman shows signs of listening favourably to the proposals of a lover she should be won over by the reciting of the stories of *Ahalyā*, *Avimāraka*, *Sakuntalā*, and other popular heroes and heroines.'¹ Thirdly, the story is given in full by the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, a work based on the *Bṛhatkathā* of *Guṇāḍhya* who is placed in the first or second century A. D. by *Bühler*.² We therefore fail to see how the allusion to this story proves the late date of the *Kaumudīmahōtsava*.

Reference to the love of *Saunaka* and *Bandhumatī* would be more to the point, if we could be sure that the story occurs for the first time in *Avantisundarī*. But as pointed out by Dr. S. K. De, it is rather a late work written after the manner and model of the *Bṛhatkathā*.³ There is nothing very original about it. It takes its stories from various sources. Many of them are to be found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, and the whole of the story of *Kādambarī*, as set forth up to the end of *Bāṇa*'s portion of the work, is interpolated in chapter V of the *Kathāsāra*.⁴ It is therefore quite

¹ शृण्वत्यां चादृष्ट्याविमारकशकुन्तलादीन्यन्यान्यपि लौकिकानि कथयेद् युक्तानि (*Kāmasūtra*, *Nirṇayasāgara* edition, p. 278).

² See *Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 376.

³ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III. p. 401.

⁴ See Dr. De's article.

probable that it took its story from the same source which had been utilised some centuries earlier by the authoress of the *Kaumudimahōtsava*. The way in which the love of *Śaunaka* and *Bandhumatī* is referred to in the drama shows that in the time of the authoress the story was as well known as that of *Avimāraka* and *Kuraṅgī*, and was not confined to the pages of some imperfectly known book like the *Avantisundarikathā*. It was most probably one of the 'युक्तलौकिक' stories which according to *Vātsyāyana*, the lover was to tell a girl whom he wished to win over for himself.

The other arguments adduced by Dr. Winternitz are as inconclusive. The authoress's acquaintance with *Kālidāsa*'s poetry is not to me an evidence of the late date of the *Kaumudimahōtsava*, but of an earlier date than usually assigned for *Kālidāsa*, the premier poet of India. *Kālidāsa*'s alleged reference to *Diṇnāga*, his knowledge of scientific astronomy derived from the Greeks, his reference to the *Hūṇas*, and other similar arguments adduced to place him in the Gupta Period have been already refuted by Prof. *Kṣetreśachandra Chattopadhyaya* in his 'Date of *Kālidāsa* (Allahabad University Studies. Vol. II),' and need not be repeated here. The argument from points of contact with the *Mudrārākṣasa* cannot bear out the learned Doctor's contention unless he first proves that it is the *Kaumudimahōtsava* and not the *Mudrārākṣasa* that is the borrower. And as regards the old *viṭa* (in Act V) who revels in remembrances of the pleasures enjoyed in the company of hetaeras, he is to be found not merely in modern *Bhāṇas*, but

also in old Sanskrit dramas. The *Mṛchchhakatika*, for instance, makes us familiar with a *viṭa* accompanying the courtesan *Vasantasenā* to the house of her lover *Chārudatta*. In fact the company of hetaeras is necessary for a *viṭa* of the Sanskrit drama. The *Kāmasūtra* of *Vātsyāyana* defines a *viṭa* as 'भुक्तविभवस्तु गुणवान् सकलत्रो वेशे गोष्ठ्याञ्च बहुमतस्तदुपजीवी' and the *Sarasvatikanṭhābharana* of *Bhōja* adopts this definition with slight verbal changes. *Bharata's* *Nāṭyaśāstra* calls him *वेश्योपचारकुशल*¹ and provides for his employment in many types of dramas. So the occurrence of a *viṭa* having his reminiscences of days passed in the houses of courtesans should remind Dr. Winternitz not merely of modern *Bhāṇas*, but also of the old dramas on whose basis the authors of the *Kāmasūtra*, *Sarasvatikanṭhābharana*, and *Nāṭyaśāstra* framed their well-known definitions.

Thus the arguments examined above are not convincing enough to make us assert that 'there is no justification at all for assigning this "Kaumudimahōtsava" drama to 340 A.D.' On the other hand the prologue makes it out to be a work contemporary with *Kalyāṇavarman* at whose court the drama was performed for the first time. Now this *Kalyāṇavarman* was the rival of the usurper *Chandāsena*, identified with *Chandragupta I* by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. As long as this identification is not disproved by means of convincing arguments, and really conclusive literary evidence is not adduced to prove the

¹ XXXV, 55 (*Kāśī Sanskrit Series* edition).

modernity of the drama, there is evidently not much ground for the assertion that 'it is utterly improbable' that the Kaumudimahōtsava belongs to such an early age as the Gupta Period.

Reviews and Notices of Books

VEDĀNGA JYAUTISHA. Edited by *Mabā-mabopādhyāya*, *Arthaśāstraviśārada*, *Vidyālaṅkāra*, *Paṇḍitarāja* Dr. R. Shamasastri, B. A., Ph. D., Mysore, 1936, 8 × 5½", pp. i—xvii, 1—35, 1—61.

In this timely book the veteran scholar has returned to his early love. The Vedāṅgajyautisha is one of the six Aṅgas of the Vedas, determining the time of the Vedic rites; it is found in two recensions—the Ṛgvedajyautisha (36 verses) and Yajurvedajyautisha (44 verses). It may be dated about 850 B.C. on the basis of the date of Varāhamihira about 550 A. D. Dr. Shamasastri has adopted the text of Dr. Thibaut excepting a slight modification in the reading of verse 13. Dr. Shamasastri differs from the explanations offered by S. B. Dikshit, Barhaspatya, Sudhakar Dvivedi and Tilak, and utilises new sources in the Sūryaprajñapti, the Jyautishakaraṇḍa and the Kālālokaprakāśa of the Jains.

This *flair* for new sources makes this doyen of south-Indian Indologists more modern and more scientific than the youngest aspirant for scientific modernity. Thus Dr. Gorakh Prasad in J.B.O.R.S., 1935, vol. XXX, p. 136, repeats the orthodox faith regarding the date of the Jyautisha as the 12th cent. B.C. based on its description of the position of the winter solstice as coincident with the first point of

Śraviṣṭhā. Dr. Gorakh Prasad ignores that judging by the location of the solstitial point in his works, Varāhamihira would be in A. D. 332 whereas he actually lived about 550 A.D. The Brahmins immediately following recognised this error by taking to the Siddhāntas, leaving only the roughest calculation to the Vedāṅgajyautisha in spite of the latter's age and sanctity. As Dr. Shamasastri aptly admonishes—"The modern orthodox astronomers of India who blindly cling to the Siddhāntas may take a lesson from this and reform their calendar in the light of modern scientific astronomy" (pp. iii—iv).

The publication is timely in more ways than one. Recent archæological discoveries in the Indus Valley have brought to light a civilisation as old as 3,000—2,800 B.C. The connection between this civilisation and Vedic literature is still controversial. But any accepted reference in Vedic literature to an astronomical observation datable between 3,000 and 2,000 B.C. will have a direct bearing on the question. In 1894, Jacobi and Tilak put together the various astronomical data. Bühler, in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1894, pp. 238 ff. gives a very sympathetic *résumé* of their interpretations by Jacobi ('Age of the Veda') and Tilak ('Orion'). It must be admitted, however, that the attempt to read astronomical evidence in every stray observation of a constellation was not convincing, and Whitney's estimate of Tilak "extracting moon-beams from a cucumber" lacked in courtesy rather than cuteness.

Of late, however, a less ambitious but soberer approach has indicated better results. On the ana-

logy that in the 6th century A.D. the Nakṣatras were made to begin with Aśvinī due to the coincidence of the vernal equinox with the beginning of Aśvinī, it has been suggested that the list of Nakṣatras drawn up in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa begins with the Kṛttikās because the Kṛttikās were coincident with the vernal equinox (Śat. Br., ii. 1, 2, 3; J.B.O.R.S., XXI, p. 126-7).

Dr. Shamasastri in his able Introduction to the Vedāṅgajyautisha has refuted the only serious objection to this analogy. Thibaut had objected on the ground that it would involve "the assumption that the sun and not the moon, was then regarded as connected with the Nakṣatras." (I.A., xxiv, 96). From the Vedāṅgajyautisha, Dr. Shamasastri makes it abundantly clear that the scheme was called a tied lunar calendar, i.e., 'a lunar calendar so constructed that it may periodically fall into line with the solar year (Introd. p. v.). According to the Kṛttikā calculation the date of the observation in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa would be about 2,500 B. C. much nearer to the objective evidence of 3,000—2,800 B. C.

Dr. Shamasastri's Sanskrit commentary is admirable—informing yet precise. It throws into relief the function of the book as an important phase in the evolution of Hindu astronomy.

A. Banerji-Sastri.

A NEW ARTHAŚĀSTRA COMMENTARY

The Jayamaṅgalā commentary on books I, II and part of III of the Kauṭīliya made known by Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvāchaspati Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S. through the last volume of his Catalogue is going to be published in this Journal.

K. P. J.

Notes of the Quarter

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on Sunday, July 26, 1936.

Present

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James
(Vice-President in the Chair)

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal

Mr. Sham Bahadur

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. Fazl Ali

Mr. J. L. Hill

1. Confirmed the minutes of the meeting of the Council held on March 15, 1936.
2. Resolved on a motion from the Chair that the Council put on record its sorrow and its recognition of the loss that the Society has sustained through the death of Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, Joint Secretary and Honorary Librarian of the Society.
Resolved further that the Council on behalf of the Society forward its condolence to the bereaved family.
3. Passed the accounts for the months March to June, 1936.
4. Passed the annual accounts for the year 1935-36.
5. Passed the revised budget for 1936-37 and the budget estimate for 1937-38.

6. Resolved that the following sums be put to the credit of the Society in the Post Office Savings Bank when they fall due:
 - (a) the sum of Rs. 717-8-0 at present on deposit with the Allahabad Bank until August 2, 1936.
 - (b) the sum of Rs. 1025 at present on deposit with the Allahabad Bank until August 2, 1936.
 - (c) the sum of Rs. 693-5-3 at present on deposit with the Allahabad Bank until August 9, 1936.
7. Read letter No. 19, dated June 12, 1936, from the Joint Secretary, Vijayanagar Commemoration Volume requesting contributions.
Resolved that the request be given publicity through the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal.
8. Considered the appointment of a Joint Secretary and Honorary Librarian to the Society.
Resolved that the matter be deferred until after the appointment of a Curator to the Patna Museum.
9. On a motion of Dr. Jayaswal, seconded by Dr. Banerji-Sastri resolved that the Council record its grateful thanks to the Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James for editing the Buchanan Patna Gaya Report.

J. L. HILL

Honorary General Secretary

27-7-1936

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on Sunday, the 27th September, 1936.

Present

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. F. W. James
(in the Chair)

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal

Mr. Sham Bahadur

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri

Mr. J. L. Hill

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the Council held on July 26, 1936.
2. Passed the monthly accounts for July and August, 1936.
3. Confirmed the payment of the following bills:—

(a) Allahabad Law Journal Press:—

Bill	Dated	Detail	Rs.	as.	p.
„	3-1-1936	Printing Journal September issue, 1935 ..	316	11	0
„	14-12-1935	Packing and forwarding above ..	2	0	0
„	25-3-1936	Printing December issue, 1935 ..	388	8	0
„	18-3-1936	Printing of plates ..	25	2	0
„	„	Packing and forwarding December issue 1935	2	4	0
„	„	Packing and forwarding December Reprints 1935 ..	0	8	0

Bill	Dated	Detail	Rs.	as.	p.
„	16-5-1936	Printing Journal March issue 1936 ..	458	14	0

(b)	Miss Anstey's bill dated 16-5-1936 for preparing Buchanan's Bhagalpur Report typescript ..	176	10	9
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(c)	United Press Bill dated 25-7-1936 for printing Catalogue of Mithila Manuscript, Vol. III ..	976	3	0
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(d)	Indian Photo Engraving Co.—			
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Bill	Dated	Detail	Rs.	as.	p.
8540	28-8-1938	Making blocks and printing plates for June Issue, 1936 ..	263	15	0
8475	15-6-1936	Making blocks and printing plates for June Issue, 1936 ..	28	2	0

4. Passed the following Bills for payment:—

Allahabad Law Journal Press:—

Bill	Dated	Detail	Rs.	as.	p.
„	21-7-1936	Packing and forwarding Index and Title page, 1935 ..	1	0	0
370	10-9-1935	Printing and forwarding Index and Title page, 1935 ..	41	4	9
369	10-9-1935	Printing Journal June issue, 1936 ..	291	2	3
354	7-9-1936	Packing and forwarding issue, 1936	2	0	0

5. Elected Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri to represent the Society during the next session of the Sanskrit Convocation.

6. Read letter No. 3075, 14-8-36, of August 21, 1936, from the Honorary Director, Adyar Library.

Resolved that the Adyar Library be informed that the Council regret that the Journals asked for cannot be supplied free of charge.

7. Read letter No. 1045, dated July 27, 1936 from the Curator, the Kesari and the Mahratta Library, Poona.

Resolved that the Curator be informed that the Council regret that it is unable to place the Kesari and the Mahratta on the Society's exchange list.

8. Read letter No. 719, dated August 17, 1936, from the Honorary General Secretary, Indian Library Association, Calcutta.

Resolved that the Honorary General Secretary be informed that, though it is impossible to appoint a special Reference Librarian, all possible help will be given to research workers using the Society's Library.

9. Read a letter, dated August 29, 1936, from the Editor, Indiana, Benares.

Resolved that the Council regret that it cannot comply with the Editor's request to send him copies of the Society's publications.

10. Elected Pandit Dilli Ramanj Regmi M.A. Student, Khatmandu, Nepal, and Mr. M. N. Pal, B.A., B.L., Advocate High Court, Patna, members of the Society.

11. Read a letter, dated 27-8-36, from Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Kern Institute, Leiden.
Resolved that Dr. Goethe be invited to lecture at Patna under the auspices of the Society on "Eastern Elements in European Paintings of the 15th-17th centuries."
12. Fixed the price of the Society's edition of Buchanan's Patna-Gaya Report at Rs. 12.
Resolved that Government be requested to purchase 50 copies of the Report.
13. Resolved to reprint Vol. X, part 4, of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal and to reprint 500 extra copies of the Rājanîti-Ratnākara of Chandésvara.
14. Appointed Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri Honorary Librarian of the Society.
15. Resolved that Government be approached to increase substantially the grant to the Society's Library.

J.L.HILL

Honorary General Secretary

28-9-1936

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December 1936

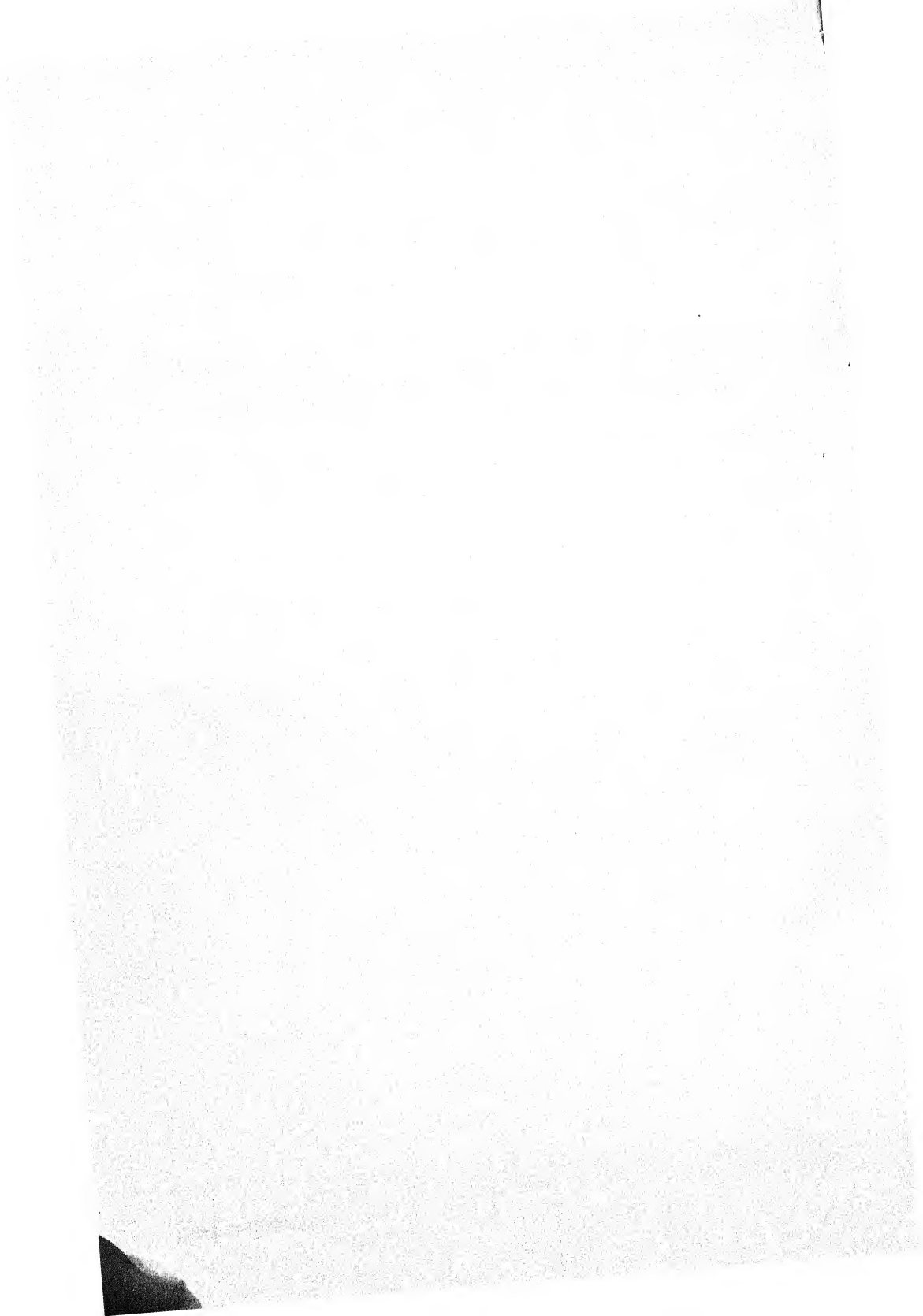
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[PART IV

Leading Articles

THE CULT OF TĀRĀ AND AN IMAGE FROM PARBATI

By P. C. CHAUDHURI, M.A., I.C.S.

In the Pantheon of the Vajrayāna Buddhists Tārā occupied an important place. It is difficult to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, as to when the worship of this deity first arose. It is generally believed that the introduction of the goddess into Buddhism took place some time about the 6th century A.D. when Tantrik ideas began to invade the religion of Buddha.¹ The seeds of the Tantrik cult itself can be traced to the earlier Buddhism where Mudrās, Mantras, Maṇḍalas, Dharaṇīs, Yoga and Samādhi were regarded as a means to attain happiness

¹ L. A. Waddell: *The Indian Buddhist cult of Avalokita and his consort Tara*, J. R. A. S. 1894, p. 51.

and prosperity in the world.¹ There is an unmistakable affinity between Tantrism on one side and the system of Yoga on the other. Tantrism has been called a popularised and, at the same time, degraded form of Yoga.² According to Tāranatha, Tantrik doctrines were transmitted in an occult manner in the period between Āsaṅga and Dharmakīrti. During the reign of the Pāla kings Tantrism received royal patronage and found a stronghold in the renowned monastery of Vikramaśilā³ where the superiors were all Mantra-Vajrācāryas. The Buddhist belief is that the great master of Yogācāra, Ārya Āsaṅga,⁴ went up to heaven and brought down the Tantras.

As the Tantrik school developed Tārā began to acquire popularity though she had already appeared in the Buddhist Pantheon in the form of a Bodhi-sattva. Yuan Chwang in the 7th century A. D. saw a

¹ Bhattacharyya: *Two Vajrayāna Works*, p. 10, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XLIV.

² Kern: *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Grundriss der Indoarischen, Philologie und Alterthumskunde, III, p. 133.

³ Schiefner: *Taranath's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, pp. 206, 257. The Pāla kings reigned over Gauḍa and Magadha from about 750 A. D., when Gopāla I ascended the throne. See R. D. Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal*, Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 47. The site of the Vikramaśilā monastery has not yet been definitely identified. It was situated somewhere in Magadha on the northern bank of the Ganges. Cunningham, however, thought that it was probably situated at the modern village of Silao in the Patna district. *Report of Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, p. 84.

⁴ Āsaṅga and his younger brother Vasubandhu, who had originally come to Magadha from Gāndhāra, rank high in Buddhist scholastic philosophy of the 6th century A. D. The approximate date of Āsaṅga is supposed to be 485 to 560 A. D. Max Müller: *India What Can It Teach Us*, pp. 302-312. Āsaṅga is reputed to be the author of Yogācāryabhūmi-Śāstra.

bronze image of Tārā Bodhisattva in a temple of its own at the Ti-lo-shi-ka monastery¹ which was located at the site now occupied by village Telharha in the Patna district where in 1930 I found the remains of several stūpas and other Buddhistic relics.² The Chinese pilgrim found another temple of Tārā in Nalanda itself and noted that her image was a popular object of worship. This figure of Tārā was of great height and its spiritual appearance very striking. Large offerings were made to it. Kings and ministers and the great people of the neighbouring countries offered exquisite perfumes and flowers, holding gem-covered flags and canopies, whilst instruments of metal and stone resounded in turn, mingled with the harmony of flutes and harps. The worship of Tārā, on such occasions, went on for several days.³

Tārā was thus originally recognised simply as a Bodhisattva (P'usa) without any indication of sex. It could not, however, have taken a long time for Tārā's transformation into a distinct female divinity for as the consort of Avalokiteśvara she was naturally entitled to a prominent place. Avalokiteśvara was one of the earlier mythological beings to be introduced into Buddhism: in the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, which was translated into Chinese in A. D. 265, he is regarded as one of the greatest Bodhisattvas.⁴ Fa-

¹ Watters: *Yuan Chwang's Travels*, Vol. II, p. 105.

² See Cunningham: *Reports of Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. VII, p. 34 and Vol. XI, p. 165.

³ Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 174; also see Watters, *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁴ E. Burnouf: *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, 222.

Hien found the Mahāyānists in Mathura presenting offerings to Avalokiteśvara.¹ The large number of statues of this deity found in Kapiśa, in Udayana, in Kashmir, at Kanauj, at Gaya and in Mahārāṣṭra, indicates that two centuries after the visit of Fa-Hien Avalokiteśvara was venerated all over India.² As the Śakti or female energy of this Bodhisattva, Tārā was destined to figure prominently. Like Avalokiteśvara she became especially distinguished by her efforts for the salvation of men.³

By the time of the later Tantras,⁴ Tārā had come to be regarded as one of the chief divinities, unequalled in conferring boons or success—"Naiva Tārāsamā Kāciddevatā siddhidāyinī": in Brahmanical mythology, according to Dr. Hiranand Shastri, Tārā became known as the second Mahāvidyā, Kālī being considered the Ādyā, the First.⁵ It is unnecessary to quote from the well-known Tantrik texts the innumerable references to this goddess who excelled even Kālī herself. The search for Maithili manuscripts, undertaken by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, has revealed a considerable store of Tantrik literature. In the *Trailokyavijaya-Kavaca* of the *Gandharva Tantra* Tārā's position is the same as that of Kālī herself.

¹ Legge: *Fa-Hien's Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, p. 46.

² Kern: *op. cit.*, p. 96.

³ Wassijew: *Der Buddhismus*, 125.

⁴ The earliest Tantra literature as now available does not seem to be much older than the 6th century A. D.

⁵ Hiranand Shastri: *The Origin and Cult of Tara*, Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 20, pp. 1, 8.

यथा काली तथा तारा या तारा सैव कालिका
उभयोर्न हि भेदोस्ति कवचस्यास्य धारणे ।¹

Tārā's Dhyāna is given in another Maithili manuscript as follows :—

ध्यायेत्कोटिदिवाकरद्युतिनिभां बालेन्दुयुक्शेखराम्
रक्ताङ्गीं रसनां सुरवत्तवसनां पूर्णेन्दुबिम्बाननाम् ।
पाशङ्कर्तृमहाङ्कशासिदधतीं दोर्भिश्चतुर्भिर्युतां
नानाभूषणभूषितां भगवतीं तारां जगत्तारिणीम् ॥²

As a distinct Goddess, having various forms, Tārā was universally worshipped in Tibet. As the chief and most active supernatural female Bodhisattva Tārā is now the most popular deity in that country both with the Lamas and laity. In fact she is even more popular than Avalokiteśvara himself. A large proportion of the Tibetan people can repeat her services by heart. The Manual of Tārā Worship, is one of the commonest booklets in Tibet and is in the hands of nearly all laymen.³

A bronze statue of Tārā, along with several of Avalokiteśvara, has been discovered at Pegu in Burma. The introduction of Mahāyāna into Upper and Central Burma occurred most probably in the 4th or 5th century A. D. Mons. Duroiselle has found archæological evidence of the existence at Min-nanthu near Pegu of a Buddhist sect, the Ari, who were apparently, Mahāyānist Tantriks and regarded Tārā

¹ I am indebted to Pandit Vishnu Lal Shastri of the B. & O. Research Society for this reference. The passage is quoted in *Tārābhakti-sudhārṇava* of Narasimha Ṭhākur; See Maithili Ms. Cat. No. 159 and Cat. No. 185.

² *Tārā-karpūrastotra* of Bhairava Tantra, Maithili Ms. Cat. No. 140A.

³ Waddell: *The Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 358.

as a Sakti of Buddha. Mons. Duroiselle mentions that whereas the Buddha of the frescoes of Min-nanthu, which belong to the early part of the 12th century A. D., had Indian features, Tārā as his Sakti looked like a Burmese woman standing in a rather voluptuous attitude.¹ Dr. Stutterheim describes an image found at Sawah Gunung in Bali as probably representing Tārā.² Tārā's images have been found in Java: for instance in Chandi Mendut, the Buddhist edifice of the 6th to 8th century A. D.³

In Nepal the Mahāyāna developments and eventually the Tantrik practices were accepted as a part of religion at an early period. Numerous forms of Tārā, a term indiscriminately applied to all the consorts of the Dhyāni Buddhas, are found in the Nepal valley.⁴ The Syāmā Tārā appears to have been particularly popular in this country. The worship of Tārā had become widely prevalent in Orissa even in the early medieval times as indicated by her numerous images discovered in Nathgiri, Ratnagiri, Kendrapara, Chanda and other parts of the province.⁵ Tārā is known among the Jains but she does not hold a prominent place in their mythology. She is not even a Śaśanādevī or Yakṣiṇī to any of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras⁶, though some of her names are more or less identical

¹ *Burmese Report of Arch. Survey of India*, 1915-16, p. 79 ff.

² W. F. Stutterheim: *Indian influences in old Balinese Art*, Plate V.

³ Foucher: *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 264.

⁴ Landon: *Nepal*, Vol. II, App. XV, *Notes on Buddhism in Nepal*.

⁵ Rama Prasad Chanda: *'Exploration in Orissa'*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 44.

⁶ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, 1881, p. 273.

with those of the Yakṣiṇīs, assigned to several Tīrthaṅkaras in the Tantrik Jain cult which bears some analogy to Buddhist Tantrism.¹

It is difficult to state precisely when Tārā was first represented in sculpture. Dr. Hiranand Shastri thinks that there are no Tārā figures which may be positively ascribed to a period preceding the 6th century A.D.² Mr. S. N. Mazoomdar Shastri discovered in 1923 an image of Tārā at Hilsa in the district of Patna; it bears an inscription of the 35th regnal year of Devapāla, the son of Dharmapāla and grandson of Gopāla I, the founder of the Pāla dynasty.³ Devapāladeva is believed to have reigned from about 871 A. D.⁴ This however does not appear to be the earliest image of Tārā. Several images bearing inscriptions in letters of the same type as those used in the Neulpur Copper Plate grant of the Buddhist King, Subhākaradeva, who reigned in northern Tosali in the second half of the 8th century A. D., have been found in Orissa.⁵ Dr. Bernet Kempers has found images of this deity in the bronzes of Nalanda.⁶ Though the identification of some of these images, in my opinion, is dubious a few are certainly representa-

¹ For a detailed list of Jain Yakṣiṇīs, see Burgess's *Tantrasāra*.

² *The Origin and Cult of Tārā*, Memoirs of Arch. Survey of India, Vol. XX, p. 19.

³ J. B. O. R. S. Vol. X, 1924, p. 31 f. 'Hilsa statue inscription of the 35th year of Devapāla.'

⁴ R. D. Banerji: *The pālas of Bengal*, Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 53.

⁵ R. D. Banerji: *Neulpur grant of Subhākara*, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV, pp. 1-6; Sylvain Lévi: 'King Subhākara of Orissa,' *Ibid*, pp. 363-364.

⁶ A. J. Bernet Kempers: *The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu Javanese Art*, p. 40 etc.

tions of Tārā with the characteristic Utpala stalk in the left hand and the right hand in Varadā Mudrā.¹ Waddell speaks of numerous inscribed images of Tārā dating from the 8th to the 12th century A. D. at old Buddhistic sites throughout India and particularly in Magadha.² Fergusson and Burgess were under the impression that some of the female figures in the Buddhistic cave temples at Nasik, Ajanta, Elura, and Aurangabad were of Tārā.³ I do not however think that the identity has been clearly established. The female deities in these caves have been somewhat loosely described as 'Tārā, Lochanā, Māmuki etc.' The mere presence of a lotus stalk or flower-bud or of a Padmāsana is not a sufficient criterion for identification of a particular deity. The classification of Tārā is a matter of an elaborately detailed study; this is particularly so in the case of representations in stone for the more common classification of the different varieties of this Goddess is in accordance with colour, such as green Tārā, white Tārā, yellow Tārā etc. and this is not applicable to ordinary sculptural work. The danger of not observing images with a critical eye for the minutest details is illustrated by the remark of the late Vincent A. Smith that the image of Buddhistic Tārā is not easily distinguishable from the Hindu Lakṣmī.⁴ Though our knowledge of the

¹ *op. cit.*, cf. Plate XIII, representing Śyāmā Tārā.

² J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 63.

³ Fergusson and Burgess: *The Cave Temples of India*, pp. 278, 298, 371, 384 and 391.

⁴ V. A. Smith: *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 184.

earlier sculptured representations of Tārā is limited, it may be safely surmised that with the growing popularity of her cult her images must have also become numerous from about the 7th century A. D. This popularity might well have been due in a large measure to the remarkable renaissance in Indian sculpture at this period. The more sensuous taste of a sceptical age turned from the austere representations of the earliest Buddhist art and sculptors eagerly welcomed the opportunity of emphasizing the graceful and lovable side of the Buddhistic and Brahmanical Pantheon by putting into plastic form this new goddess who was so endowed with attributes to make her a general favourite. The severe dignity of a Bodhisattva however still stuck to her and Tārā developed, as it were, a dual personality; side by side with her beloved aspect of a benign and smiling Goddess, which evoked ideas of mother-love and contributed to her immense popularity, she retained her fearful (Ugra) and irritated (Sakrodha) forms. Just as the work of Praxiteles and other sculptors of the new Attic school in the 4th century transformed a severely dignified Aphrodite, who had so far inspired feelings of religious awe only, into a Goddess of love, in all the bright beauty and sensuous charm of her undraped figure,¹ the chisel of the Indian sculptor of the 7th century gradually carved out a permanent place for the more graceful Tārā not only in stone but in the hearts of all men.

¹ Collignon: *Manual of Mythology in Relation to Greek Art*, p. 136 etc.

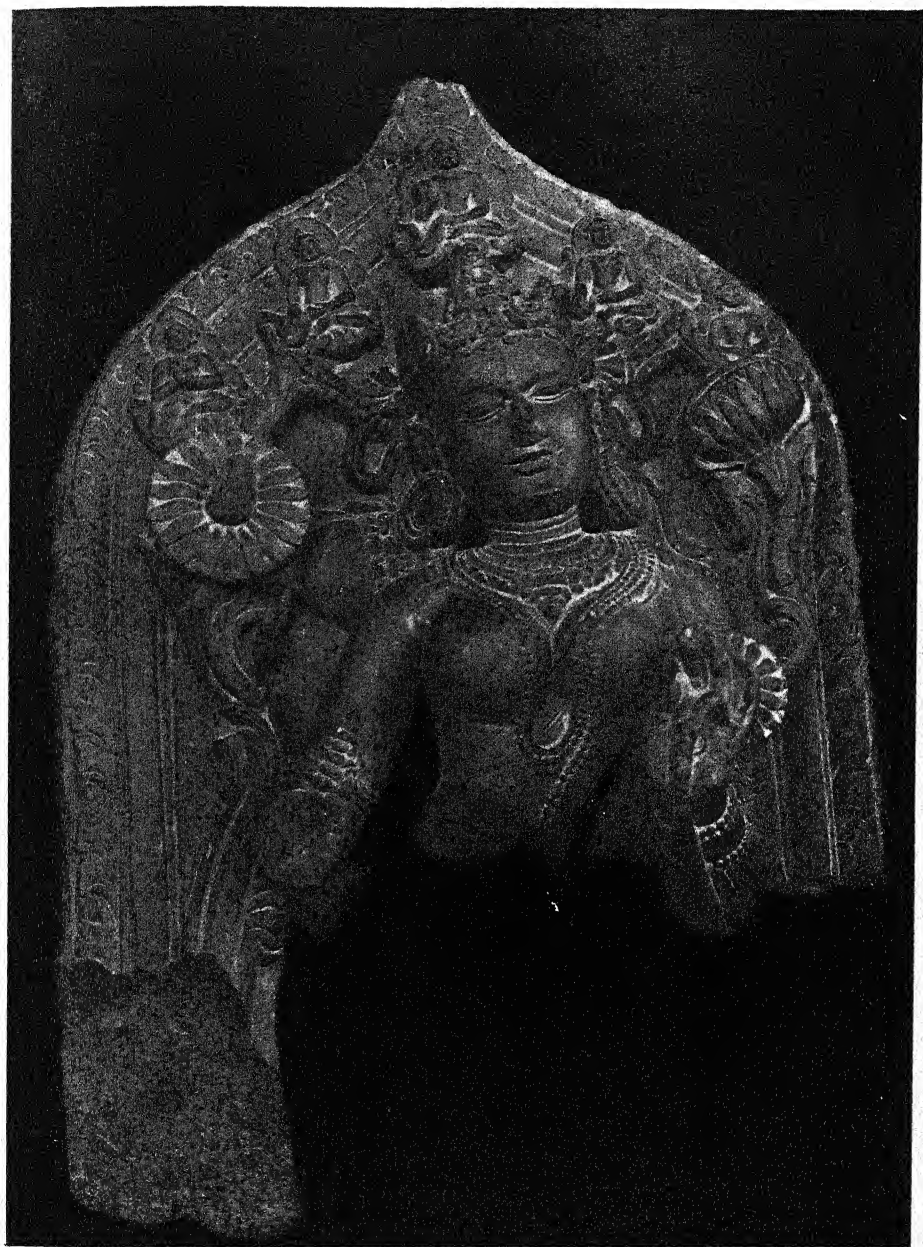
The fragmentary image of Tārā as described here was recovered from Parbati, in the extreme north-east corner of the district of Gaya, through the good offices of Mr. L. J. Lucas, I. C. S., and is now deposited in the Patna Museum. The fragment was found lying at the foot of the hill which rises in solitary grandeur on the eastern side of a once mighty river, the Sakri. The Parbati hill is of considerable archaeological importance. General Cunningham had with some hesitation identified it as the site of the Buddhist Kapotaka or Pigeon monastery visited by Hiuen Tsang.¹ In my opinion the hill really represents the site of the famous Indra-sāla-guhā, where Indra propounded 42 different questions to Buddha and which was identified by Cunningham² with the hill at Giriak and by Broadley³ with the isolated rock at Bihar. The present fragment, however, does not appear to be connected with any of the archaeological remains on the Parbati hill. The image had evidently been brought over from village Apsar, which is situated about 3 miles to the south-east of Parbati. Apsar is singularly rich in Buddhistic and Brahmanical relics and there can be little doubt that the image of Tārā originally came from the immense collection of Vajrayāna sculptures even now found scattered all over the village.

Unfortunately the image, as recovered, is in a

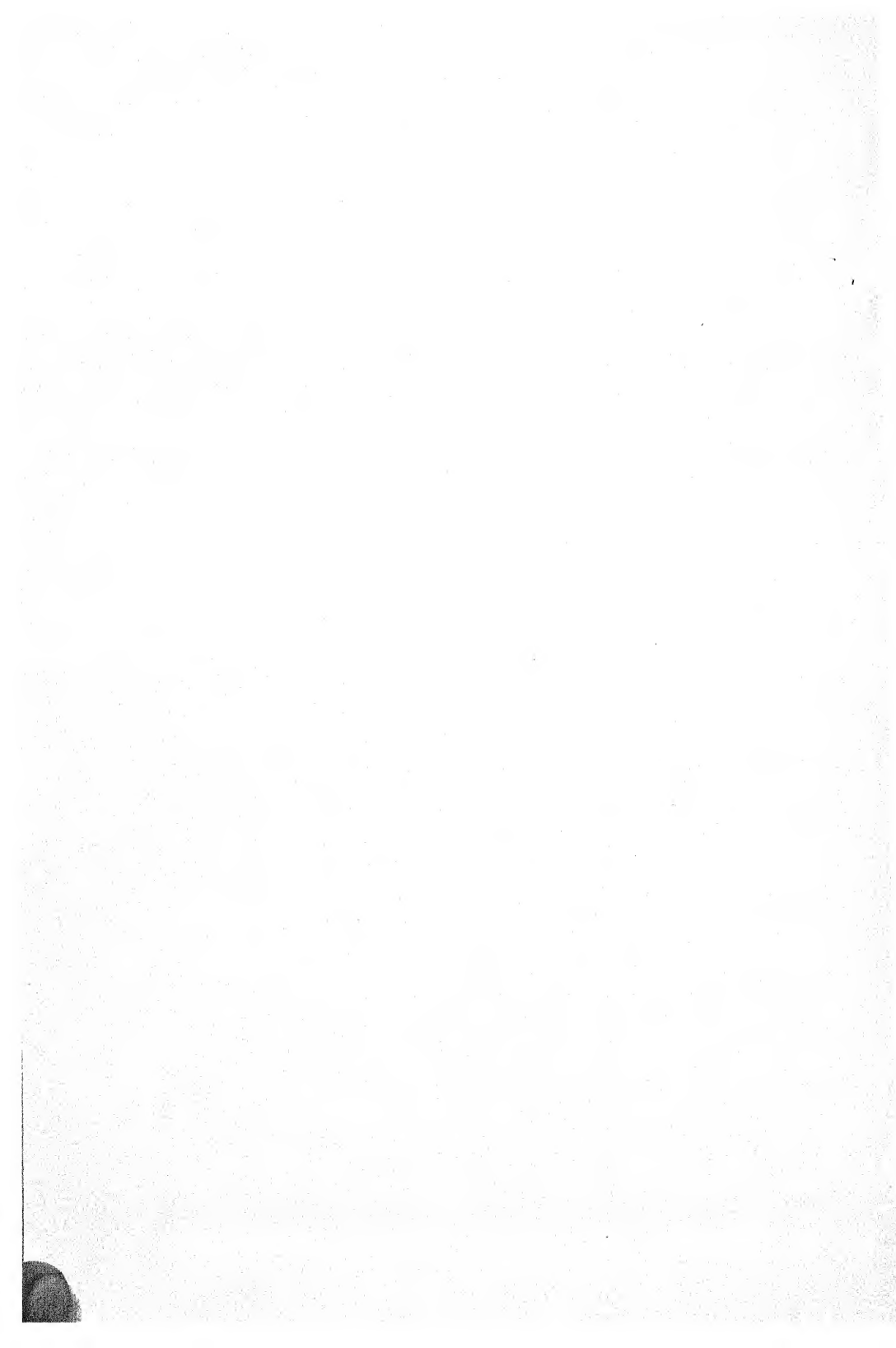
¹ Grierson : *Notes on the District of Gaya*, p. 34. Also see Cunningham : *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 473 f.

² A. S. R. for 1862-65, Vol. I, p. 18 and Vol. III, p. 145. Fergusson challenged this identification : J. R. A. S. Vol. VI, p. 229.

³ J. A. S. B., 1872, Vol. XLI, p. 284 etc.



A Tārā Image from Pārvatī.



mutilated condition. Sufficient however has outlived the ravages of time and the destructive fury of man to leave for us an exquisite instance of the highly developed iconoplastic art of about the 10th century A. D. As it now stands the fragment is 21 inches in height and 14 inches wide in the middle. The material used appears to be the "Patharkatti" black-stone which was available in abundance in the natural quarries of the hills in the northern part of the Gaya district.¹ This stone was very commonly used for sculptural work in the time of the Pāla kings.² It had a fine grain and provided an excellent ground for the minute carving of details, for instance, the delicate folds of the drapery, the intricate formation of plaits of hair, or the elaborate ornamentation of the necklace (Hāra) or the head-gear (Mauli).

The image is manifestly of the Sānta or Saumya type. Tārā appears as a lovable deity with the head slightly inclined to the right and the face pleasant and smiling. This pose is called the Tribhaṅga. It is the favourite attitude of the standing image of Tārā.³ The perfection of repose is indeed most striking. The tilt of the head balances in a remarkable manner

¹ Journal of Francis Buchanan: Patna and Gaya in 1811-1812, Ed. V. H. Jackson, p. 24 and Appendix No. 10.

² I have found this stone used for sculptural work in numerous ancient sites of Bihar. See P. C. Chaudhuri, *Ajapura of Skandagupta and the area around*, J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XIX, p. 337-43.

³ See for instance, Plate V representing a Tārā image from Ratnagiri (Orissa), Memoirs of Arch. Survey of India, No. 44 and Patna Museum Collection No. 1578, a Tārā image from Bihar, and No. 3745, another image from Cuttack.

the upward rise of the left shoulder and the sway of the hips towards the right. The relation of the lines of the neck, the shoulders, the left arm and the waist indicates a keen appreciation on the part of the sculptor of the subtleties of balance.

The left arm of the figure holds the Utpala by its stem. The symbolism of the lotus in Indian art is a matter of considerable importance. As Havell has appropriately put it :—"The lotus symbol like all other Indian symbols, had a metaphysical, or subjective, as well as an objective significance. Rooted deep in the mud of a lake or river and pushing its way gradually upwards through the water until its fair flower blossomed in the light of heaven, the lotus or water-lily was Nature's own symbol of the spiritual process by which the human mind won liberation in Nirvāṇa."¹ According to the Buddhist classification of Tārās, there are seven main variations in all of which the deity carries the Utpala in the left hand and exhibits the Varadā Mudrā with the right.² In Brahmanical iconography there is no hard and fast rule in this respect : while Pārvatī is depicted in the Vighneśvarānugramūrti of Śiva as holding the Utpala flower in her right hand and Śiva himself in his Jñāna-dakṣiṇamūrti does the same, Pārvatī in another aspect of Śiva, Vṛśavāhanamūrti, carries the flower in her left hand : in the Yajñavarāhamūrti of Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī holds the lotus in her left hand while Bhūmidevī

¹ Havell: *The Himalayas in Indian Art*, p. 11.

² Bhattacharya : *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 135.

carries the flower in her right hand.¹ The stem of the lotus is held in a most delicate, though conventional, manner. The slender stalk passes through the thumb and index finger and is pressed down by the ring finger. This was apparently a gesture which had become stereotyped as in several other images of Tārā the Utpala is held exactly in this manner.²

The right arm of the image is broken at the elbow joint. The position of the upper arm and particularly the complete ornament above the elbow clearly indicates that the forearm must have extended downwards in the pose known as the Varadā Mudrā, in which the palm is exposed as if granting a boon. The Indian Museum has a complete image of Tārā, in the standing attitude, which has a pose remarkably similar to that of our fragment. There is the same incline from the waist towards the right the equilibrium being gradually recovered by the tilt of the head towards the left.³

This description will not be complete without mention of the five Dhyānī Buddhas at the top of the image. The Mahayānists regarded the Dhyānī Buddhas as a peculiar sort of Buddhas who are eternal and

¹ T. A. Gopinath Rao: *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pp. 99 etc.

² See Plate No. IIIa: *Memoirs of Arch. Survey of India*, No. 20, depicting the Tārā Image in the Lucknow Museum. Plate XXXII/i, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 104, illustrating another specimen from the Dacca Museum. Several images of female deities in the Kurkihar collection in the Patna Museum display a similar pose.

³ See Plate XXXII c, reproduced in Bhattacharyya's *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 104.

have never been Bodhisattvas; they are called Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi, while their female counterparts are Tārās or Saktis, namely Vajradhattiśvarā, Locanā, Māmuki, Pāṇḍurā and Tārā.¹ The Dhyānī Buddhas are always engaged in peaceful meditation and voluntarily restrain themselves from the act of creation. According to Bhattacharyya, though some of them were known before A. D. 700 the idea of the full number of five such Buddhas developed in the first half of the 8th century during the time of Indrabhūti, the king of Addiyini.² The Dhyānī Buddhas are marked by the different positions of their hands in the form of different Mudrās. They are also distinguished by their various colours. The five deities of the image, from left to right, exhibit the following Mudrās and are :—

(i) Vairocana in Dharmachakra-mudrā : the two hands are held against the breast with the tips of the fingers united;

(ii) Akṣobhya in Bhūmiśparśa-mudrā : the left hand rests on the lap while the right rests upon the right knee with the tips of the fingers as if touching the ground with the palm downwards;

(iii) Amoghasiddhi in Abhaya-mudrā : the left hand lies open on his lap and the right is lifted up with the palm outwards in the attitude of assurance;

(iv) Ratnasambhava in Varadā-mudrā : the left hand rests upon the lap while the right stretches

¹ Kern: *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 64.

² Bhattacharyya: *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 1.

downwards with the palm outwards;

(v) Amitābha in Samādhi or Dhyāna-mudrā : the two hands with the palms open lie on the lap one upon the other.

TWO PROTO-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM CHĀÑHU DARO

By THE REV. H. HERAS, S. J.

Chāñhu Daro is the name given to three mounds that rise a little to the south of the village Jamal Kiriyo on the east side of the Indus. The mounds are practically between Nawābshāh and Sākand in the Nawābshāh District. The mounds were explored in February 1928 by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, M.A., an officer of the Archæological Survey of India, who soon realized that the remains lying under them belong to the same cultural period as Mohenjo Daro and Harappa¹.

During the last season (October 1935-March 1936) an expedition sent by the *American Society of Indic and Iranian Studies*, the President of which is Prof. W. Norman Brown, worked at the mounds of Chāñhu Daro. At the head of the expedition was Mr. Ernest Mackay, the last Superintendent of the Mohenjo Daro excavations. This was to our knowledge the first time that a foreign Society conducted excavations in India.

We do not know anything definite about the result of this work. Mr. Mackay returned home without communicating any piece of news to his

¹ Cf. Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind (Memoirs of the A. S. of I., No. 48)*, pp. 35-38.

friends, undoubtedly because he wanted to give an account of the excavation season to the Society that entrusted him with this responsible task; and the Archæological Department keeps, as usual, a sacred silence about the finds at Chāñhu Daro.

Yet, Mr. Majumdar while digging a few trial trenches at Chāñhu Daro discovered three steatite seals of the Mohenjo Daro-Harappa type, the inscriptions on which give some interesting details which I am going to explain in this paper.

As said above these seals are of the Mohenjo Daro-Harappa square type. Yet there is a striking difference between them and the majority of those found at the other two sites. The latter bear the figure of an animal—very likely the *totem*-like symbol of the tribe—or another scene, and the inscription is carved on the upper portion only. At Mohenjo Daro there are but a few seals which have no other carving than the signs of the inscription¹. Yet all the three seals unearthed at Chāñhu Daro by Mr. Majumdar bear no figure of animal or any other scene at all.

On one of them a tree only is represented. "Pl. XVII, 44 (for 34) probably depicts the *Pipal* tree (*figus religiosa*)," says Majumdar himself, "but no other example of this type of seal from Mohenjo Daro or Harappa is so far known, although representations of the tree itself are fairly common."² The

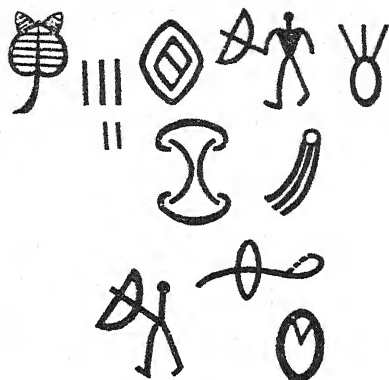
¹ Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, III, Pl. CII, n.; Pl. CXII, Nos. 396 and 400.

² Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

other two seals bear inscriptions only and are going to be the subject of our study¹.

I

We take first the seal marked No. 38 on Pl. XVII of Mr. Majumdar's monograph. The inscription runs as follows :



The inscription has ten signs, plus an additional sign, distributed in the following way :



- 1st line ... 5 signs
- 2nd line ... 2 signs plus 1 additional sign
- 3rd line ... 1 sign
- 4th line ... 2 signs

There is much space left free under the first line to the left of the seal.

The script of this pre-Aryan civilization is *bonstrophedon*, i.e., with alternate lines running con-



¹ At the time of publishing this paper all the inscriptions hitherto recovered either from Mohenjo Daro or from Harappa, plus a few from other sites and from Mesopotamia, are already deciphered by the present writer. In all, they are about two thousand. I am actually preparing the publication of all these interesting documents. About the foundation of my interpretation, cf. Heras, *Light on the Mohenjo Daro Riddle*, *The New Review*, III, pp. 1-16.


trary ways as in ploughing. Consequently the first line reads from right to left; the second from left to right; the third from right to left again, etc.

Sign No. 1 (first line, from right) is a compound sign. Its elements are  *mūn*, three and *ūr*, 

"city," or "country round the city." Therefore the sign reads *mūnūr*, which is evidently the name of a city, the pre-Aryan rendering of the name Tripura, though at present we cannot identify the place.

Sign No. 2 represents a man holding a bow. He is a Bilava, a member of the pre-Aryan tribe of the Bilavas, represented today by the Bhils and other North Indian tribes.

Sign No. 3 originally reads *ēl*, "the sun," but the lines placed inside give us a figure, viz., the number of houses (or months) through which the sun passes. The sign  would be *two* houses; 

would be four and the sign  , which is in the inscription, reads six¹. Therefore it will read *ārēl*, "six suns," i.e., six houses of the sun.

Sign No. 4 is *mūn*, "three."

Sign No. 5 is a very complex sign. It evidently represents the leaf of a tree. Yet the two small appendices cannot be easily explained. A comparison

¹ These pre-Aryan people knew the Zodiac, but they had 8 constellations only in it. Hence the year was divided into eight months of 45 days each. Six houses of the sun would, therefore, perhaps mean three full seasons, or at least three quarters of the year.

of all similar signs in the inscriptions shows that these two appendices in this and in other cases are extremely conventionalized. But some of these signs clearly show that they are two leaves joined together, the one that is behind being turned upside down in this guise :







Therefore the two appendices are the two lower lobes of the leaf protruding from behind the upper lines of the front one. They are two joint leaves. Now, *leaf* in Dravidian languages is *ila*, while *kalak* means "to unite," "to join." Therefore the sign reads *kalakila* and refers to a tribe which later on, in the historic Āryan period, was styled Kilakilās¹.

Additional sign (second line from left): denotes the participle of the substantive verb, *ire*, properly "being" or "who is" or "who are" (In Dravidian languages there is no personal pronoun).

Sign No. 6 also is a compound sign belonging to the family of) .² This sign in Proto-Chinese means "a quarter," an idea which in Dravidian languages is expressed by the word *kāl*. Another sign (is only the opposite of the preceding sign. Hence, if the former is *kāl*, the latter will be *lak*,

¹ *Matsya Purāna*, cf. Pargiter, *The Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 48.

² Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 38, suggests that this sign represents a shield.

which means "to rise." The union of these two signs, either  or  or  will naturally read *kalak*, which means, "union," "mixture," "junction," etc. This is precisely the central portion of our sign: therefore the central phonetic value of it will be *kalak*. Now in front and behind this sign there should be such phonetic complementary values, that would make the whole reading perfectly uniform, as uniform as the sign itself, viz., that read from either side, it would give the same reading. On the other hand there is also some similarity between the two sections of this sign  and the two sections of the

complementary sign . The curvature of the

end in the latter is more pronounced and the relative direction is inverted. This shows that, according to the general system of this script, there must be some similarity between the phonetic value of each section

of  and those of . Now the phonetic

value of the former is *kāl*, where the main sound is *al*.¹ This sound therefore should remain for each section

¹ Cf. Gnana Prakasar, *Root-words of the Dravidian Group of Languages*, *Anthropos*, XXX, p. 141; Gnana Prakasar, *The Law of Initial Intensive Consonants*, p. 4 (Reprint from J. C. G.).

of the latter. Moreover, since we have suppressed the *k* on account of the slight difference in shape and in direction existing between them, so on account of the same reason we must add a new sound to *al* in order to arrive at the right phonetic value of the latter. I suggest that we should suffix *u* in one case at the beginning of the whole sign, and at the the end the two vowels should be interchanged, the full reading ending by *ula*. Thus the whole sign will read : *alukalakula*.

Now *alu* is found in different Dravidian languages thus :

alu ... Ta.

alai ... Ta.

ala ... Ka.

ale ... Te.

The meaning of these words are "to tremble," "to be troubled," "to be shaken."

Ula does not seem to exist in the Dravidian languages, yet in Tuḷu there exists the word *pula* (Ta. *pulam*; Ka. *hola*, *pola*; Ma. *pula*) that means "pasturage," "grazing ground." Now the original *p* of the Tuḷu and Kannaḍa words very often drops, for instance,

<i>pū</i>	=	<i>ū</i> ,	"flower"
<i>pattu</i>	=	(<i>h</i>) <i>attu</i> ¹	"ten"
<i>pugi</i>	=	<i>ugi</i> ,	"to bury"
<i>paṇa</i>	=	(<i>h</i>) <i>aṇa</i> ,	"a small coin"
<i>pacce</i>	=	<i>acce</i> ,	"green"
<i>pari</i>	=	<i>ari</i> ,	"to flow"

¹ The aspiration that substitutes the *p* in Kannaḍa seems to be totally foreign to the Dravidian languages. Its use, therefore, is equivalent to dropping the initial consonant altogether.

<i>po_lal</i>	=	<i>o_lal</i>	"a city, a town, or country in general"
<i>peccu</i>	=	<i>eccu</i>	"to increase"
<i>peṭṭu</i>	=	<i>ettu</i>	"blow"
<i>pāle</i>	=	<i>āle</i>	"the lobe of the ear"
<i>piḍisu</i>	=	<i>iḍisu</i>	"to cause, to seize."

This is a clear argument to prove that this consonant did not form part of the original root.¹ This seems to be the case with our word *ula*. Therefore, *alukalakula* means "grazing ground of the troubled union."

Sign No. 7 found in many inscriptions reads *aṛup*, "harvest" or "crop."

Sign No. 8 (third line under No. 7) is the pictograph of a flower, and therefore reads, *alar*.

Sign No. 9 (fourth line from right) reads *ūr*, "country." The little sign √, added in the interior above, is a grammatical determinative, one of the few grammatical determinatives that appear in this very early stage in the language. It is the determinative of locative case. Therefore the whole sign would read *ūril*, "in the country."

Sign No. 10 is the same as sign No. 2 : *Bilava*.

Thus the whole inscription reads as follows :

*Mūnūr Bilava āreḷ mūn Kalakila ire
alukalakula aṛup alar ūril Bilava.*

That means :

"The Mūnūr Bilava is the Bilava in the country that has the flower of the crop of the grazing ground of the troubled union that was (caused by) the three Kalakilas in six months."

¹ Cf. Gnana Prakasar, *The Law of the Initial Intensive Consonants*, loc. cit., p. 4.

The inscription therefore shows that there was at Mūnūr a famous Bilava, perhaps a chief of the Bilavas. From an inscription of Mohenjo Daro we conclude that Mūnūr was a city of Bilavas. The inscription reads : *Mūnūr Bilava ain vēl*, i.e. : "The five tridents of the Bilavas of Mūnūr"¹. This seems to confirm our present supposition that the Bilava so prominently mentioned in this inscription, was the chief of Mūnūr. In Mūnūr there were common grazing grounds². Its crops were then in blossom. Yet this union of the country community³ was in a troubled state caused by three Kalakilas. This misunderstanding lasted six months, i.e. three quarters of a year. Perhaps the Bilava mentioned above restored peace to the community, and that could be an explanation why his name is found in this inscription connected with this social trouble.

II

The other seal is a little smaller and its inscription has two lines only, with five signs in the first line and four in the second. It runs thus :



¹ Photo, M. D., 1928-29, No. 3791.

² Common grounds are also recorded in other inscriptions. Cf. Marshall, *op. cit.*, Pl. CX, No. 311.

³ The existence of such village communities is also evident from Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, Pl. CVI, No. 72; Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, 8139.

Sign No. 1 (first line from right) : *īr*, "two."

Sign No. 2 is already known from the previous inscription : *arup*, "harvest."

Sign No. 3 represents some countries which are politically united, a thing which was very common in those ancient days. Sometimes there are two, sometimes three.¹ Some seals show an animal with three different heads, a bull, a unicorn and an ibex which seems to represent the symbol of one of such unions.² It reads *kalakūr*, "united countries."

Sign No. 4 belongs to a well-known family of signs. Let us take two of them :



ug

and



dug

By adding a stroke to *ug*, the phonetic value of the new sign has become *dug*. Similarly if we add one more stroke to *dug* sign (as in the sign under study), we shall obtain its phonetic value, by adding another sound to *dug*. I suggest that we should add *o*, thus becoming *odug*. Now this word is found only in two languages :

<i>oduku</i>	Ta.
<i>adu</i>	Tu.

¹ Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, No. 99; Pl. CVIII, No. 146; Pl. CIX, No. 205, 215, 230, 257, etc.

² Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. XIII, No. 24; III, Pl. CXII, No. 382. Cf. Photo, 1930-1, 12688.

A middle sound between these two forms would be *odug*, which is precisely the value suggested above. Now the meaning of these words are : "to keep close to," "to follow," "to pursue," "to accrue to," "to obtain," "to turn the water to a field."

Since the inscription speaks of a harvest, this latter meaning very likely will be the best.

Sign No. 5 reads *ru*, an onomatopoeic word meaning "noise." If repeated twice or thrice may mean "thunder" (rumbling)¹.

Sign No. 6 (second line from left) : *īr*, "two."

Sign No. 7 represents a leaf of the *pipal* tree, and stands for the whole tree which may be read *aramaram*.

Sign No. 8 is the suffix of possession, *adu*.

Sign No. 9 is the same as sign No. 5, though this sign in particular is roughly carved.

Consequently the inscription reads as follows :

Ir arup kalakūr odug ru
Ir aramaram adu ru

which translated into English means :

"The noise of the water turned (to water) a field of the two united countries that have a harvest (is like) the noise of the two *pipal* trees."

The inscription evidently compares the noise of the water passing through the canals on the fields with the noise of the leaves of the *pipal* tree when they are agitated by the breeze.

This inscription seems to be a couplet of a popular song. In Dravidian languages rhyme is

¹ Heras, *Light on the Mohenjo Daro Riddle*, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

found in the beginning of the verse in the second syllable and in popular songs also at the end, as in the present case.¹

III

These two inscriptions are specimens of the variety of subjects contained in the inscriptions of the Mohenjo Daro and Harappa period. The former of these two inscriptions gives us an insight into the social and economic life of those days; while the latter is a popular couplet sung very likely by those early people.

Among the signs of these inscriptions there is only one which has not been found in the inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. This sign is



which nevertheless supposes the sign)(



very often found in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions.

Two other signs are a little different from the ordinary signs of the Mohenjo Daro and Harappa vocabulary, as the following table will show:

Chāñhu Daro

Mohenjo Daro-Harappa.



¹ Other inscriptions of that type have been found among the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions. Cf. for instance, Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, Pl. CXVI, No. 16.

According to some press reports the result of the excavations conducted by the American Society have been very fruitful. It is expected that they will soon be published and the inscriptions found there will increase the amount of information we possess about the Proto-Indian nation and its wonderful civilization.

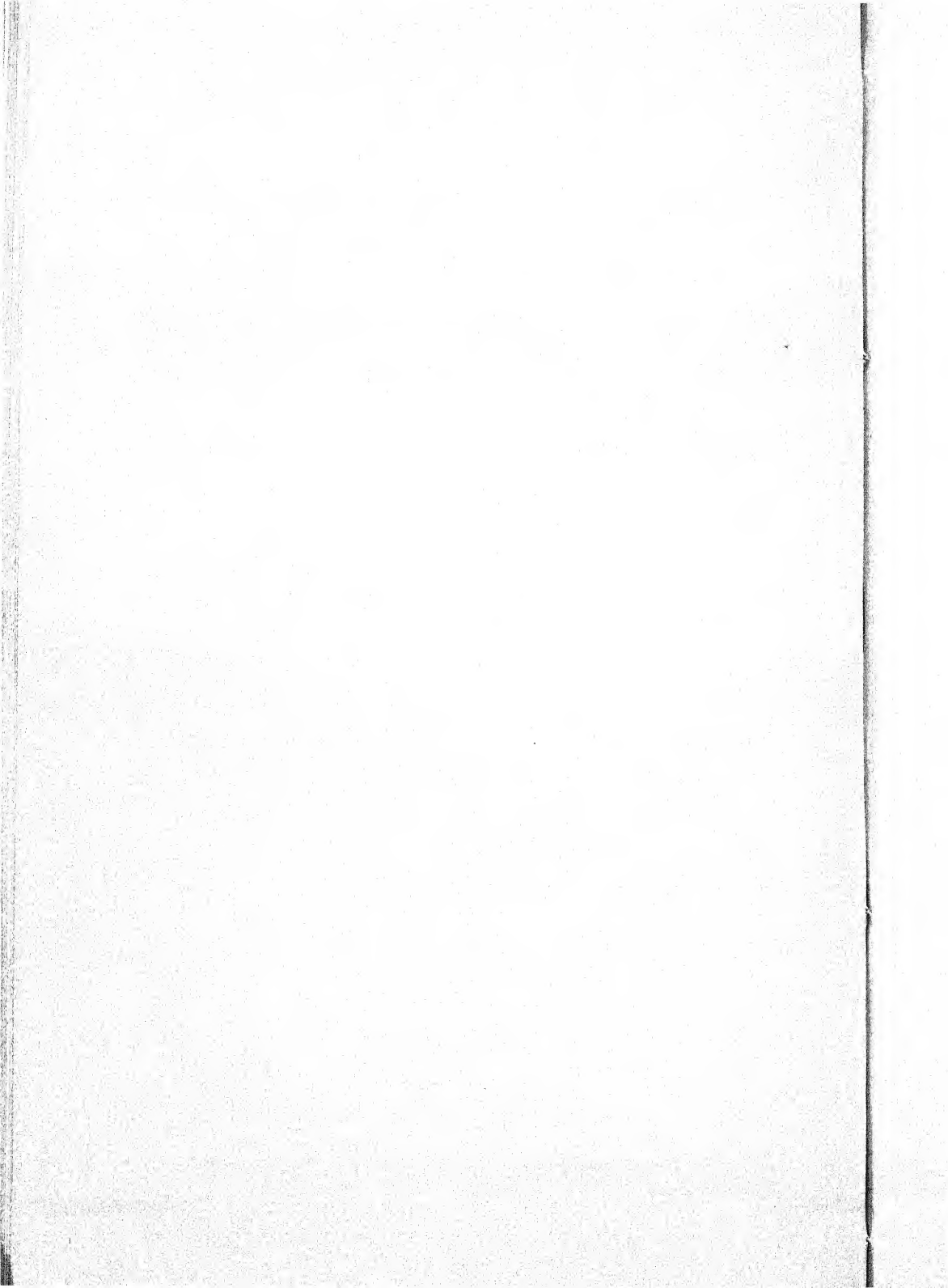
THE
RĀJANĪTĪ-RATNĀKARA

BY
CHANDĒSVARA

EDITED BY
KASHI-PRASAD JAYASWAL
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of Jesus College, Oxford; University (Davis) Chinese
Scholar, Oxford (1909); Author of Tagore Lectures
(1917) on "Development of Hindu Law in Manu
and Yājñavalkya," "Hindu Polity," etc.*

SECOND EDITION

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PATNA
1936



राजनीतिरत्नाकरः

श्रीचण्डेश्वरेण विरचितः

विद्यामहोदधिना

श्रीकाशीप्रसादजायसवालेन

संस्कृतः

विहारोद्भूत-रिसर्च-सोसाइटीति

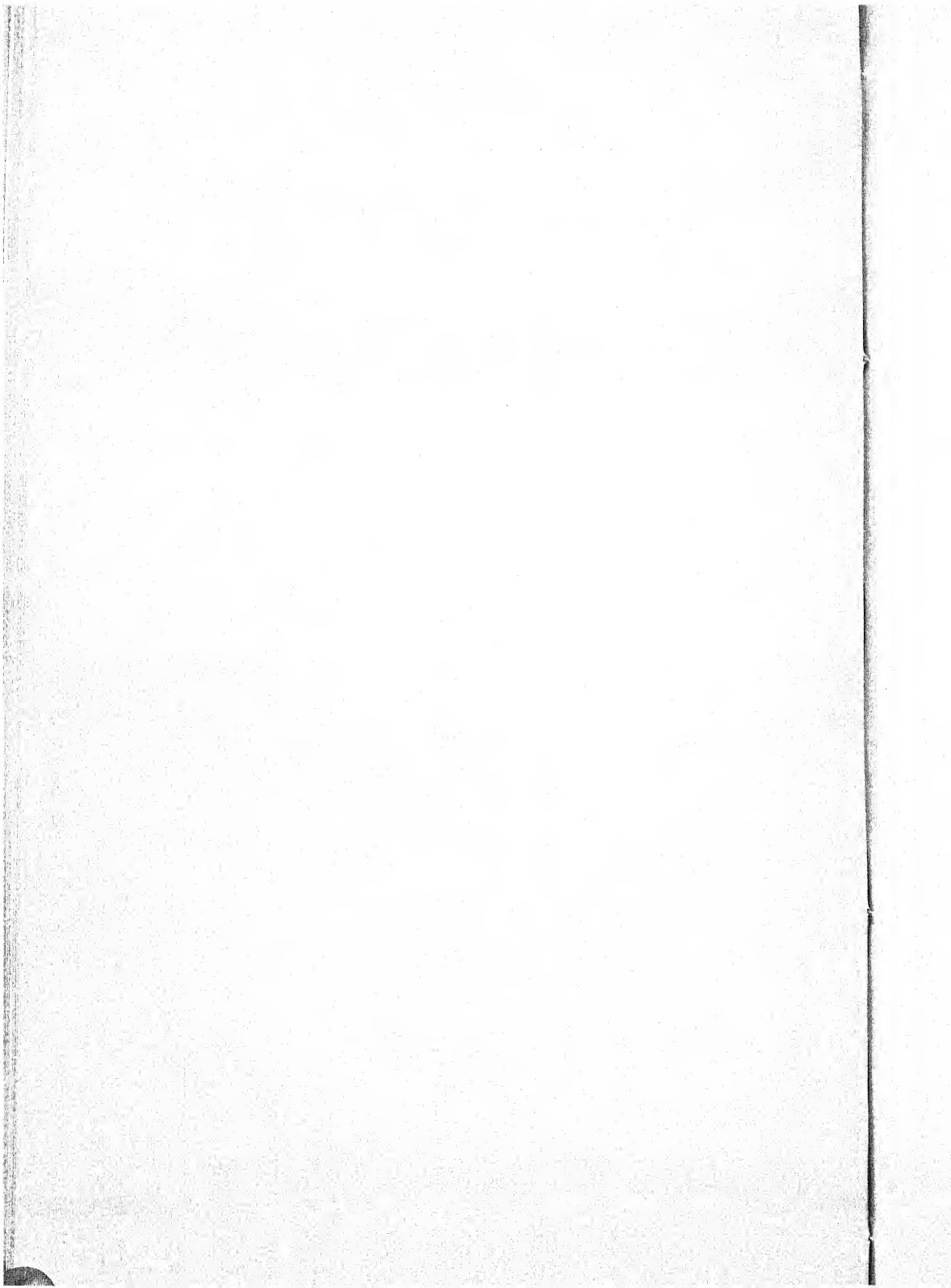
पण्डितसमित्या

प्रयागस्थ-लॉ-जर्नल-मुद्रणयन्त्रालये मुद्रापयित्वा

प्रकाशितः

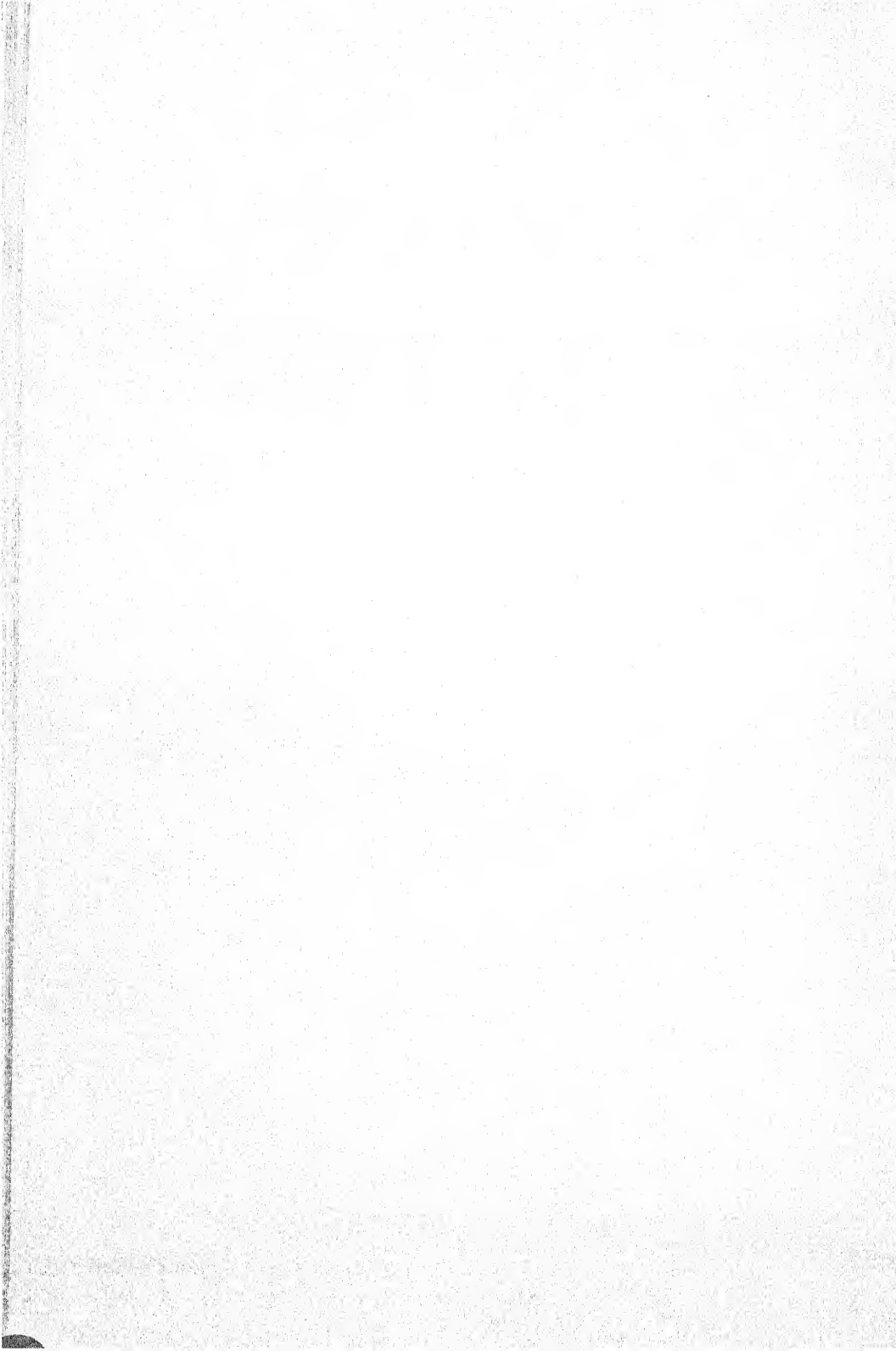
विक्रमाब्दाः १९९३

[द्वितीयं संस्करणम्]



THIS WORK IS DEDICATED
TO
SIR EDWARD ALBERT GAIT
K. C. S. I., Ph.D.

AS A TRIBUTE TO HIS SCHOLARSHIP AND IN
GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HIS
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF
INDIAN HISTORY AND
LITERATURE



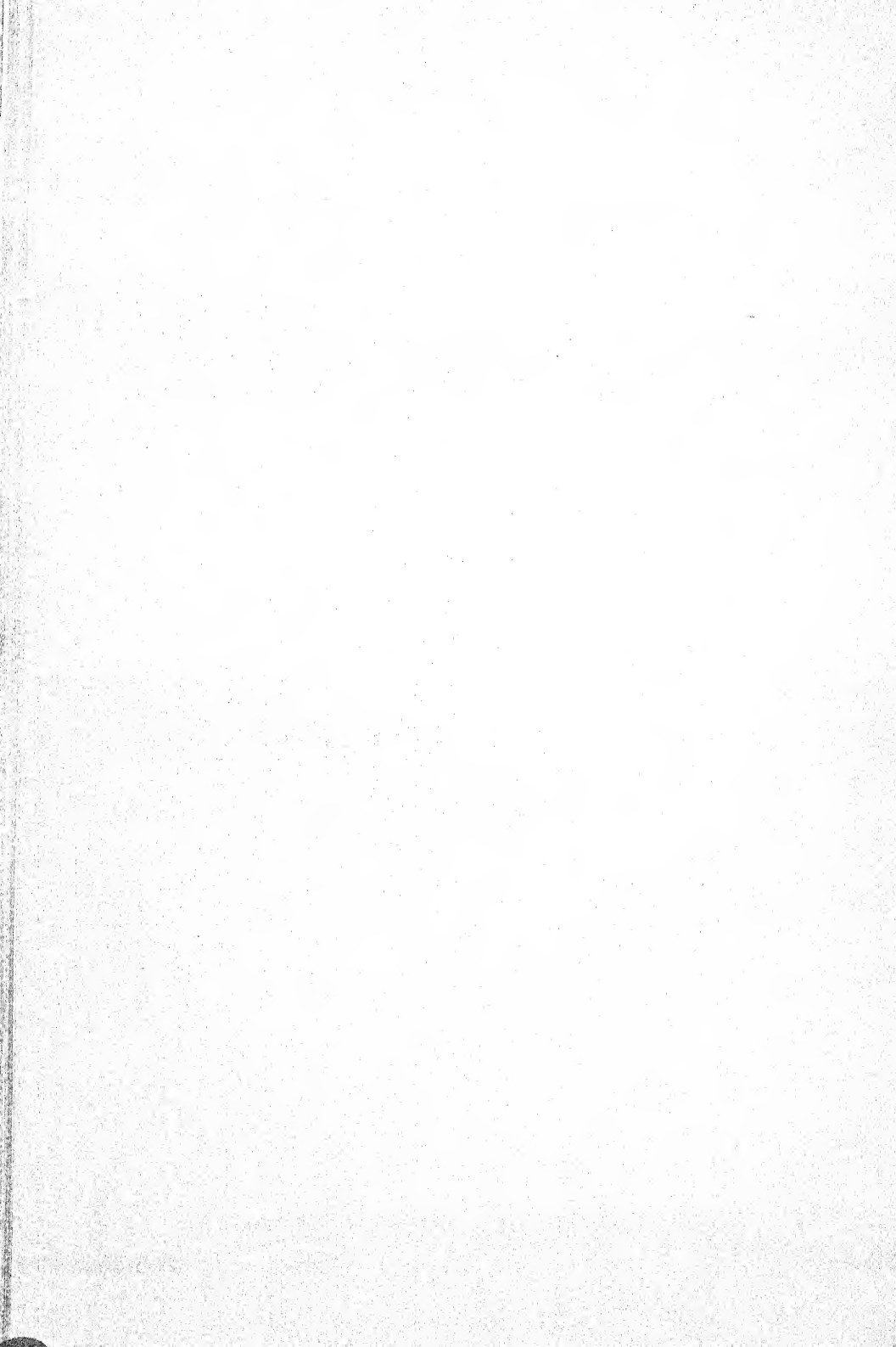
PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

Since the publication of the first edition we discovered two more manuscripts of the work, which have been utilized in the present edition. Some improved readings have been found in them. The manuscript cited as (ऋ) belongs to my friend Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā, and manuscript (ॠ) belongs to the Darbhanga Raj Library. The latter is dated Śaka 1801=1879 A. D., while Dr. Jhā's copy is undated though about fifty years older. Both are on paper.

I have added some new references and variants in the footnotes. The text has been changed in some places in view of the new readings.

14th October, 1936

K. P. J.



RĀJANĪTI-RATNĀKARA

INTRODUCTION

This book, the RĀJANĪTI-RATNĀKARA, came to light as a result of the search for Sanskrit manuscripts

Discovery of Rāja-
nīti-Ratnākara

instituted in the Province of Bihar and Orissa, by SIR EDWARD GAIT, the late Lieutenant-Governor of the Province and Founder and President of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. It was decided to commence the search in two centres—Puri and Mithilā (Darbhanga), and the work was entrusted by the Government to the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. In 1918 the search in Mithilā was undertaken, and as Honorary General Secretary to the Research Society I directed and supervised the work.

While examining the list of the manuscripts catalogued during the first few months, I noticed the title of the present book and ordered a copy of the manuscript to be made for me. It was an agreeable surprise to come across a book on Hindu Politics composed in the Middle Ages, and that by a well-known lawyer of the status of Chanḍeśvara.

It was understood that I should edit the work for the Society (*vide* the Annual Address by the President, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. V, p. 13). But when the whole text had gone through the Press, the new Exe-

cutive of the Society in 1920 decided that no funds were available for the publication. The publication had to be held back until Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan of Patna City came forward with a handsome donation which has enabled us to place the book before the public. It had been hoped to publish a series of Sanskrit texts of the Province not yet printed. Had SIR EDWARD GAIT remained in the Province longer the scheme would have matured and the hope realized.

The edition is prepared from three MSS. called by me (क), (ख), and (ग). (क)* belongs to the library of the

The Text late Pt. Bachchā Jhā who was Principal of the Sanskrit College at

Muzafferpur. (ख) is the property of Pt. Siveśvara Śarmā of village Lalaganj, in the sub-division of Madhubani, in the district of Darbhanga. The MS. called (ग) was lent by Babu Kshemadhārī Siṃha, a Brahmin Zamindar of Madhubani. None of the MSS. is fully correct. (ख) is the best of the three. They are all written on paper and belong almost to the same period, speaking roughly, the eighteenth century. None of them is dated. They are all in Maithilī script. In editing the text I have preserved faithfully the language of the MSS. except correcting the very obvious grammatical inaccuracies resulting from copyists' carelessness and ignorance. I have given variants even of the slightest importance.

It seems that Sanskrit works of authority current

* [In this edition two more copies (घ) and (ङ) have been consulted. See above].

in Mithilā had readings differing from the texts current in other parts of India in the time of Chaṇḍeśvara. This can be seen by reference to my footnotes printed under the text. In this connection I may cite here the case of the *Kāmandakīya-Nīti* in particular. For the purposes of comparison I obtained an old copy of *Kāmandaka* from Mithilā through our search Pandit Viṣṇulāl Jhā. It is dated Śaka 1476. It was copied for Gābhūru Khāṇa—son of Rāma-Khāṇa (evidently some big Zamindar) of Kāmārūpa—who was well versed in the principles of politics.¹ Quotations from *Kāmandaka* in the *Rājanīti-Ratnākara* do not always tally with the text of the edition prepared by MM. Gaṇapati Śāstrī and published by Travancore Government (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XIV, 1912), but they agree with the text as found in this Mithilā MS. of Gābhūru Khāṇa.²

The author of this book is Chaṇḍeśvara Mantrin or a Minister of State,³ “son of the Baron Śrī

¹ आसीत् श्रीरामखाणः समरभरहताशेषवैरि-प्रवीरो,
वीरः श्रीकामरूप-प्रभुरखिलमहीमण्डलव्यात-कीर्तिः ।
तस्माज्जातः पयोर्धेविधुरिव जगदानन्दनस्सुन्दर-श्रीः
श्रीमद्गाभूरुखाणः पटुरतिमुकविस्तत्त्वविज्ञीतिशास्त्रे ॥१॥
तस्य बुधस्यादेशादृतुमुनिवेदेन्दु १४७६ सुन्दरे शाके ।
कविरत्नेन सयत्नं ललिता कामन्दकी लिखिता ॥२॥

² I have referred to this MS. of the *Kāmandaka-Nīti* in my footnotes as the ‘Mithilā MS.’ It belongs to Pt. Ādyānātha Miśra of village Pāhītola, Madhubani, Darbhanga.

³ Mantrināmāryaḥ Śrīmān Chaṇḍeśvaraḥ kṛiti (p. 1), Śrī-Chaṇḍeśvara-Mantrinā (pp. 2, 77).

Vireśvara, with insignia, the Senior Minister of Peace and War.”¹ Our Chaṇḍeśvara
 The Author is the same as the author of the Dharma or Smṛiti digest called Ratnākara divided in seven sections, as the Kṛitya R., Dāna R., Vyavahāra R., Śuddhi R., Pūjā R., Vivāda R., and Gṛihastha Ratnākara. [Out of these the Vivāda Ratnākara has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.² It deals with law and has been the ruling authority in the Mithilā School of Hindu Law for the past six centuries]. The colophons to the Dāna Ratnākara,³ the Vyavahāra Ratnākara,⁴ the Kṛitya Ratnākara,⁵ and MSS. of the Vivāda Ratnākara,⁶ which give the father’s name, are identical with the colophon in our Rājanīti-Ratnākara in respect of the parentage of the author as given above. Chaṇḍeśvara’s description by the general word Mantrin in our book finds its correspondence in identical or equivalent terms in his Dharma Ratnākara.⁷ Chaṇḍeśvara, the famous lawyer of Mithilā, thus is the author of our Rājanīti-Ratnākara.

¹ इति सप्रक्रियमहासान्धिविप्रहिकठकुरश्रीवीरेद्वरात्मजश्रीचण्डेश्वरविरचिते... p. 77 (colophon to our Rāj.-R.).

² *Bib. Indica*, 1887, ed. by Dinanātha Vidyālaṅkāra.

³ Rajendralala Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VI, p. 134.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66, Vol. V, p. 243.

⁵ *India Office Cat.* (No. 1387).

⁶ B. & O. Research Society Cat. No. 2290. The printed edition (*Bib. Ind.*, p. 671) has the addition of *Mantri-vara* after *Thakkura*. The India Office MS. has समस्तप्रक्रियाविराजमान instead of सप्रक्रिया (I. O. 1390).

⁷ श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणां, *Vivāda R.*, p. 1; *Kṛitya R.*, I. O. 1387, *Dāna R.*, I. O. 1388, मिथिलाधिप-मन्त्रीन्द्र-श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा *Śuddhi R.*, I. O. 1389.

Chandēśvara started his political and literary career under the last king of the Kārṇāṭa Dynasty of Mithilā. The last king of that dynasty who ruled over the kingdom of Mithilā founded by Nānyadeva,¹ was Hari Simha Deva (mis-spelt at times as Hara°).²

He retired before the Imperial forces of Delhi under Ghiyasuddin Tughlak in the winter of 1324.³ From his highly fortified Capital of Simraongarh in the Nepal Terai,⁴ the king went into Nepal and established

¹ The history of this dynasty has been discussed by me in J. B. O. R. S. (*see* IX, 300; X, 37 *et seq.*).

² *Hari°* is the form given by Vidyāpati in his *Purusha-Parīkshā*, II. Subuddhikathā, आसीन्मिथिलायां कार्णाट-कुलसम्भवो हरिसिंह-देवो नाम राजा, तस्य सांख्य-सिद्धान्तपारगामी-दण्डनीतिकुशलो गणेश्वर-नामधेयो मन्त्री बभूव, तस्य नानाविधां सुबुद्धितां श्रुत्वा देवगिरौ वाम (read राम)-देवो नाम राजा ed. by Chandā Jhā, Ś. 1810, Darbhanga, p. 67. The same form appears in a Nepal inscription (*I. A.*, 1880, p. 89) and chronicles (*I. A.*, 1884, 414), and also in the living chronicles of Mithilā (which I have verified myself). The only book of Chandēśvara which gives the name of the king is the *Kṛitya Ratnākara* which has been noticed only in the *India Office Cat.* (No. 1387) and the name there is mis-spelt as *Hara°*. The copy noticed in the *Cat.* was not ancient. The Research Society notice had an imperfect MS.

³ The exact date according to a chronogram of Mithilā was Pausa Ś. 10, Tuesday, 1245 Ś. (Chandā Jhā, p. 69, *n.*), the 25th December 1324, which agrees with the date in Persian histories for the presence of the Emperor in Tīrhut. See J. B. O. R. S., 1924-25, 'Contributions to the history of Mithilā.' Lévi, *Nepal*, II, 224, gives the Nepal datum but did not take note of Chandā Jhā's *kshiti-sānu*=Tuesday. The Pāñjis of Mithilā alternate between Pausa Ś. 10th and 9th. Lévi's datum has 9th. Both *tithis* in fact fall on Tuesday (Swamikannu Pillai).

⁴ The remains of Simraongarh are in Nepal territory adjoining the British pergunah of Simraon in the district of Champaran.

himself there.¹ The Mithilā chronicles give him a reign of 20 years.² He had thus come to the throne about 1304 A. C. Under this king, as Chaṇḍeśvara informs us by his introduction to the Kṛitya Ratnākara, the grandfather of Chaṇḍeśvara, Devāditya, served as the Minister of Peace and War (सन्धि-विग्रह-धरा-पात्र).³ Chaṇḍeśvara's father Vīreśvara also succeeded to that post, and so did the author himself when the first Ratnākara, *i.e.*, the Kṛitya Ratnākara, was composed. Evidently the post had been hereditary. Chaṇḍeśvara succeeded to this post probably about 1310, as in 1236 Śaka or 1314 of the Christian Era he, having completed a successful expedition into Nepal, made the gift of a *Tulādāna*, *i.e.*, his weight in precious metals, on the bank of the river Vāgmatī. This datum is given by Chaṇḍeśvara in his second Ratnākara (the Dāna R.)⁴ and also in two later works.⁵ It does not occur in the long introduction to the Kṛitya Ratnākara. Evidently the remaining six Ratnākaras were

¹ I. A. 1884, p. 414.

² Mitra, VII, 135.

³ Read ° बुरापात्रे Devāditya, in a book composed by his third son Gaṇeśvara copied in Lakshmaṇa-sena Era 224 (1343 A. C.) in Nepal by a Maithila resident there, is described as Senior Minister of Peace and War, with all the insignia, सप्रक्रियमहा-सान्धि-वि०ठक्कुरदेवादित्यमहामत्त... (महामत्त = Mahā-Mātra or mahā-mahattaka) Haraprasad Shastri, *Nepal Cat.* I., 132.

⁴ Mitra, VI, 134.

⁵ *Vivāda R.*, pp. 1 & 670, and Kṛitya Chintāmaṇi, R. S. Cat. No. 1807, I. O. Cat. No. 1621. The latter book is expressly stated to have been composed after the seven Ratnākaras, and, as I shall presently show, probably after the death of King Hari-Simha Deva.

composed after that date, and indeed it is expressly stated that the Dharma digest was compiled in seven sections by that "giver of the man's weight gift." Chandeśvara's father, a cultured man and an author of repute, was alive at the time of the composition of the Kṛitya Ratnākara (*sphurati*), but his grandfather Devāditya was dead (*āsīt*). At the time of the composition of the third section (Vyavahāra Ratnākara) of his Dharma Nibandha or Digest, Chandeśvara united in himself the office of the Chief Justice, Prādvivāka, of Mithilā and "the important charge of Peace and War."¹ The last but one section, Vivāda R., describes him as a clever judge and as a great minister विचारचतुरो मन्त्रीन्द्रचण्डेश्वरः implying that the work was completed in the reign of Hari-Siṃha. In the Gṛihastha Ratnākara there is no definite datum to denote that the book was written in the lifetime of Hari-Siṃha Deva.

A synchronism is given by the famous Vidyāpati who, according to the Mithilā genealogies, was a descendant in the third generation from Chandeśvara's uncle Dhīreśvara. Vidyāpati flourished within seventy years or so from Hari-Siṃha Deva's time and would have heard from contemporaries many facts of recent history which he has given here and there in his Puruṣa-Parikshā. He makes King Hari-Siṃha Deva of Mithilā a contemporary of the Yādava King Rāma

¹ निर्णाय व्यवहार-सागमद्वयः यः प्राड्विवाकः स्फुरन्.... विचारचारु-
धिषणो धम्मं नयत्युन्नतिम् । तेनायं गुरु-सन्धिविग्रह(धु)रां धौरेयसन्नीतिना ।
श्रीचण्डेश्वर-मन्त्रिणा विरचितः प्राज्ञेषु रत्नाकरः । Mitra, VI, 66.

Deva¹ of Devagiri. The two kings were on terms of correspondence. Rāma Deva, like Hari-Siṃha, was one of the few remaining Hindu sovereigns and was the patron of a Hindu Digest writer—Hemādri, his talented minister. In 1309, he was still alive when Malik Kāfūr invaded his kingdom of Devagiri. He died the next year.² His contemporary Hari-Siṃha Deva would thus have come to the throne of Mithilā before 1310.³

The members of the family of Chaṇḍeśvara held high posts. We have already noticed the official position of his father and grandfather. One of his uncles Gaṇeśvara was the Mantrin and M a h ā m a h a t t a k a of Hari-Siṃha Deva and a verse in the introduction to his *Sugati-Sopāna* (R. S. Cat. No. 1868)⁴ shows that he presided over the council of the feudatory rulers of Mithilā⁵ and was the chief of feudatories with the high sounding title of Mahārājādhirāja which is repeated in the colophon to the Nepal copy of the year 1343,

¹ Mis-spelt in printed books as *Vāmadeva*, owing to the same letter standing both for R and V in the popular script of Mithilā which is prone to omit the distinguishing dot—see above, p. 13, n. 2.

² Briggs, *Ferishta*, 371, 373.

³ Hari-Siṃha's Chief Minister Gaṇeśvara, uncle of Chaṇḍeśvara, wrote a book 'Sugati-sopāna' which was copied in Nepal in 1343. The writer and his master must thus flourish before 1343—see above, p. 13, n. 3.

⁴ See n.3 below, p. 17.

⁵ A Council of Elders is known in the constitution of Mithilā under this dynasty. See O'Malley, *Gazetteer of Darbhanga*, p. 16: "On the death of Rām Singh Deva, his son, Sakti Singh, ascended the throne, but his despotism appears to have offended the nobles, and one of his Ministers established a council of seven elders as a check upon the autocratic power of the king."

and in the books of Gaṇeśvara's son Rāmadatta.¹ It seems to me that these Minister-*Thakkuras* were feudal barons. That position enabled them to make princely gifts and construct monuments and palaces for which Devāditya, Vireśvara and Chaṇḍeśvara are noted in literature.² That position would also justify the high titles given to these *Thakkuras* in their books. *Thakkura* ("baron") itself is significant. Devāditya, Gaṇeśvara and Chaṇḍeśvara are recorded to have fought successfully against 'Hambīra,' 'the Suratrāṇa of Gauḍa,' and 'the *Mlechchhas*,' i.e., against the Muhammadan Sultans of Gauḍa (Bengal). They gave lands to Srotriya Brahmins at (Sīma)Rāmpura; a palace built by Vireśvara was named "the Ladder to Heaven" 'owing to its height.'³ The brother of Devāditya

¹ H. P. Shastri, *Nepal Cat.* I, 136. Rāmadatta's छान्दोग्यमन्त्रोद्धार in its introduction gives the first verse: "महाराजाधिराजस्य महासामन्तपालिनो महामहत्तकेशस्य श्रीगणेश्वरसूनुना". The title "The chief (or Protector) of the great *sāmantas* (feudal rulers)" (पण्डित-महामहत्तक-महासामन्ताधिपति-श्रीगणेश्वरविरचितं) occurs also in the colophon to the *Gaṅgā-pattalaka* by Gaṇeśvara. *R. S. Cat.* 1923-24.

² For the liberality of Devāditya, Vireśvara and Chaṇḍeśvara, see *Kṛitya R.*, *Kṛitya Chintāmaṇi* and *Purusha-Parīkshā* (I, VIII, p. 49); for the political position, see the *Sugati-Sopāna*, and the *Purusha-Parīkshā* (p. 67) where Gaṇeśvara is described as an adept in politics (*daṇḍanīti-kusalaḥ*) whose fame had reached Devāgiri.

³ For buildings, see *Kṛitya R.* For Devāditya's bravery against *Hambīra* (दृप्यत्सेनापतीनामपथगतिमतां बुद्धिसिंधोरगस्त्यो हम्बीरध्वान्त-भानः), see Chandā Jhā's quotation from the introduction of the *Kṛitya-chintāmaṇi*, PP., p. 53. Gaṇeśvara's *Sugati-Sopāna* in its introduction has:—

अभूदेवादित्यः सचिवतिलको मैथिलपते-
निजप्रज्ञाज्योतिर्दलितरिपुचक्रान्वतमसः ।

called Bhavāditya was a courtier or an aide-de-camp (Rājavallabha) very likely to Hari-Simha's predecessor; brothers and half-brothers of Vireśvara held high offices under Hari-Simha. Jaṭeśvara was the keeper of the Treasury, Haradatta was in charge of the transfer department, Lakshmidatta was the keeper of the seal

समन्तादश्रान्तोल्लसितमुहूर्दकौपलमणौ
समुद्भूते यस्मिन् द्विजकुलसरोजैर्विकसितम् ॥१॥
अस्मान्महादानतडाग-याग-भूदानदेवालयपूतविश्वः ।
वीरेश्वराज्जायत मन्त्रिराजः क्षमापालचूडामणिचुम्बिताङ्गिः ॥२॥
लसन्महीपालकिरीटरत्नरोचिच्छटारञ्जितपादपद्मः ।
अस्यानुजन्मा गुणगौरवेण गणेश्वरो मन्त्रिमणिश्चास्ति ॥३॥

संशोषयन्ननिशमैर्व (मौर्व?) निभप्रतापै
गौडावनीपरिवृढं सुरतानसिन्धुम् ।
धर्मावलम्बनकरः करुणाद्रचेता
यस्तीरभुक्तिमनुलामतुलं प्रशास्ति ॥४॥

श्रीमानेष महामहत्तकमहाराजाधिराजो महा-
सामन्ताधिपतिर्विकस्वरयशः पुष्पस्य जन्मद्रुमः ।
चक्रे मैथिलभूमिनाथपतिभिः सप्ताङ्गराज्यस्थिति (म्)
प्रौढानेकवशंवदैकहृदयो दोःस्तम्भसम्भावितः ॥५॥

सच्चित्तवित्तनिकराहरणप्रवीणः
शिष्या इवेह विलसन्ति गुणा यदीयाः ।
खौआलवंशतिलकं भवशर्मसंज्ञं
प्रज्ञाविनिजितमुरारिपदं नियुज्य ॥६॥

वेदस्मृतिपुराणादि दृष्ट्वा लोकहितैषिणा ।
कृतं सुगतिसोपानं श्रीगणेश्वरमन्त्रिणा ॥७॥

The Dāna R. verse describing that the country sinking in the ocean of the Mlechchhas was easily rescued by Chaṇḍeśvara (मग्ना म्लेच्छमहार्णवे वसुमती येनोद्धृता लीलया—Mitra, VI, 134), has to be dated about 1314, the date given for the first time in that Section. The verse is not repeated, Chaṇḍeśvara made large gifts after the victory over 'the country's enemies' (विध्वस्तावनिवैरिणा) and composed the Dāna R. The reference is to the defeat of the Bengal Sultan, probably the same for which credit is given to Gaṇeśvara. It cannot refer to a victory against the Delhi Sultans who were never dislodged after Ghiyasuddin. His son Muhammad issued coins from Tirhut (J. A. S. B., 1915, 412).

and Subhadatta a *rājavallabha*. The origin of the family was Gaṛh Bisphī (in the Darbhanga district),¹ and the home of Chaṇḍeśvara probably was in the Sub-division of Madhubani wherein at the village of Haraḍī the *Siva-linga* established by him after his name is still in existence. The descendants of his uncle, according to the genealogies, are living at Saurāṭh in that Sub-division.

The family of Chaṇḍeśvara is noted in Mithilā for culture in sacred literature. His father Vireśvara composed a *Paddhati* or manual of rituals for the Chhāndogya school.² Vireśvara's third younger brother Gaṇeśvara has left his (*Vājasaneyī*) *Abnikoddhāra* (R. S. Cat. 1923), *Chhāndogya-strī-karṭṭika-Srāddha-paddhati* (ibid.), *Gaṅgābhakti-taraṅgiṇī* (ibid.) and *Gaṅgā-pattalaka* along with his *Sugati-sopāna*. The last book deals with gifts; in compiling it he had a literary assistant Bhava Śarmā Khauāla. In the colophon to the first book given above he is called a *Mahāmahopādhyāya*. The second brother Dhīreśvara has the title of *Mahāvārttika-naibandhika* in the *Pañji*, but no work of his has yet been found. Gaṇeśvara's son Ṭhakkura Rāmadatta

¹ गढ़ विसपी सँवीजी विष्णुशर्मा, विष्णुशर्मसुतो हरादित्यः, हरादित्यसुतः कर्मादित्यः, कर्मादित्यसुतो सान्धिविग्रहिक-देवादित्य-राजवल्लभभवादित्यौ देवादित्यसुताः पाण्डागारिक वीरेश्वर-वार्तिकनैबन्धिक-धीरेश्वर-महामहत्तकगणेश्वर-भाण्डागारिक जटेश्वर-स्थानान्तरिक हरदत्त मुद्राहस्तक लक्ष्मीदत्त राजवल्लभ शुभदत्ताः भिन्नमात्रिकाः । —Pañji of Hari-Nandan Jhā, Pañjikār of village Andhrāthāhī, Darbhanga; see also Chandā Jhā, p. 264.

² R. S. Cat., No. 1492. देवादित्यकुले जातः स्यात्स्वैलोक्यसंसदि । पद्धतिं विदधे धीमान् श्रीमान्वीरेश्वरः स्वयम् ॥ He is described in the colophon as *Mahāvārttika* and *Naibandhika*, a commentator and a digest-writer.

rose to be a Minister while his father was holding the post of the *Mahāmahattaka*, a title borne by Chandēśvara also according to the Pañji,¹ which was probably equivalent to that of Prime Minister. Rāmadatta wrote the *Vājasaneyī Vivāhādī-paddhati* (*Daśa-karma*) which is the ruling canon in Mithilā up to this date.² Another work of Rāmadatta *Shoḍaśa-Mahādāna-paddhati* on great gifts has also come down.³ This book was produced with the help of the same Bhava Śarmā who helped his father in the compilation of the *Sugati-sopāna*. Rāmadatta became the *Mahāmahattaka* under Nṛsiṃha of the Kārṇāṭaka family, king of Mithilā. This king is not recognised by the Mithilā chronicle which closes the Kārṇāṭa dynasty, quite correctly, with the flight of Hari-Siṃha Deva into Nepal. Evidently, Nṛsiṃha, who should be called Nṛsiṃha II to distinguish him from Nṛsiṃha I, the third successor of Nānyadeva, was a descendant and local successor of Hari-Siṃha under the Delhi Emperor,⁴ for Vidyāpati, spelling the name as *Narasimha*, mentions him as fighting a battle for Muhammad (Tughlak) king of Hastināpura.⁵ Rāmadatta was the *Mahāmahattaka* of Nṛsiṃha II, and bears the same feudal titles as his father is given in the introductory verses of the *Sugati-sopāna* quoted above.

¹ Chandā Jhā, 264. He is popularly called today Chandēśvara Mahathā.

² R. S. Cat. 1923; *Sanskrit Coll. Cat.* II, 306.

³ I. O. Cat. No. 1714.

⁴ Cf. J. A. S. B., 1915, p. 412-413, where Mr. M. Chakravarti confounds him with Nṛsiṃha I.

⁵ P. P., I. 4, p. 27; J. A. S. B., 1915, 412.

Chañḍeśvara himself is described in his Gṛīhastha Ratnākara to have studied the Vedic lore with its *Āṅgas* in his student days, his special claim to a knowledge of Mīmāṃsā is found in most of his works. In addition to the works mentioned above his *Dānavākyaṇvalī* and *Śiva-vākyaṇvalī* are also known.¹

The family was given to orthodox learning, and the greatest in scholarship was Chañḍeśvara. His style is pointed and not pedantic; he does not ramble about like other digest-writers, and in his remarks both on law and Rājanīti he has his eye on the changing times. But it seems that much of his work is based on the labour of earlier authors whom he expressly designates in the beginning or the end of his works as his sources. This borrowing exceeds the proper bounds in one case which I have verified. From Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭa's *Kalpataṛu* on *Vyavahāra*, Chañḍeśvara borrows into his *Vivāda Ratnākara* practically the whole book.

From the introduction to the Kṛitya-chintāmaṇi it appears that Hari-Siṃha Deva was dead, when our author prepared that work.

यद्भूरियज्ञैः सन्तुष्टः स्वर्गलोके हरिरपि महिता येन जीवेश्वराद्याः

Hari in the *Svargaloka* was pleased with the *Yajñas* of Chañḍeśvara, and (the authors) Jīveśvara and others were honoured. No mention of any living king is made and glories described there seem to be past history. The enumeration of the Kirātas, Chīnas, etc.,²

¹ J. A. S. B., 1915, 384.

² The Ślokas noticed in I. O. Cat. No. 1621 are corrupt. Similarly, those in the notice of the Research Society (Darbhanga

amongst his conquests points to the second expedition into Nepal, *i.e.*, after the flight of 1324. Hari-Siṃha after a reign of eight years was succeeded in Nepal by his son.¹

Our Rājanīti-Ratnākara does not form part of the Dharmanibandha Ratnākara, for the latter was closed with its seventh section.

The Book

In commenting on *Sabbā* the writer of our book (p. 8) says that the matter has been already dealt with in the Dharma-Digest, meaning his own Digest. The Rājanīti-R. thus came last. When the Nibandha was undertaken the author had no idea

Rāj Library) are not very correct either. The two combined give us a better result than the *I. O.* datum. The historical passages have the following reading in the *Research Society Catalogue*:

- (a) नेपालखिलभूमिपालजयिना... दुग्धाब्धिना
 (b) रंगा: (वंगा:) सञ्जातभङ्गा: चकितकरिघटा: कामरूपा विरूपा:
 चीना: कुञ्जादिलीना: प्रमुदितविलसत्किरा: (किं)किराता:।
 नेपाला भूमिपाला भुजबलदलितास्ते च नाटाश्च नाटा:
 कार्णाटा: के न दृष्टा: प्रसरति समरे मन्त्रिरत्नाकरस्य ॥

The Vaṅgas were the Gauḍas under the Sultans of Bengal. The Nāṭas are placed by Manu along with the N(L)ichchhavis (X, 22). The Chīnas would be some neighbours of Nepal, so were the Kirātas. The *Chīnas* here are identical with the *Shīns* of Gilgit (Grierson, *L. S. I.*, IX, 4, p. 5n.)

¹ The Nepal chronicles give 28 years' reign to Hari-Siṃha against 20 years in the Mithilā chronicles (*I. A.*, 1884, 414). At the same time a Buddhist chronicle of Nepal says that in 448, Nepal Sam=1328, Āditya-Sena (Khāsiyā) entered Nepal. But we know that Hari-Siṃha's descendants Mati-Siṃha, Śakti-Siṃha and Śyāma-Siṃha did rule in some part of Nepal (Lévi, *Nepal*, II, 226-30), and were recognised as the Kings of Nepal by the Emperors of China. [Probably this 'Harisimha' of Nepal chronicles was a khāsiyā. 'Mathisingha-khasiyā' minted clay coins—JBORS, XXII, 257. Hari-Siṃha Deva was driven out of Nepal by the army on account of his having taken temple property—JBORS, XXII, 913].

to give a section on Rājadharmā although his predecessors had set precedents. The author Gopāla who as Chaṇḍeśvara tells us in his Vyavahāra R.¹ composed a Digest called Kāmādhenu, had also a Rājanīti-Kāmādhenu which has been quoted by Chaṇḍeśvara in our present work. So had the author of the Kalpataru, Lakshmīdhara Bhaṭṭa, the Minister of War and Peace of King Govindchandra—a Rājadharmā section of his Kalpataru² which has been largely cited by Chaṇḍeśvara in the Rājanīti-R.

Chaṇḍeśvara says that he was ordered by King Bhavēśa to compose this work (p. 1). Now the question arises : who was this King Bhavēśa? He could not be a predecessor of Hari-Siṃha for Hari-Siṃha himself had seen two previous generations of the author. After Hari-Siṃha a new dynasty was set up by the Delhi Emperor—the Dynasty of Kāmeśvara (Sugaunā). Kāmeśa or Kāmeśvara was the Rājaguru or Spiritual Master of the ex-sovereigns of Mithilā. The first king of this dynasty was the younger brother of Kāmeśa; he is called Bhavēśa or Bhava-Siṃha in MSS. After 1370 he seems to have become king.³ Chaṇḍeśvara would have been about 85 in the

¹ गोपालस्य च कामधेनु-रमणं, Mitra, VI, 66.

² I. O. Cat. 1386, III, p. 410.

Vāchaspati Miśra who composed Vivāda-chintāmaṇi after Chaṇḍeśvara's *Viv. Ratnākara*, also composed a work on Rājadharmā. R. S. Cat. 1923.

³ J. B. A. S., XI, 1915, pp. 416-417. The form *Bhavēśa* occurs in Vāchaspati's *Mahādāna-nirṇaya*, J. A. S. B., 1903, p. 31, and in Miśra's *Lévi, Nepal*, II, 222, confuses his son Harasiṃha Deva with Hara(i)siṃha Deva of the Kārṇāṭa dynasty; a similar confusion is also made by Aufrecht, C. C., Vol. I, p. 177.

reign of Bhavēśa. Evidently he enjoyed a long life like his grandfather Devāditya. This record for old age and mental vigour at that age is repeated in his family by Vidyāpati who lived under several successive sovereigns of the Dynasty of Bhavēśa.

The earlier constitutional tradition of Mithilā was that the king was under a Council of Elders. This

Its value Council was either for the first time introduced or came in power in the reign of Śakti-siṃha,¹ Hari-siṃha's predecessor or a generation earlier.² The existence of such a Council—a Feudal Baronial Council—is indeed indicated, as pointed out above, by the introduction to the *Sugati-sopāna*. But when Chaṇḍēśvara wrote the Rājanīti-Rātnākara things were changed. Nowhere he mentions such a Council. He contemplates a Hindu king under and dependant on an emperor as he found his own master Bhavēśa (सम्राजे करदो यः सकरः . . . लोके तु राजेति सकरः, p. 4). According to him sovereign may be of any caste. Caste in politics had become bankrupt in fact. Chaṇḍēśvara was quick to change and he differed from the theory of the Dharma-śāstra writers (p. 2). Sacrament of coronation was not essential for

¹ See p. 16, n. 5 above.

² The inscriptions of Nepal mention one more King (Bhūpāla-siṃha) between Śakti-siṃha and Hari-siṃha, while the Mithilā tradition ignores him except for what we may infer from this *Pañji* verse:—

शास्ता नान्यपतिर्वभूव तदनु श्रीगाङ्गदेवो नृप-
स्तत्सूनुरसिहदेवनृपतिः श्रीरामसिहस्ततः ।
तत्सूनुः खलु शक्र (—शक्ति) सिंहविजयी भूपालवन्द्यस्ततः
यत्र श्रीहरिसिहदेवनृपतिः कार्णाटचूडामणिः ।

kingship. This was quite in conformity with hard facts and new facts. The Delhi emperors had been on the throne, even over Hindu kings, without any Vedic consecration. They had got established and there was no hope of a Hindu restoration. Theories must change with facts, and Chaṇḍeśvara, an old statesman, realised that the Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas had ceased to rule. He laid down the definition—one who protects is the king; and rejected the authority of Gopāla (in the Rājanīti-Kāmadhenu) and others emphasising consecration. He, citing Bṛhaspati, coolly pointed out to a conqueror and said that the consecration theory fails (p. 3). His views on general subjects are, of course, traditional, and they are very valuable as such. For instance, on succession to a kingdom he writes that the ordinary rule of division and succession cannot apply to a kingdom, for the royal property is owned by the whole people—they all have a share in it (the poor, orphans, etc.), that leadership, if divided, would destroy the state (p. 72). In connection with coronation (ch. 16) Chaṇḍeśvara quotes a text (p. 74) where Prajā or the subjects are described as Vishṇu. This divine position of the subject as against the king is in consonance with the early theory of Hindu politics. In the Śānti-parvan (ch. 59, ver. 106), the coronation oath lays down that the country is god and that the king in protecting it will consider it as such:—

‘प्रतिज्ञां चाभिरोहस्व मनसा कर्मणा गिरा ।

पालयिष्याम्यहं भौमं ब्रह्म इत्येव चासकृत्’ ॥

[Mount on the *Pratijñā* (take the oath) mentally, physically and verbally (without any mental reservation)]

—‘I will see to the growth of the country considering it always as God (Brahman).’

Chanḍeśvara’s text ‘अद्यारभ्य न मे राज्यं राजायं रक्षतु प्रजाः । इति सर्वं प्रजाविष्णुं साक्षिणं श्रावयेन्महुः’ becomes intelligible when read with the coronation oath of the Mahābhārata.

The Rājanīti-Ratnākara has got sixteen chapters: (1) Kingship, (2) Ministers, (3) Minister of Religion, (4) Lord Chief Justice, (5) Councillors, (6) Forts, (7) Discussion of Policy, (8) Treasury, (9) Army, (10) Leadership of the Army, (11) Ambassadors, (12) Administration, (13) Executive Authority and Punishment, (14) Abdication and Appointment, (15) Appointment of a new King by the Minister of Religion and other Ministers, and (16) Coronation.¹

The chief value of the Rājanīti-Ratnākara lies in the fact that it introduces us to a new branch of literature and it is the oldest work of that branch yet published. Politics, as a separate study, is traced back in India to the seventh century B. C. It is known to the Jātakas, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Gṛihya Sūtra.² It was then called by two names, Artha-Śāstra and Daṇḍa-nīti. Artha-Śāstra or the Code of Artha is explained by Kautilya as the Śāstra dealing with the means of acquiring and developing Artha, which is “territory with human population.” Daṇḍa-nīti means ‘the Principle of Government.’ The Artha-Śāstra is a branch of the

¹ Cf. the chapters of the Rājadharmā section of the Kalpataru—I. O. 1386, III, p. 410.

² Jāt, II, 30, 74; Āśvalāyana, III, 12, 16; Āpas. Dh. S., II, 5, 10, 14. In Aśoka’s inscriptions Utthāna, a technical term of Hindu Politics, occurs. In Khāravēla’s inscription we have the well-known technical terms ‘daṇḍa-sandhi-sāma’ (line 10, revised reading by Mr. R. D. Banerji and myself). E I, XX, 79.

literature called Itihāsa, according to Kauṭilya; Itihāsa included Purāṇa or ancient history (with probably cosmology), Itivṛitti or recent history (?), Ākhyāyikā or traditional stories of individuals (probably in dialogues), U d ā h a r a ṇ a or examples (?), Dharma-Sāstra or Law, Artha-Sāstra or Politics.¹ Itihāsa was considered as one of the Vedas in the time of Kauṭilya² and earlier (Chhāndogya Upanishad). Lakshmīdhara, the foreign minister of King Govinda-deva of Benares, calls Artha-Sāstra, the sixth Veda. In other words, political science, included as it was in Itihāsa, was part of recognised orthodox literature claiming antiquity and respect. About thirty ancient authors are cited in the Artha-Sāstra of Kauṭilya, the Mahābhārata, the Āśvalāyana Gṛihya-sūtra and the Kāmandakiya-nīti-sāra. Some more authorities are found in a commentary on Soma Deva's Nītivākyāmṛita published last year.³ The subject was a popular one and had a succession of masters. In the period from early Christian centuries, down to the fifth or sixth, it seems, some important books, e.g., Kāmandakiya and Nāradiya, were composed. After that there appears to be a cessation in the composition of new books for about five centuries. On the analogy of what happened in the literature of Hindu Law, to which Hindu politics is closely allied, this was probably a

¹ पुराणमिति वृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतिहासः, I, 6.

² सामग्यं जुर्वेदास्त्रयी । अथर्ववेदेतिहासवेदौ च वेदाः । I, 3.

³ By Pandit Nāthū Rāma Premī, Bombay, in the *Mānikchandra Digambara Jain Series*. The MS. was copied in 1463, (Sam. 1541) 'in the reign of Sultan Bahlol Sāhi.' See JBORS, XI, 66.

period of commentaries.

About the eleventh century a new class of literature on political science came into existence, *viz.*, Digests of Hindu Politics, mainly based, not on the former Artha-Sāstras and Daṇḍa-nīti, but, on Digest of Hindu Politics Dharma-Sāstras. The Digest-writers preferred to follow the Dharma-Sāstra principles of Politics, not the Artha-Sāstra of Uśanas, Bṛihaspati, Kauṭilya, etc.; they ignored, also the old titles, 'Artha-Sāstra' and 'Daṇḍa-nīti,' and adopted a new term 'Rājanīti' or 'Royal Principle (or Policy).' The writers of this class of works were lawyers of the Dharma-Sāstra school and composers of Dharma law-digests. To this class belongs our Rājanīti-Ratnākara. One of the earliest, if not the earliest, Digest of Hindu Politics was Rājanīti-Kalpataru by Lakshmīdhara Bhaṭṭa,¹ the senior foreign minister under King Govindachandra of Kāśī, the grandfather of Jayachandra. I have seen only a small portion of the Rājanīti-Kalpataru. No complete copy is yet available in India.² It is largely quoted in our Rājanīti-Ratnākara. Another work of the class was Rājanīti-Kāmadhenu of which we only know from references in our Ratnākara. The author of Kāmadhenu had also composed a law-Kāma-dhenu which is quoted in law-digests. Like Chaṇḍeśvara his successors the later Digest-makers, Vāchaspati, Mitra Miśra and Nīlakaṇṭha, also composed sections on Rājanīti. Vāchaspati's work has

¹ It quotes no authorities except the Smṛitis and Purāṇas. See I. O. 1386, III, p. 410.

² The India Office copy is evidently complete.

been found by us in fragments; the last two are already published.

The Rājanīti-Ratnākara, in addition to the information as to the existence of earlier digests of Hindu Politics, discloses to us the fact that there was a work attributed to Nārada dealing with politics. This becomes evident by looking at the passages quoted under the name of Nārada or the Nāradiya and some other lost works. Some of them are traceable to the law-book of Nārada while others are not to be found there and they cannot be referred to a law-book (*see*, for instance, the passages at pp. 3, 12 and 70).¹ It is not very clear but it seems probable that some Artha-Śāstra work was attributed to the name of Hārīta (*see*, p. 12). Chanḍeśvara quotes largely from a work called 'Rāja-nīti' (for instance, at p. 66). The book cannot be identified without discovering the earlier digests. The Śukranīti referred to in the Ratnākara differs completely from the Śukra-nīti that we have got today.

It is noteworthy that the Kāmandakiya is called an Artha-Śāstra by our author (p. 55).

The Ratnākara is thus valuable on the history of political literature and deserves attention on that ground as well. Still more important are the norms which obtained at the close of the Hindu and the beginning of the Muhammadan periods. Originality and force are on the decline, yet there is no lack of interest and no total surrender of reason.

¹ Cf. JBORS, XI, 66.

उपोद्घातः

ग्रन्थोऽयं राजनीतिरत्नाकराभिधानो विहारोत्कलपुरातत्त्वगवेषणसमितेः (Bihar and Orissa Research Society) पुरातनसंस्कृतग्रन्थाव-
लिगवेषणोद्योगस्य फलांशः। आसीत्समितेश्च तस्यासुसभापतिः—प्रादेशिकशासकः
सर एडवर्डगेटमहोदयः। राजकीयोऽयं ग्रन्थगवेषण-क्रमः समितौ निहितस्तेन।
मिथिलायामुत्कले चेति केन्द्रद्वये गवेषणं समारब्धम्। विक्रमीये १९७५
(ख्रीष्टीये १९१८) तमेऽब्दे मिथिलायां प्रथममेतत्कार्यं प्रारब्धम् तदानीन्तनैः
समितेरवैतनिकप्रधानमन्त्रिभिरस्माभिः तन्निरीक्षितम्। प्रारम्भे च कतिपयेषु
मासेषु ग्रन्थनामावलीविन्यस्तग्रन्थनामानि निरीक्षमाणा वयं ग्रन्थस्यास्य नाम दृष्ट-
वन्तोऽस्य प्रतिलिपिं च कर्तुमाज्ञां दत्तवन्तः।

आधुनिकेतिहासग्रन्थेषु संस्कृतसाहित्यस्य स कालो मध्यकाल इत्याहूयते।
यदा माहम्मदीयानामत्रागमनं जातम्, तदाभिनवग्रन्थनिर्माणं लुप्तप्रायमभूत्।
मध्यकालीनो राजनीतिविषयको विशेषतस्सुविख्यातधर्मशास्त्रविचक्षणश्रीमच्छण्डे
श्वरकृतोऽयं ग्रन्थोऽस्मदीयं कौतूहलं निरतिशयमानन्दञ्च युगपदेव व्यतानीत्।

ग्रन्थस्यास्य प्रकाशनं समित्यर्थं वयं करिष्याम इति सुनिश्चिततरा
सर्व्वेषां धारणा (समितेः वार्षिककार्य्यविवरणे जरनले ५, पृ० १३)।
किन्तु यदा समस्तोऽयं ग्रन्थो मुद्रितस्तदा समितेः नूतनकार्य्यकारिण्युपसमित्या
ग्रन्थप्रकाशनाय द्रव्यवैकल्यं सूचितम्। प्रस्ताव आदावयमेवाभूद्यन्माला-
रूपेणैतत्प्रदेशस्याद्यावध्यप्रकाशिता लुप्तप्राया ये ग्रन्था उपलभ्येरन् ते क्रमशः
संस्करणीयाः प्रकाशनीयाश्च। यदि सर एडवर्डगेटमहोदया अस्माकं मध्ये
कियत्कालमधिकमभविष्यन् अथवा तादृशा महानुभावा अन्येऽपि शास्त्रोत्साहं
प्रदर्शयेयुस्तर्हि अस्माकमभिलाषो विफलो न स्यात्।

ग्रन्थोऽयं सर एडवर्डगेटमहोदयेभ्यस्साहित्यसेवनव्रतनिरतेभ्यस्समर्प्यते येषां
च स्मारकरूपेण प्रकाशितस्यास्य ग्रन्थस्य प्रथमावृतौ मुद्रणार्थं पटनापुरनिवासिना
गुणग्राहिणा रायबहादुरेण श्रीराधाकृष्णजालानेन विशिष्टमर्थसाहाय्यं कृतम्।

(क), (ख), (ग), (घ), (ङ), चेति कृतसंज्ञिकाभ्यो हस्तलिपिभ्योऽयं
ग्रन्थः सम्पादितः। 'क' कृतनाम्नी लिपिः परलोकवासिनां मुञ्जफ्फुर-

राजकीयसंस्कृतविद्यालयप्रथमाध्यापकानां श्रीबच्चशर्मणां पण्डितप्रवराणाम्, 'ख' इत्यभिधाना दरभङ्गान्तर्गतलालगञ्जग्रामावस्थितस्य श्रीशिवेश्वरशर्मणो, 'ग' इति संज्ञिका च दरभङ्गामण्डलवर्तिमधुवन्याः वावुक्षेमधारीसिंहशर्मणः, 'घ' इत्यभिधाना दरभङ्गामण्डलान्तर्गतपाहीटोलग्रामावस्थस्य महामहोपाध्याय-डॉक्टर-श्रीगङ्गानाथ-शर्मणः, 'ङ' इत्यभिधेया च दरभङ्गाराजकीयपुस्तकालयस्य^१ । सर्वा इमाः 'कागज'पत्रेषु लिपीकृताः समकालीनप्राया एव साद्वैकशतवर्षाभ्यन्तर एव लिखिताः । दरभङ्गा राजकीय-पुस्तके एव लेखनकालः १८०१ शकाब्द उपन्यस्तः । मैथिलीलिप्या एव सर्व्वी निबद्धाः । पुस्तकेषु यानि पाठान्तराणि प्राप्तानि तान्येव प्रायशोऽस्माभिरविकलानि स्थापितानि येषु केषु च स्थलेषु लेखकप्रमादजातिसाधारणाशुद्धयो दृष्टास्ता एव संशोधिताः । नातिमुख्या अपि पाठभेदाः सर्व्वेऽपि विन्यस्ताः ।

चण्डेश्वरसमये विद्यमानानां मनुमहाभारतादीनां प्राचीनग्रन्थानां मिथिलायां क्रमागतं पाठवैशिष्ट्यमिति राजनीतिरत्नाकराध्ययनेन स्पष्टीभवति । अस्मत्कृताभ्यो राजनीतिरत्नाकरटिप्पणीभ्य एतत् सम्यग्ज्ञायते । अत्र विशेषतः कामन्दकीया नीतिरुल्लेखनीया । एतत् तारतम्यं निश्चेतुमेवास्माभिर्मिथिलातः कामन्दकीया एका पुरातनी प्रतिलिपिः पण्डितविष्णुलालशर्मयोगेन प्राप्ता । अस्याः समयः १४७६ तमः शकाब्दो ग्रन्थे निरूपितः । लिखिता इयं कामरूपस्य रामखाणपुत्राय नीतिविदे गाभूरुखाणाय । तथाहि तत्र

आसीत् श्रीरामखाणः समरभरहताशेषवैरिप्रवीरो

वीरः श्रीकामरूपप्रभुरखिलमहीमण्डलव्यातकीर्तिः ।

तस्माज्जातः पयोधेविधुरिव जगदानन्दनः सुन्दरश्रीः

श्रीमद्गाभूरुखाणः पटुरतिसुकविस्तत्त्वविन्नीतिशास्त्रे ॥१॥

तस्य बुधस्यादेशादृतुमुनिवेदेन्दु १४७६ सुन्दरे शाके ।

कविरत्नेन सयत्नं ललिता कामन्दकी लिखिता ॥२॥

अनन्तशयनसंस्कृतग्रन्थमालायां पण्डितपुङ्गवश्रीगणपतिशास्त्रप्रकाशितायाः कामन्दकीयनीतेः वाक्यानि राजनीतिरत्नाकरोद्धृतानि कामन्दकीयवाक्यानि नानुसरन्ति किञ्च गाभूरुखाण-ग्रन्थवाक्यान्यनुगच्छन्तीति । टिप्पणीषु तानि कामन्दकीयवाक्यानि तद्ग्रन्थान्मैथिलहस्तलिखितपुस्तकादिति निदिष्टानि ।

^१ (घ) (ङ) पुस्तके अस्मिन्नेव द्वितीये संस्करणे प्रयुज्येते । प्रथमसंस्करणे (सं० १९७७-८१) ते न परिगृहीतेऽनुपलम्भात् ।

इयं च हस्तलिपिः 'भधुवन्य'न्तर्गतपाहीटोलग्रामवास्तव्यस्य पण्डितस्य आद्यानाथ-
शर्मणः ।

चण्डेश्वरः किल कार्णाटकुलभूतस्य मिथिलामहीपतेर्हरिसिंहदेवस्य मन्त्री
बभूव । इतिहासेषु अस्य राज्ञो वंशः सिमराँववंशनाम्ना विख्यातः । एतद्वंशीया
राजानः १३२४ तम-ख्रीष्टाब्द-पर्यन्तं शासनं सिमराँवस्थाश्चक्रुः । ततः परं
तेषां स्वातन्त्र्यं गियासुद्दीनतुगलकस्याक्रमणेन विनष्टम् । कार्णाटवंशस्य इतिवृत्तं
विहारोत्कलगवेषणा-समिति-त्रैमासिक जरनल इति पुस्तके (१९२३-२५ ख्री०)
प्रकाशितमस्माभिः ।

ग्रन्थकारस्योल्लेखेन ग्रन्थस्यास्य कारयिता 'भवेश' इति राज्ञो नाम समुप-
लभ्यते । चण्डेश्वरस्तु राज्ञा भवेशेनाज्ञप्तस्सन् ग्रन्थमिमं प्रणिनायेति स्वयमेव ग्रन्था
रम्भे 'राज्ञा भवेशेनाज्ञप्त' इति वाक्येन समुल्लिखति । राजा भवेशो भवेश्वरो वा
कार्णाटोत्तरे कामेश्वरराजवंशे १३७० ख्रीष्टाब्दात् परं मिथिलाभूपोऽभवत् ।

राजनीतिरत्नाकर-प्रणयनसमये चण्डेश्वरः प्रधानामात्यपदमेवालंचकारे-
त्यनुमीयते यतोऽस्मिन् ग्रन्थे अयं न 'महासान्धिविग्रहिक' इति । किन्तु विवाद-
रत्नाकररचनासमये स स्वपित्रध्युषितानुपाधीन् पदानि, अधिकाराँश्च उपलब्ध-
वान् । राजनीतिरत्नाकरे पृ० ७७, विवादरत्नाकरे (एशियाटिक सोसाइटी मु०)
पृ० ६७१ च संक्षिप्तः कवेर्जीविनवृत्तान्तो ज्ञातुं शक्यते ।

विवादरत्नाकरे राज्ञ उल्लेखो न प्राप्यते किन्तु ग्रन्थे तस्य समयः १२३६
तमः शाकाब्दः ६७१ तमे पृष्ठे लिखितः । अन्यैश्च प्रमाणैर्ज्ञायते यत् हरिसिंह-
देवो राजा तदा शास्ति स्म इति । कृत्यरत्नाकरे तु चण्डेश्वरेण स्वस्वामिनो
हरिसिंहदेवस्य नामाङ्कितम् । स एव किल नेपालं तस्योपत्यकाभूमिं च विजिग्य
इति लोके प्रसिद्धम् । विवादरत्नाकरे च तन्मन्त्री चण्डेश्वरः स्वबुद्धिप्रभावेण
नेपालं पराजित्याधिकृतवानिति लिखितमस्ति । यतश्चण्डेश्वरो महासान्धि-
विग्रहिकपदव्यलङ्कृत आसीदतो नेपालविजययशोभाजनमयमिति भवितुं
शक्नोति । हरिसिंहदेवस्य तुगलकसम्राज्ञा पराजयस्तस्य नेपालपलायनमिति
१३२६ ख्रीष्टाब्दे घटितमिति मिस्तर अवमाली (O'Malley) महोदय-
स्यानुमानम् । नैतत्समीचीनम् यतो विवादरत्नाकरोल्लिखित-नेपालविजयः
१३१४ ख्रीष्टाब्दात्प्रागेव ।

हरिसिंहदेवेन मिथिलास्थयोर्ब्राह्मणकायस्थयोः पञ्जीप्रबन्धो निरमायि ।
प्रबन्धोऽयं मैथिलशास्त्रकाराणां पण्डितानां वंशकालयोज्ञानायत्युपादेयः ।
चण्डेश्वरस्य वंशावली अस्माभिरस्यैव साहाय्येन निर्धारिता । तत्पितृकुलान्वया
दरभङ्गान्तर्गतमधुवनीत्युपभुक्ति (सबडिबीजन)-वत्तिसौराठग्रामे निव-

सन्ति । हरडीग्रामे चास्य समसंज्ञकमेकं शिवलिङ्गं तत्स्थापितं विद्यते । पञ्जीप्रवन्धानुसारेण सान्धिविग्रहिक-वीरेश्वरस्य भ्रातरो धीरेश्वरः शुभदत्तो महामहतकगणेश्वरो मुद्राहस्तकलक्ष्मीदत्तोऽन्ये चापि आसन् ।

अन्तिमपदवीद्वयेन ज्ञायते यद् वीरेश्वरस्य वंशे बहवो राजकीयोच्चपदैवि-
भूषिता बभूवुः । अधुना केवलं धीरेश्वरस्य वंशीया एव विद्यन्ते । चण्डेश्वरस्य
पित्रा वीरेश्वरेणैका पद्धतिविरचिता । तत्र

देवादित्यकुले जातः ख्यातस्त्रैलोक्यसंसदि

पद्धतिं विदधे धीमान् श्रीमान् वीरेश्वरः कृती ॥

गणेश्वरस्तत्सूनुः रामदत्तश्च कर्मकाण्डे आचार्यौ । रामदत्तस्य वाजसने-
यिदशकर्मपद्धतिरधुनापि मिथिलायां प्रचरति । गणेश्वरस्य गयाविधिर्गङ्गाप्रका-
शस्सुगतिसोपानञ्च लभ्यन्ते । पञ्जीप्रवन्धे तु वंशस्यास्य वासस्थानं गढबिसफीति
कथितमस्ति । शिलालिपिज्ञानां यत् बिसफीग्रामेति नामधेयं स्थानं विदितं तदेव
गढबिसफीति । चण्डेश्वरस्य पितुर्नाम वीरेश्वर शर्म्मा, पितामहस्य देवादित्य इति ।

समस्तार्यावर्ते अस्तंगते आर्यस्वातन्त्र्यसूर्ये म्लेच्छभृत्येन करदराजेन भर्त्रा
भवेशेनाज्ञप्तश्चण्डेश्वरः करोति राजनीतिरत्नाकरम् । तत्कालः ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन्
प्रतिबिम्बितः प्रतिभाति । राजशब्दस्य व्याख्यां कुर्वता (पृ० २) तेन स्पष्ट-
मभिधायि प्रजारक्षको राजेति । राज्याभिषेकविधिमपि नातिमन्यते । क्षत्रिय-
जातीय एव राजा भवितुमर्हतीति नावश्यकमिति । महम्मदीयानां राजत्वकाले
एतदेव व्यवस्थितम् । न तु मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तास्ते महम्मदीया म्लेच्छाः ।

तथापि शास्त्रविहिता नीतिरेव मुख्यतश्चण्डेश्वरेण लिखिता । राज्यविभाग-
विषये च कथयति सामान्यदायविभागादिनियमा राज्यविभागे नोपयुक्ता
यदेतद्राज्यं नैकस्य किन्तु राजधने दीनानाथादिसकलप्राणिनामंशित्वम् (पृ० ७२) ।
अभिषेकप्रकरणे (अ० १६) प्रजा विष्णुरूपा इति वर्णितम् (पृ० ७४) । राज्ञः
समक्षं प्रजानामेतावद्देवतोचितः सम्मानो यथास्मिन् विद्यते तथैव प्राचीन-
राज्यशास्त्रे चाप्युपलभ्यते । यथा महाभारते शान्तिपर्वणि (अ० ५९, श्लो० १०६)
अभिषेकप्रकरणे वर्णितम्—

‘प्रतिज्ञां चाधिरोहस्व मनसा कर्मणा गिरा ।

पालयिष्याम्यहं भौमं ब्रह्म इत्येव चासकृत्’ ॥

चण्डेश्वरस्तुदाहरति—

‘अद्यारभ्य न मे राज्यं राजायं रक्षतु प्रजाः ।

इति सर्व्वं प्रजाविष्णुं साक्षिणं श्रावयेन्मुहुः’ ॥

अयं राजनीतिनामधेयो विषयः संस्कृतसाहित्यस्य विस्मृतप्रायोऽधुना संस्कृताध्ययने । विक्रमीयसप्तमशताब्दीपूर्वमेवास्य प्रादुर्भावः । बौद्धानां जातकेषु, रामायणे, गृह्यसूत्रेषु चास्य शास्त्रीयत्वं पठ्यते । शास्त्रस्यास्य तदानीन्तने नामधेये अर्थशास्त्रं दण्डनीतिश्चेति । विक्रमीयाब्दपूर्ववर्तमानं कौटिलीयमर्थशास्त्रमेवं वर्णयति—‘मनुष्याणां वृत्तिरर्थः, मनुष्यवती भूमिरित्यर्थः तस्याः पृथिव्या लाभपालनोपायः शास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रमिति’ । दण्डस्य प्रजाशासनस्य नीतिर्दण्डनीतिः । अर्थशास्त्रमितिहासेऽन्तर्भवतीति कौटिल्यमतम् यतः ‘पुराणमिति वृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतिहास’ इति । कौटिल्यकाले छान्दोग्योपनिषत्समये चेतिहासो वेद इव गण्यते स्म । काशी-कान्यकुब्जेश्वरस्य गोविन्दचन्द्रदेवस्य सान्धिविग्रहिको लक्ष्मीधरोऽर्थशास्त्रं षष्ठं वेदं संजानीते । इतिहासेऽन्तर्भूतमिदं शास्त्रं पुरातनं, श्रद्धेयं विहितं सम्मतञ्च । कौटिलीये, महाभारते, आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्रे, कामन्दकीयनीतिसारे च राजनीतिशास्त्राचार्याणां नामोल्लेखः प्राप्यते ।

विषयोऽयं पुरा लोकानां सम्मानभाजनमभूत् । बहवोऽस्य विषयस्याचार्या जाताः । विक्रमीयपञ्चमे षष्ठे वा शताब्दे कामन्दकीय-नारदीयादयो विरचिताः प्रसिद्धग्रन्थाः । ततः प्रभृति पञ्चशताब्दपर्यन्तमनुमीयते विषयेऽस्मिन् मूलग्रन्थानामनिर्माणम् । यथा धर्मशास्त्रग्रन्थानां केवलं भाष्याणि एव निर्मितानि तथैव तस्मिन् समये केवलमर्थशास्त्रभाष्याणामेव करणमित्यनुमीयते ।

ख्रीष्टीयैकादशशताब्दे राजनीतिग्रन्थानामेको नवः प्रकारः (नीतिनिबन्धाः) प्रादुरभवत् । एषां मूलं पूर्व-दण्डनीत्यर्थशास्त्रे न किन्तु धर्मशास्त्रमेवेति । नीतिनिबन्धकाराः स्वग्रन्थनिर्माणे धर्मशास्त्रमेवानुसूतवन्तः । औशनसबार्हस्पत्य-कौटिलीयनीतीनां ते उपेक्षां चक्रुः । किमधिकं अर्थशास्त्रं दण्डनीतिश्चेति नामनी अपि ते प्रायशः तत्त्यजुः । राजनीतिरितिनामैव ते अनुमोदितवन्तः । अस्य कर्तारो बहुशः धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धकारा एव । अस्माकमयं राजनीतिरत्नाकरस्तच्छ्रेणीक एव । यथा धर्मशास्त्राणां निबन्धा व्यवहारप्रकाशो विवाद-रत्नाकर इत्यादयो मूलवचनानि प्रमाणीभूतग्रन्थेभ्य उद्धृत्य भाष्येण संयोज्य विषयान् वर्णयन्ति तथैव राजनीतेरप्ययं निबन्धग्रन्थः । एतत्प्राप्तेः प्रागस्माकं पूर्वरामनीतिनिबन्धग्रन्था लुप्तप्राया आसन् । लब्धेऽस्मिन् ग्रन्थे तेषां परिचयः प्राप्त इति अस्मिन् विषये सर्व्वतः पुरातनो लक्ष्मीधरभट्टानां राजनीतिकल्पतरु-नामको ग्रन्थः । लक्ष्मीधरस्तु कान्यकुब्जाधिपतिजयचन्द्रपितामहस्य गोविन्दचन्द्रस्य महासान्धिविग्रहिकः । लक्ष्मीधरो धर्मशास्त्रेऽपि व्यवहारकल्पतरुनामकमेकं ग्रन्थं

विदधे। व्यवहारकल्पतरोरेका प्रतिलिपिर्मिथिलायामस्माभिः प्राप्ता ग्रन्थस्यास्य च सम्पादने उपकरणीभूता। राजनीतिकल्पतरुस्तु अस्माभिरद्यावधि न लब्धः। राजनीतिरत्नाकरेऽस्य वचनानि बहुधाः उद्धृतानि लभ्यन्ते। अन्यश्चैतच्छ्रेणीको ग्रन्थो राजनीतिकामधेनुरिति। अस्यापि वचनानि प्रचुरतया रत्नाकरे प्राप्यन्ते। कामधेनुकारो गोपालः कामधेनुनामकं धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धमप्यरचयत्।

अन्येषां कियतां प्राचीननीतिग्रन्थानां परिचयं ददन्नयं राजनीतिरत्नाकरः सूचयति नारदीयनीतिरपि काचित् पुरातनी आसीदिति। रत्नाकरोद्धृतैर्नारदीय-वचनैरेतत् प्रत्यक्षीभवति। तेषु कियन्ति नारदस्य धर्मशास्त्रे उपलभ्यन्ते कियन्ति च तत्र न प्राप्याणि। तृतीयपृष्ठे नीतौ नारद इति ज्ञापयति काचिन्नीति-नारदस्याप्यासीदिति।

नैतत् स्पष्टम् अनुमीयते तु यद्धारीतस्य एकमर्थशास्त्रमासीदिति (पृ० १२)। राजनीतिनामकग्रन्थविशेषवचनानि चण्डेश्वरो बहुधा उद्धरित (पृ० ३)। यावदस्मात्प्राचीनतरराजनीतिनिबन्धा नोपलभ्यन्ते तावद् तद्ग्रन्थकर्तुर्नाम ज्ञातुं न शक्यम्। द्रष्टव्यमेतद् यदस्माकं ग्रन्थकर्त्रा कामन्दकीयनीतिरर्थशास्त्रमित्युच्यते (पृ० ५५)। रत्नाकरोद्धृतशुक्लनीतिवचनानि मुद्रितशुक्लनीतिवचनेभ्यः सर्वथा भिन्नानि।

मध्यकालीनराजनीतिविकाशद्योतनन्तु अनेन सम्पद्यत एव विशेषतो हिन्दु-राज्यान्ते माहम्मदीयराज्यादौ च कीदृशीं राजनीतिं भारतीया अनुसृतवन्त इत्यपि ज्ञायते च।

यद्यपि ग्रन्थकर्त्तरि अपूर्वताया बुद्धिप्रखरतायाश्च अप्राचुर्यं विद्यते तथापि तस्मिन् शास्त्रजिज्ञासायास्तत्त्वशक्तेश्चैकान्तिकह्लासो न दृश्यते।

आशंसे राजनीतिकामधेनुकल्पतरूपलब्धौ रत्नाकरस्य तदत्यपहारित्वं प्रमाणी-भविष्यतीति। चण्डेश्वरेण विवादरत्नाकरे कल्पतरोरेतावद् अपहृतम् यथा व्यवहार-कल्पतरोः प्रकाशनं निष्फलमेवाधुना, मुद्रितरत्नाकरे कुत्रचिदेव पदानि तस्माद् भिन्नानि दृश्यन्ते। राजनीतिरत्नाकरे राजनीतिकल्पतरौ च तादृगेवात्यल्पभेद-स्मम्भाव्यते।

एतद्ग्रन्थप्रथममुद्गणार्थं रायबहादुरराधाकृष्णजालानेन विशिष्टव्ययभारमु-द्भृता वयमखिलार्य्यनीतिस्वादूपभोगिनश्चानुगृहीताः।

राजनीतिरत्नाकरे येषां वचनानि प्रामाणिकतयोपन्यस्तानि तेषां ग्रन्थानां ग्रन्थ-
काराणाञ्च नामानि यथा—

१ अर्थप्रदीपे व्यासः	..	..	72.
२ अर्थशास्त्रम्	..	..	55.
३ कात्यायनः	..	..	16, 20, 21, 69, 71, 77.
४ कामन्दकः	..	..	33, 54.
५ (वाचस्पत्यम्)	..	..	54.
६ कोशः (अमरः)	..	..	11.
७ कोशः (कोशकारः)	..	..	71, 75.
८ कुल्लूकभट्टः	..	..	2.
९ गोपालः	..	..	72, 75.
१० गुरुः	..	..	3, 33.
११ नारदः	..	..	12, 13, 17, 20, 22, 23, 56, 62, 68, 71, 77.
१२ नारदीयम्	..	..	5.
१३ (नीतौ) नारदः	..	..	3.
१४ राजनीतौ नारदः	..	..	70.
१५ नीतिः	..	..	28, 31, 32, 43, 76.
१६ नीतिकल्पतरुः	..	..	8.
१७ पद्मम्	..	..	70.
१८ पल्लवकारः	..	..	16, 32, 37, 47, 48, 63, 70, 73.
१९ प्राञ्चः (नव्याः)	..	..	20, 56.
२० बार्हस्पत्यम्	..	..	70.
२१ भागवतम्	..	..	70.
२२ मनुः	..	..	2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 19, 22, 24, 27, 28, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68, 71, 76.
२३ महाभारतम्	..	..	3, 9, 11, 26, 27, 28, 32, 34, 36, 39, 45, 67.
२४ (मय-मैत्र-विशालाक्ष-मनु-बृहस्पति-शुक्राः)	..	..	59.
२५ मिताक्षरा	..	..	63, 76.

२६ याज्ञवल्क्यः	..	3, 6, 7, 10, 14, 24, 27, 32, 36, 44, 45, 54, 56, 61, 62, 63, 64, 71, 76.
२७ राजनीतिः	..	28, 32, 39, 46, 73.
२८ राजनीतिकामधेनुः	..	2, 4.
२९ (कामधेनुः)	..	68.
३० राजनीतौ हारीतनारदौ	..	66.
३१ रामायणम्	..	67, 75.
३२ लक्ष्मीधरः	..	16, 20, 37, 70, 72, 73.
३३ वशिष्ठः	..	67, 68.
३४ व्यासः	..	4, 11, 17, 21, 66.
३५ विष्णुः (स्मृतिः)	..	20, 38, 71.
३६ शुक्रनीतिः	..	42, 72.
३७ (राजनीतौ शुक्रः)	..	70.
३८ श्रीकरः	..	36, 72.
३९ श्रुतिः	..	31, 56.
४० सागरः	..	17, 32.
४१ स्मृतिः	..	8, 16.
४२ हारीतः	..	9, 12, 17.

विषयानुक्रमणिका ।

मङ्गलाचरणम्, विषयानुक्रमश्च । १, २

प्रथमं राज्ञो निरूपणम् । २—९

राजत्वम्, राजलक्षणानि, राजा त्रिविधः सम्राट् सकरोऽकरश्चेति, अधी-
श्वरो द्विविधः, राज्ञां साधारणधर्माः, तेषामष्टादशव्यसनानि, अलब्ध-
लिप्सनम्, लब्धरक्षणम्, कुमाररक्षणम्, नित्यविधानम्, आत्म-
रक्षणम्, विद्वत्समागमः । प्रजारक्षणं तु प्रधानतः ऐहिकस्वार्थ-
साधनाय ।

अमात्यनिरूपणम् (द्वितीयस्तरङ्गः) १०—१३

अमात्योपयोगित्वम् । अमात्यलक्षणानि । मन्त्रिभिस्सह मन्त्रणा, बहुभिस्सह
मन्त्रनिषेधः । अमात्यधर्माः । प्राज्ञा एव मन्त्रिणः कार्य्याः ।

पुरोहितनिरूपणम् (तृतीयस्तरङ्गः) १४, १५

पुरोहितलक्षणम् । ब्राह्मणपूजा ।

प्राङ्गविवाकनिरूपणम् (चतुर्थस्तरङ्गः) १६, १७

निर्वाचनहेतुः । लक्षणानि । व्युत्पत्तिः । सभ्यैः सह काव्यविक्षणम् ।

सभ्यनिरूपणम् (पञ्चमस्तरङ्गः) । १८—२३

सभ्यव्युत्पत्तिः । सभानिरूपणम्, प्रतिष्ठिता अप्रतिष्ठिता मुद्रिता शासिता
चेति चतुर्विधा सभा । सभाङ्गानि । सप्त पञ्च त्रयो वा सभ्याः ।
सभ्यलक्षणानि । धर्मार्थशास्त्रयोर्विप्रतिपत्तिः । धर्मनिर्णये वृषलस्य
निषेधः । सभ्यकर्तव्यानि ।

दुर्गनिरूपणम् (षष्ठस्तरङ्गः) २४—२६

दुर्गोपयोगिता । दुर्गभेदाः । गिरिदुर्गप्रशंसा । दुर्गोपकरणानि । अदुर्गो विषयः
कस्य ।

मन्त्रणा (सप्तमस्तरङ्गः) २७-३०

मन्त्रणादेशः । मन्त्रकालः । मन्त्रगोपनम् । पञ्चाङ्गो मन्त्रः । अस्य प्रकारः ।
सिद्धिलक्षणम् ।

कोषनिरूपणम् (अष्टमस्तरङ्गः) ३१, ३२

कोषलक्षणानि । कोपसंरक्षणप्रयोजनम् ।

बलनिरूपणम् (नवमस्तरङ्गः) ३३-३८

बलप्रयोजनम् । पडात्मकं बलम् । शक्तिस्त्रिविधा । यानम् । प्रयास्यमानस्य
राज्ञः शक्तित्रयपरिचिन्तनम् । यानोपयुक्तमासः । संग्रामकृत्यम् । व्यूहरचना ।
व्यूहभेदाः । युद्धक्रमः । घोटकाः । परपुरोपरोधः । विजयोत्तरकृत्यम् ।

सेनानीनिरूपणम् (दशमस्तरङ्गः) ३९-४१

सेनानीकार्यम् । सेनानीलक्षणम् । सेनां प्रति सेनानीधर्मः । कूटायुधनिषेधः ।
योधनधर्माः ।

दूतादिनिरूपणम् (एकादशस्तरङ्गः) ४२-५४

दूतलक्षणम् । प्रतीहारकार्यम् । मित्रम् । मित्रपरीक्षा । चाराः । परिवार-
कृत्यम् । राजसभोपजीविनां कर्त्तव्यानि । अनुरक्तविरक्तस्य स्वरूपम् ।

साधारणपालनादिराजकृत्यनिरूपणम् (द्वादशस्तरङ्गः) ५५-६१

साधारणाः राजधर्माः । प्रजापालनं परो धर्मः । प्रजारक्षक एव नृपः
प्रजाभिः वद्धर्चते रक्ष्यते च । प्रजावर्द्धनात् प्रजारक्षणं श्रेयः । प्रजापालने यत्र
धर्मार्थशस्त्रयोर्विप्रतिपत्तिस्तत्र धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमेवाचरणीयम् । पाङ्गुण्यचिन्तनम् ।
सन्धिविग्रहादिकालाः । उपायान्तराभावे युद्धाश्रयः । मण्डलचिन्तनम् । प्रजापालने
हेतुः तत्प्रकारश्च । अधिकारिणः । दशग्रामाधिपादयः ।

दण्डनिरूपणम् (त्रयोदशस्तरङ्गः) ६२-६५

दण्डप्रयोजनम् । दण्डोत्पत्तिः । दण्डभेदाः । दण्डस्य दृष्टादृष्टार्थफलकत्वम् ।
राज्ञेऽपि दण्डः ।

राजकृतराज्यदानम् (चतुर्दशस्तरङ्गः) ६६-६९

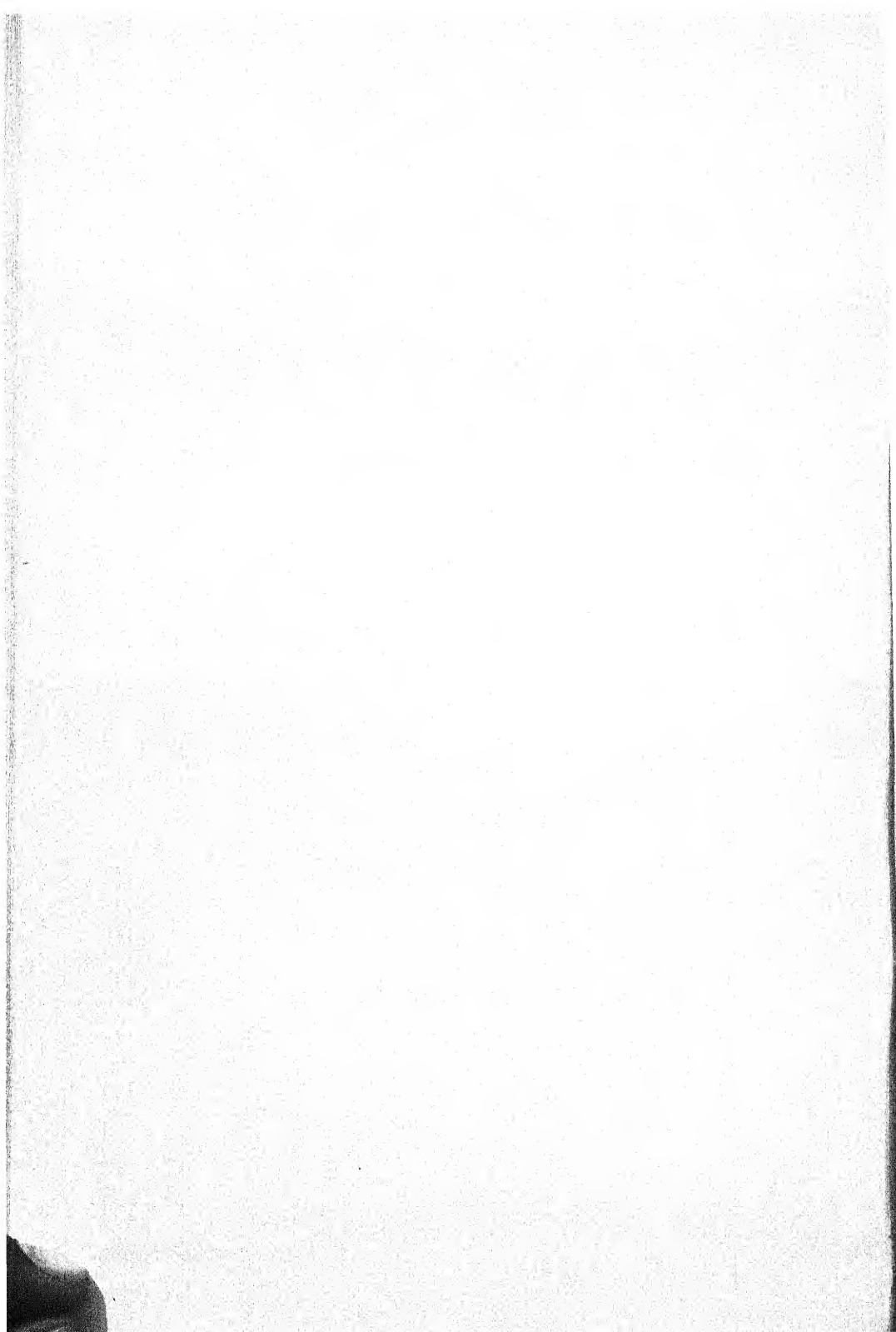
राज्ञः राज्याग्निस्पृहत्वे रणगमने च तत्कृतं पुत्राय राज्यदानम् । पौरजना-
मन्त्रणम् । ज्येष्ठाय राज्यदापनम् । राज्यस्याविभाज्यता । राज्यदाने पृथिवी-
पतेरस्वातन्त्र्यम् ।

पुरोहितादिकृतराज्यदाननिरूपणम् (पञ्चदशस्तरङ्गः) ७०—७२

राज्ञि मृते राजपुत्राय पुरोहितमन्त्रिभिः राज्यदानं ज्येष्ठाय । सप्ताङ्गकं राज्यम् । राजधने दीनानाथसकलप्राणिनामंशित्वम् ।

अभिषेकनिरूपणम् (षोडशस्तरङ्गः) ७३—७७

यौवराज्ये राज्ये वा सुतस्य अभिषेचनम्, प्रजाविप्रानुमोदितम् । युवराज्यस्य वृद्धराजसापेक्षत्वम् । अभिषेचनकर्माणि । राज्यदाने प्रजा एव विष्णुः साक्षी च । अन्ये राजपुत्रा भर्तव्याः । अभिषिक्तस्य प्रथमं राष्ट्रस्यैव साधनम् । ग्रन्थसमाप्तिः ।



CHANDEŚVARA'S
RĀJANĪTI-RATNĀKARA

चण्डेश्वरविरचितो
राजनीति-रत्नाकरः

॥ ॐ नमो गणेशाय ॥

सूत्रामान्धकयोर्विवादमनिशन्दृष्ट्वा जिगीष्णोरहं
राजेत्येव मिथः पुरा निगदतोऽग्नीक्षणप्रेक्षणात् ।
योऽसौ निर्णयति स्म संप्रति शिवः पायात्पराणां परः
स स्मेराचलकन्ययाऽप्यनुमतो^१ ब्रह्मादिभिः प्रार्थितः ॥
राज्ञा भवेशेनाज्ञप्तो राजनीतिनिबन्धकम् ।
तनोति मन्त्रिणामार्य्यः श्रीमान् चण्डेश्वरः कृती ॥
राज्ञो निरूपणञ्चादावामात्यस्य तदुत्तरम् ।
ततः पुरोहितादेश्च प्राड्विवाकस्य तुर्य्यके ॥
सभ्यस्य पञ्चमे चैव षष्ठे दुर्गस्य सप्तमे ।
मन्त्रिणा^२ कार्यदेशादेः कोषस्य तदनन्तरम्^३ ॥
बलस्य नवमे चैव सेनान्यो दशमे तथा ।
एकादशे दूतचारप्रती^४ हारादिकस्य तु ॥

^१ अनुमतमिति पुस्तकेषु ।

^२ मन्त्रिणा । (घ) (ङ)योः ।

^३ तदनन्तरम् । (घ) (ङ)योः ।

^४ प्रतिहारादिकस्य तु । (ङ) ।

द्वादशे राजकृत्यस्य^१ दण्डस्याथ त्रयोदशे ।
 अथ राज्यप्रदानस्य महीपेन चतुर्दशे ॥
 पुरोधसा^२ पञ्चदशे तत्कुलीनाय धर्मतः ।
 षोडशे चाभिपेक्षस्य विचार्य्याकारि यत्नतः ॥
 एवं रत्नाकरे चास्मिन् तरङ्गाः षोडशोदिताः ।
 निरीक्ष्य नीतिशास्त्राणि श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा ॥
 राजार्थशास्त्रं राजनीतिः ॥

तत्र प्रथमं राज्ञो निरूपणम् ॥ (C. I.)

मनुः ।

“अराजके हि लोकेऽस्मिन् सर्वतो विद्रुते भयात् ।

रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृजत्प्रभुः” ॥^३

राजानमित्यस्य राजमात्रे तात्पर्यं विशेषानभिधानात् । असृजदिति क्रिया-
 मात्रं काल उपलक्षणम् ।

“राजधर्मान् प्रवक्ष्यामि यथावृत्तो भवेद्गृपः”^४ ।

सम्भवश्च यथा तस्य सिद्धिश्च परमा यथा”^५ ॥

इत्यादि प्राग्विशेषेणोपादानात्^६ । तथा च प्रजारक्षको राजेत्यर्थः ।
 ननु प्रजाऽरक्षकस्य^७ वेणादेः कथं राजत्वमिति चेन्न । दृष्टतद्योग्यताया^८ एव
 विवक्षितत्वात् । अतएव कुल्लूकभट्टः^९ “राजशब्दोऽपि नात्र क्षत्रियजातिपरः^{१०}
 किन्त्वभिषिक्तजनपदपालयितृपुरुषपरः” । राजनीतिकामधेनौ ‘राज्याभिषिक्तो
 राजा प्रजापालनादेस्तदीयत्वात् तत्प्राक् ज्ञानासंभवाच्चेति’; प्रजापालने प्रवृत्त
 इति बहवः । वस्तुतस्तु प्रजापालनप्रवृत्त्यभिषेकादयोऽस्य कारणमात्रं प्रजास्वामित्वे

^१ शत्रुवर्गस्य । (घ) (ङ)योः ।

^२ (ग) पुरोधसामिति ।

^३ म० । ७ । ३ ।

^४ (घ) (ङ)योः । भवेन्नरः ।

^५ म० । ७ । १ ।

^६ (क) (ग)योः । प्राग्विशेषेणेति । (ङ) । पराग्विशेषेणेति ।

^७ (घ) । उपादानाच्च ।

^८ (घ) (ङ)योः । प्रजारक्षकस्य ।

^९ (ङ) । तद्योग्यताया ।

^{१०} (घ) (ङ)योः । कुल्लूकभट्टः ।

^{११} म० । ७ । १ । कु० क्षत्रिजातिवचनः । किन्त्वभिषिक्तजनपदपुरपालयितृ-
 पुरुषवचनः ।

राजत्वेन प्रसिद्धो राजा; 'केवलशौर्याद्याप्तराज्यस्य राजत्वव्यवहारादिति'
गुरवः^१ ॥

विशेषलक्षणान्याह याज्ञवल्क्यः^२ ।

“महोत्साहः स्थूललक्षः कृतज्ञो वृद्धसेवकः ।
विनीतः सत्त्वसंपन्नः कुलीनः सत्यवाक् शुचिः ॥
अदीर्घसूत्रः स्मृतिमानक्षुद्रोऽपरुषस्तथा ।
धार्मिकोऽव्यसनश्चैव प्राज्ञः शूरो रहस्यवित्” ॥

अचिरक्रियः अदीर्घसूत्रः इत्यादिलक्षणं प्रशंसापरम् । स्मृतिपुराणादौ सपाप-
नृपस्य नरकविधानात् ॥ अभिषेककाले प्रथमपरीक्षार्थमिति बहवः ॥

राजा त्रिविधः, सम्राट् सकरोऽकरश्च । तदाह नीतौ नारदः^३ ।

राजानमविशेषेण निजगाद मनुः पुरा ।
विशेषेणैव वक्ष्यामि संशयो न यथा भवेत् ॥
राजा तु त्रिविधो ज्ञेयस्सम्राट् च सकरोऽकरः ।
सर्व्वेभ्यः क्षितिपालेभ्यो नित्यं गृह्णाति वै करम् ॥
स सम्राडिति विज्ञेयश्चक्रवर्त्ती स एव हि ।
मासि मासि करन्दद्यात्प्रत्यब्दञ्च तथैव च ॥
सकरः स तु विज्ञेयो राजलक्षणसंयुतः ।
करं सन्देशव्याजेन यो ददाति हि स्वेच्छया ।
अधीश्वरन्तमेवाहुः शास्त्रे शास्त्रविदो जनाः ॥

महाभारते ।

“इन्द्रादनवरः श्रीमान् देवैरपि सुदुर्जयः ।
तस्य सर्व्वे महीपाला वर्त्तन्ते स्म वशे सदा ।
स हि सम्राडभूत्तेषां वित्तेन च बलेन च ॥

^१ चण्डेश्वरगुरुः । “मद्गुरुरपद्धतौ” इति च राजनीतिरत्नाकरे षोडशे तरङ्गे
द्रष्टव्यम् ।

^२ या० । १ । ३०९-१० ।

^३ एष पाठो मुद्रितनारदस्मृतौ नोपलभ्यते । नारदीयो धर्मशास्त्रादन्य
एवार्थशास्त्रग्रन्थ इति प्रतीयते ।

पारावारमभिव्याप्य शासना यस्य नान्यथा ।

तस्याधीनास्तु विज्ञेया राजानश्च अधीश्वराः”^१ ॥

तथा च सकलराजेभ्यो यः करग्राही स^२ सम्राट् । सम्राजे करदो यः स
सकरः । स्वेच्छया करदोऽकरः ॥ स्मृता^३ दावमी राजत्वेन प्रख्याता, लोके तु
राजेति सकरः चक्रवर्ती सम्राट् अधीश्वरो महाराज इति प्रसिद्धाः, विशेषप्रति-
पत्त्यनुरोधात्; परन्तु त्रयाणामपि धर्म्मं सममेव विशेषानभिधानात् । तथा
च मनुः^४ ।

“इन्द्रानिल-यमाकर्कणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च ।

चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चैव मात्रा निर्हृत्य शाश्वतीः ॥

यस्मादेषां सुरेन्द्राणां^५ मात्राभ्यो निर्मितो नृपः ।

तस्मादभिभवत्येष सर्वभूतानि तेजसा ॥

तपत्यादित्यवच्चैव^६ चक्षूषि च मनांसि च ।

न चैनं भुवि शक्नोति कश्चिदप्यभिवीक्षितुम् ॥

एकमेव दहत्यग्निर्नरन्दुरुषसर्पिणम्^७ ।

कुलन्दहति राजाग्निस्सपशुद्रव्यसञ्चयम्”^८ ॥

व्यासः ।

“पर्जन्य इव लोकानामाधारः पृथिवीपतिः” ॥^९

राज-नीति-कामधेनौ । अधीश्वरो द्विविधः “शौर्यादकरः सम्राडनुग्रहाद
करः । आद्यः स्वेच्छयैव दण्डादि ददाति । द्वितीयोप्यनुग्रहात् । ‘अकरस्तु स्वयं
सर्वं, यदि सम्राडनुग्रहः । तदा न्यायपथेनैव, कुस्ते रिपुसूदने’ति स्मृतेः । द्विती
याभिप्रायेणेदम्; आद्यश्शमार्थं सन्देशव्याजेन किञ्चित्करं ददाति । स करोऽपि

^१ म० भा० । आश्व० प० । ४ । १७, १८ ॥ पारावारमभिव्याप्येत्यादि-
श्लोको नोपलभ्यते मुद्रितग्रन्थेषु ॥

^२ (घ) । नास्ति ।

^३ ‘स्मृतादावमी’ इति पाठः पुस्तकेषु ।

^४ म० । ७ । ४-६, ९ ॥

^५ (क) । नरेन्द्राणामिति ।

^६ म० । एषः ।

^७ एक एवेति द्विरुपसर्पिणमिति च पाठः पुस्तकेषु ।

^८ (घ) (ङ) योः । सञ्चयान् ।

^९ नास्ति मुद्रितव्यासस्मृतौ ।

द्विविधः अधिकृतदण्डादिरनधिकृतदण्डादिः। आद्यस्य ^१न्याये पुनर्न्यायस्तेन कृतो दण्डो ^२न निवर्तते, द्वितीयस्य न्यायेऽधिकारो दण्डे नाधिकारः। न्यायस्य पुनर्न्यायोऽपि। यदि हठात्कारेण विरुद्धानां ^३चरति तदा साहसे यथासाहसं धनग्रहण-^४दण्डोऽसाहसे तत्समीपं गते प्रसादकरमनादाय दिनद्वयं दिनत्रयं वा स्वदर्शनञ्च कारयतीति तिरस्कारः सम्राजा ^५करणीयः। तत्प्रजासु तत्कृतं सम्राजाऽनिवर्त्यम्। 'अस्वतन्त्राः प्रजाः सर्वाः स्वतन्त्रः पृथिवीपतिरिति नारदीयात् ^६। अस्याप्यत्रैव तात्पर्यं, सम्राडादौ तदसंभवात्। संप्रदायोऽपि तथैवेति ^७।

अमीषां साधारणधम्मिनाहं भनुः ^८।

“ब्राह्मणान् पर्युपासीत प्रातरुत्थाय पार्थिवः।
त्रैविद्यविद्वान् विदुषस्तिष्ठेत्तेषाञ्च शासने ॥
वृद्धाश्च नित्यं सेवेत विप्रान् वेदविदः शुचीन्।
वृद्धसेवी हि सततं ^९रक्षोभिरभिमूज्यते ॥
तेभ्योऽधिगच्छेद्विनयं विनीतात्मापि नित्यशः।
विनीतात्मा हि नृपतिर्न विनश्यति कर्हिचित् ॥
बहवोऽविनयान्नष्टा राजानस्सपरिच्छदाः।
वनस्थाश्चैव राज्यानि विनयात्प्रतिपेदिरे ॥
वेणो विनष्टोऽविनयान्नहुषश्चैव पार्थिवः।
सुदाः पैजवनश्चैव ^{१०}सुमुखो निमिरेव ^{११}च ॥
पृथुस्तु विनयाद्राज्यं प्राप्नुयान्मनुरेव ^{१२}च।
कुवेरस्तु धनैश्वर्यं ब्राह्मण्यञ्चैव गाधिजः” ॥

^१ (क)। आद्यस्य पुनर्न्यायः। ^२ (घ)। कृतदण्डो न निवर्तते।

^३ (ख) (घ) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु। विरुद्धमिति।

^४ (ख)। धनग्रहणमिति। ^५ (घ)। साम्राज्ञा।

^६ ना० स्मृ०। ऋणादान प्र०। ३३।

^७ (क) (ग) योः। 'तथैवेतीति' इति।

^८ म०। ७। ३७-४२।

^९ रक्षाभिरिति पुस्तकेषु।

^{१०} सुन्दापैजवनश्चैवेति (क) (ख) (ग) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु। (घ)। सुन्दाः।

^{११} (क) (ग) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु। नेमिः ॥ (ख)। नैमिः ॥ मानवे। निमिः।

^{१२} (घ) (ङ) योः। प्राप्तवान् इति।

याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

“अन्यायेन नृपो राष्ट्रात्स्वकोशं^१ योगभिवर्द्धयेत् ।
सोऽचिराद्विगतश्रीको नाशमेति सवान्धवः” ॥^२

विनयः सुनीतिः सुशीलमिति केचित् ॥ मनुः^३ ।

“त्रैविद्येभ्यस्त्रयीं विद्या^४ दृण्डनीतिञ्च शाश्वतीम् ।
आन्वीक्षिकीञ्चात्मविद्यां वार्त्तारम्भाश्च^५ लोकतः” ॥

त्रयीमृग्यजुस्सामवेदान् आन्वीक्षिकीं तर्कविद्यां आत्मविद्यां वेदान्तम्; वार्त्ता
कृषिवाणिज्यादि शिक्षेतेत्यर्थः ।

“इन्द्रियाणाञ्जयेद्योगं समातिष्ठेद्विवानिशम् ।
जितेन्द्रियो हि शक्नोति वशे^६ स्थापयितुं प्रजाः” ॥

इन्द्रियाणां दुष्टविकारञ्जयेदित्यर्थः ॥

“दश कामसमुच्छ्राणि^७ तथाष्टी क्रोधजानि च ।
व्यसनानि दुरत्तानि प्रयत्नेन विवर्जयेत्” ॥

अष्टादश व्यसनानि त्यजेत् । तद्धेतुमाह ।

“कामजेषु प्रसक्तो हि व्यसनेषु महीपतिः ।

वि^८युज्यतेऽर्थकामाभ्यां क्रोधजेष्व्वात्मनैव तु ॥

मृगयाक्षा^९ दिवास्वप्नः परिवादस्त्रियो मदः ।

तौर्यत्रिकं वृथाट्या च कामजो दशको गणः ।

^१ (घ) (ङ)योः । स्वकांशं ।

^२ या० । १ । ३४० ।

^३ म० । ७ । ४३-४८ ।

^४ (घ) (ङ)योर्मनावपि । विद्यां ।

^५ (ङ) । वार्त्तारम्भाश्चेति ।

^६ मानवे तु ‘इन्द्रियाणाञ्जये’ इति पाठ उपलभ्यते ।

^७ (ख) (ङ)योः । रणे इति ।

^८ म० । समुत्थानि ।

^९ (ङ) । विसृज्यते । म० । अर्थधर्माभ्यां ।

^{१०} मृगयाक्ष इति मेधातिथिः ।

पैशुन्यं साहसं द्रोह ईष्यस्यार्थदूषणम् ।
 वाग्दण्डञ्च^१ पारुष्यं क्रोधजोपि गणो^१ ऽष्टकः ॥
 व्यसनस्य च मृत्योश्च कष्टं व्यसनमुच्यते ।
 व्यसन्यधोऽधो व्रजति स्वय्यात्यव्यसनी मृतः” ॥^२

तौर्यत्रिकं नृत्यगीतवाद्यं, वृथाट्या विफलभ्रमणं, साहसं वधादि, वाग्दण्डञ्च^३ वाक्पारुष्यं दण्डपारुष्यं, एष्वष्टादशव्यसनेष्वतिप्रसक्तिरेव निषिद्धा, न तु तत्संबन्ध एव राज्ञस्तद्विधेः ॥ याज्ञवल्क्यः^४ ।

“पटे ताम्रपदे वापि^५ स्वमुद्रोपरिचिन्हितम् ।
 अभिलेख्यात्मनो वंश्यानात्मानञ्च महीपतिः ।
 अलब्धमीहेद्वर्म्मण लब्धं यत्नेन पालयेत् ।
 पालितं वर्द्धयेन्नित्यं^६ वृद्धं पात्रेषु निःक्षिपेत् ॥
 स्वरन्ध्रगोप्तान्वीक्षिकां दण्डनीत्यान्तथैव च ।
 विनीतस्त्वर्थवात्तायां त्रय्याञ्चैव^७ नराधिपः” ॥

मनुः^८ ।

“अलब्धं चैव लिप्सेत लब्धं रक्षेत्प्रयत्नतः ।
 रक्षितं वर्द्धयेच्चैव वृद्धं पात्रेषु निःक्षिपेत् ॥
 एतच्चतुर्विधं विद्यात्पुरुषार्थप्रयोजनम् ।
 अस्य सम्यगनुष्ठानं नित्यं कुर्यादितन्त्रितः^९ ॥”

स्वनामाङ्कितमुद्रया स्वपत्रमात्रमङ्कयेत् । धनागमसमीहा धनपालनवर्द्धनानि कुर्यात्, पात्रेषु विश्वासपात्रेषु निःक्षिपेत् अतन्त्रितः^{१०} निरालसः, धर्म्मणेति

^१ (क)(ख)(ग) पुस्तकेषु । गुणो० इति ॥ म० । वाग्दण्डं च पारुष्यमिति पाठः ।

^२ म० । ७ । ५३ ।

^३ (घ)(ङ)योः । वाग्दण्डञ्च पारुष्यं ।

^४ या० । १ । ३१९, ३१७, ३११ ।

^५ (घ)(ङ)योः । पट्टे ।

^६ या० । पटे वा ताम्रपत्रे वा इति ।

^७ या० । वर्द्धयेन्नीत्या इति ।

^८ (क)(ग) । तय्याञ्चैव ॥ (ख)(घ)(ङ)पुस्तकेषु । सदा चैव ॥

^९ म० । ७ । १९, १०० ।

^{१०} म० । अस्य नित्यमनुष्ठानं सम्यगिति ॥ (घ)(ङ)योः अतन्त्रितः ॥

^{११} (ङ) । अतन्त्रितः निरालसः ।

सर्वत्रान्वयः । “धर्मेण दण्डविजयकरादिना वृद्धं भोगाद्युर्वरितं धनन्दानाय भुक्तये^१” इति स्मृतेः । “वृद्धं ^२व्यवहारिकधना”दिति नीतिकल्पतरुः ॥

“अध्यास्योद्वाहयेद्भाय्या^३ सवर्णां लक्षणांविताम् ।

कुले महति सम्भूतां हृद्यां रूपगुणान्विताम् ॥

कन्यानां संप्रदानञ्च कुमाराणाञ्च रक्षणम्^४ ।

राष्ट्रस्य संग्रहे नित्यं विधानमिदमाचरेत्^५” ॥

सवर्णां सजातीयां, लक्षणांवितां धर्मशास्त्रोक्तलक्षणांवितां, रूपगुणान्वितां सामुद्रिकलक्षणलक्षितां, कन्यामुद्बहेत्, कन्यादानं कुमाररक्षणं कार्य्यं, राष्ट्रसंग्रहे इदमवश्यमेव^६ कार्य्यमित्यर्थः ।

“स्वयं गृहीतराष्ट्रो हि पार्थिवः सुखमेधते^७ ।”

पुत्रादितो दुःखसन्देहात् स्वयं गृहीतराज्यो भूयादित्याशयः ॥

“ब्राह्मं प्राप्तेन संस्कारं क्षत्रियेण यथाविधि ।

सर्वस्यास्य यथान्यायं कर्त्तव्यं परिरक्षणम्^८ ॥”

अत्र क्षत्रियपदं राजपरम् उपनयनादिसंस्कारवता परिरक्षणं कार्य्यमिति प्राशस्त्यपरं, “बालोपि नावमन्तव्य^९” इति मनोरेव प्रागुक्तेः ॥

तद्यथा ।

उत्थाय पश्चिमे यामे कृतशौचः समाहितः ।

हुताग्निब्राह्मणांश्चार्य्यं प्रविशेत् स शुभां सभाम्^{१०} ॥

सभाकर्त्तव्यकलापाः “व्यवहारानृपः पश्येदि”^{११} त्यादिना धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धे विस्तारिताः ॥

“व्यायाम्याप्लुत्य मध्याह्ने भोक्तुमन्तःपुरं विशेत् ।

तत्रात्मभूतैः कालज्ञैराहार्य्यपरिचारकैः ।

सुपरीक्षितमन्नाद्यमद्यान्मन्त्रैर्विषापहैः^{१२} ॥”

^१ (क) । भुक्तये इति ।

^२ (ङ) । व्यवहारिक० इत्यशुद्धः पाठः ।

^३ म० । ७ । ७७ । तदध्यास्योद्वाहयेद्भाय्यामिति म० । अध्याप्योद्वाहयेद्भाय्या । (ङ) ।

^४ म० । ७ । १५२ ।

^५ म० । ७ । ११३ ।

^६ म० । ७ । ११३ ।

^७ म० । ७ । ११३ ।

^८ म० । ७ । २ ।

^९ म० । ७ । ९ ।

^{१०} म० । ७ । १४५ ।

^{११} या० । २ । १ ।

^{१२} म० । ७ । २१६, ७१७ । म० । अहार्यैरिति ।

महाभारते ।

“इन्द्रियाणि तु सर्व्वाणि वाजिवत्परिपालयेत्^१ ।
हितायैव भविष्यन्ति रक्षितं द्रविणं यथा ॥
आत्मा रक्ष्यस्तु सततं भोजनादिषु भारत ।
विहाराहारकाले तु माल्यशय्यासनेषु च^२ ॥”

हारीतः ।

“प्राप्तकालस्तु नीतिज्ञ उत्तिष्ठेत्कालसर्पवत् ।
^३महत्कालोप्युपायज्ञस्समये भवति क्षमः ॥
अविद्वानपि भूपालो विद्यावृद्धोपसेवया
परां सिद्धिमवाप्नोति जलासन्नतरुर्नृणां
सत्यैश्वर्यं तथा त्यागो नृपस्यैते महागुणाः
एतैस्त्यक्तो महीपालः प्राप्नोति खलु वाच्यताम्^४ ॥”

आत्मभूतैः प्रियैः, कालज्ञैश्चतुरैः, सर्वोपायैरात्मा रक्ष्य इति वर्तुलार्थः ॥

प्रधानतो राज्ञ एत ऐहिकस्वार्थाः । न च प्रजारक्षणस्यादृष्टार्थकत्वादिद-
मुक्तमयुक्तम्; अरक्षणे प्रजाक्षैण्यविरागभागधेयभङ्गप्रसङ्गात्, अत्र दृष्टान्तो विणो
विनष्ट' इति ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतो राजनिरूपणतरङ्गः ॥

^१ म० भा० । परिपालय । आश्र० प० । ६ । १३-१९ ।

^२ (घ) (ङ)योः । शय्याशनेषु चेति पाठः ।

^३ (ङ) । महानलोप्युपायज्ञः ।

^४ नास्ति मुद्रितहारीतधर्मः ।

अथामात्यनिरूपणम् ॥ (C. II.)

अमात्यं विना राज्यकार्यं न निर्व्वह्यतोऽत्र प्रथमममात्यो निरूप्यते ॥

मनुः^१ ।

मौलान् शास्त्रविदः शूरान् लब्धलक्षान् कुलोद्गतान्^१ ।

सचिवान् सप्त चाष्टौ वा प्रकुर्वीत परीक्षितान् ॥

मौलान् कुलसेवकान्, कुलोद्गतान् कुलीनान् ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः^२ ।

मन्त्रिणस्तु^३ प्रकुर्वीत प्राज्ञान्^३ मौलान् स्थिराञ्छुचीन् ।

तैस्साद्धं चिन्तयेद्राज्यं विप्रेणाथ ततः स्वयम् ॥

प्रथमं मन्त्रिभिः सह मन्त्रयेत् । ततो ब्राह्मणेन, ततः स्वयम् रहसि मन्त्रयेद्वि-
चारयेदित्यर्थः ॥

अमात्यकरणे^४ हेतुमाह मनुः^५ ।

मुखेनापि यत्क्रियते^६ तदप्येकेन दुष्करम् ।

विशेषतोऽसहायेन किञ्च^७ राज्यं महोदयम् ॥

तथा

“अमात्यमुख्यं धर्मज्ञं प्राज्ञं दान्तं कुलोन्नतम्^८ ।

स्थापयेदासने तस्मिन् खिन्नः कार्यक्षणे^९ नृणाम् ॥

^१ म० । ७ । ५४ । म० । कुलोद्भवान् ।

^२ या० । १ । ३१० ।

^३ या० “स मन्त्रिणः” ॥ प्रज्ञानिति (क) (ख) (ग) (ङ) पुस्तकपाठः ।

^४ अमात्येत्यारभ्य मन्त्रित्यन्तः पाठो नास्ति (ङ) पुस्तके ।

^५ म० । ७ । ५५ ।

^६ म० । अपि यत्सुकरं कर्म इति ।

^७ “किमु” । इति मिथिलास्थ-शिवेश्वरशर्म-गृह-प्राप्त-लिखितमानवपुस्तके
पाठः । किन्त्विति मनौ ।

^८ म० । ७ । १४१ ।

^९ म० । “कुलोद्गतम्” ।

^{१०} क्षणो । (घ) पाठः प्रामादिकः ।

अमात्येषु मुख्यमुक्तलक्षणमेकं^१ मानार्थं पृथगासने स्थापयेत् । अत्रार्थे व्यासः^२ ।

स्मृतिस्तत्परमार्थेषु वितर्कं ज्ञाननिश्चयः ।

दृढता मन्त्रगुप्तिश्च मन्त्रिणः परमो गुरुः ॥

मन्त्रिण इत्यार्षत्वादेकवचनम्^३ ॥

मनुः^४ ।

तैः सार्द्धं मन्त्रये^५ त्रित्यं सामान्यं सन्धिविग्रहम् ।

स्थानं समुदयं गुप्तिं लब्धप्रशमनानि च ॥

तेषां स्वं स्वमभिप्रायमुपलभ्य पृथक् पृथक् ।

सामन्तानाञ्च^६ कार्येषु विदध्याच्छिवमात्मनः^७ ॥

सन्धिविग्रहमिति समाहारः, सन्धिविग्रहमित्युपलक्षणम् । पृथक् पृथक् मतमा-
कलय्य चिरं चिन्तयेत् ॥

“सर्व्वेषान्तु विशिष्टेन ब्राह्मणेन विपश्चिता ।

मन्त्रयेत्परममन्त्रं राजा षाड्गुण्यसंयुतम्^८ ॥

१० नित्यं तस्मिन् समाश्वस्तः सर्व्वकार्याणि निःक्षिपेत् ।

तेन सार्द्धं विनिश्चित्य ततः कर्म समारभेत् ॥

पूर्व्वोक्तेन ब्राह्मणेन परममन्त्रं निर्गलितार्थं षाड्गुण्यं राजा मन्त्रयेदित्य-
न्वयः । “सन्धिर्ना विग्रहो यानमासनं द्वैधमाश्रय” इति कोषः^{११} । तद्भावः
षाड्गुण्यमित्यर्थः ॥

महाभारते^{१२} ।

मन्त्रिणश्चैव कुर्व्वीथा द्विजान् विद्याविशारदान् ।

विनीतांश्च कुलीनांश्च धर्मार्थकुशलानृजान् ॥

^१ मुख्यमुक्तलक्षण० । (ङ) । मुख्यलक्षण० इत्यन्येषु ।

^२ अत्र व्यासवचनानि लुप्तव्यासस्मृत्युद्धृतानीति । नैतानि प्रचलितव्यास
स्मृत्यावुपलभ्यन्ते ।

^३ कौटिलीये (५ । ३ ॥ ८ । ४ ।) मन्त्रीति प्रधानमन्त्री ।

^४ म० । ७ । ५६, ५७ ।

^५ म० । “चिन्तयेत्” ।

^६ म० । “समस्तानाम्” ।

^७ म० । “हितमात्मनः” । (ङ) ।

चिरमात्मनः ।

^८ म० । ७ । ५८ ।

^९ (क) (ग) योः । “संयुतः” ।

^{१०} म० । ७ । ५९ ।

^{११} अमरः । २ । ८ । १८ ।

^{१२} म० भा० । आश्रम० ॥ ६ ॥ २० । १४ । २१ ।

अमात्यानुपधातीतान् पितृपैतामहान् शुचीन् ।
 दान्तान् कर्मसु पुण्यांश्च मुख्यान् कर्मसु योजयेत्^१ ॥
 तैस्सार्द्धं मन्त्रयेथास्त्वं नात्यर्थं बहुभिस्सह ।
 समस्तैरपि च व्यस्तैर्व्यपदेशेन^२ केनचित् ॥

उक्तलक्षणान् ब्राह्मणान् मन्त्रेषु योजयेत्, बहुभिः सह न मन्त्रयेत्, अपि
 मन्त्रयेत्तदा केनचित् व्यपदेशेनेत्यर्थः । लक्षणमुखेनामात्यधर्म्माहृतुर्नारदहारीतौ^३ ।

कोऽन्त्रेत्यहमिति ब्रूयात्सम्यगादेशयेति च ।
 आज्ञां न वितथां कुर्याद्यथाशक्ति महीपतेः ॥
 अल्पेच्छो^४ धृतिमान् प्रान्नश्छायेवानुगतः सदा ।
 आदिष्टो न विकल्पेद्यः स राजवसतिं वसेत् ॥
 दूरादेवेक्षणे हासः संप्रश्नेष्वादरो भृशम् ।
 परोक्षेऽपि गुणः^५ श्लाघ्यः स्मरणं प्रियवस्तुषु ॥
 अतथ्यान्यपि^६ तथ्यानि^७ दर्शयन्त्यतिपेशलाः ।
 समे निम्नोन्नतानीव चित्रकर्मविदो जनाः^८ ॥
 नानिवेद्य प्रकुर्व्वीत भर्तुः किञ्चिदपि प्रियम् ।
 कार्य्यमापत्प्रतीकारादन्यत्र जगतीपतेः ॥
 स चामात्यः सदा श्रेयान् काकिनीमपि^९ वर्द्धयेत् ।
 कोषं प्रादुर्ह्यतः प्राणान् ततः प्राणाः स भूपतेः ॥

अल्पेच्छो^{१०} नातिघनाकांक्षी; छायेवानुगतो मन्त्रादिकार्य्यकाले न तु रहस्य-
 कर्मदौ निषेधश्रवणात्; पेशलाः प्रवीणाः, समे निम्नोन्नतानीवेति यथा चित्र-

^१ म० भा० । '०पुण्यांश्च पुण्यान् सर्वेषु योजयेः ।' इति वङ्गदेशमुद्रितभारते ।

द्राविडे तु '०सर्वेषु मुख्यान् मुख्येषु योजयेः ।' इति ।

^२ व्याप्तैर्वापदेशेन । (ङ) । ^३ नोपलभ्यन्ते नारदस्मृतौ मुद्रितहारीते च ।

^४ (क) । अल्पेच्छः ॥ (ख) (ग) (घ) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु । अल्पेक्षः ।

^५ गुणश्लाघ्यस्मरणं । (घ) (ङ)योः ।

^६ (ङ) । अतथ्यानि च ।

^७ (ङ) । निदर्शयति पेशला इत्यशुद्धः पाठः ।

^८ (ङ) । चित्रकर्माविदो जना इत्यशुद्धः पाठः ।

^९ "यः काकिन्यपि" इति (क) (ख) (ग) (ङ) पुस्तकपाठः सर्वथा शुद्धः ॥

^{१०} (घ) । अल्पेक्षः ।

लेखकाः पटादौ^१ लिखनकौशलेन समे निम्नमुन्नतन्दर्शयन्ति तथैव प्रवीणमन्त्रि-
णश्चातुर्य्येणातथ्यानि अप्रतीर्य्याणि^२ सप्रतीर्य्याणि^३ दर्शयन्ति ॥ तथा च यस्य
प्रतीकारोत्तरादि नास्ति तस्य तत्संपादयन्तीत्याशयः ॥ आपदि प्रियमपृष्टमपि
कुर्व्वितित्यर्थः, काकिनी वराटकसंख्या, प्राणाः प्राणतुल्याः ॥

अन्यच्च ।

धूर्तः स्त्री वा शिशुर्य्यस्य मन्त्रिणः स्युर्महीपतेः ।

अनीतिपवनोत्क्षिप्तः कार्य्याब्धौ स निमज्जति ॥

येषां राज्ञा सह स्यातामुपचयापचयौ ध्रुवम् ।

अमात्या इति तान् राजा नावमन्येत्कदाचन ॥

^४महीभुजो मदान्धस्य विषमे कार्य्यासागरे ।

^५स्खलतो हि करालम्बः सुहृत्सचिवचेष्टितम् ॥

मूर्खे नियुज्यमाने तु त्रयो दोषा महीपतेः ।

अयशोऽर्थविनाशश्च नरके पतनन्तथा ॥

प्राज्ञे नियुज्यमाने च सन्ति राज्ञस्त्रयो गुणाः ।

यशः स्वर्ग्यविलासश्च^६ पुष्कलश्च धनागमः ॥

धूर्तस्त्रीबालमूर्खा न मन्त्रिणः कार्य्याः, प्राज्ञा एव मन्त्रिणः कार्य्याः । अत्रापि
स्वोपचयापचयफलभागिनः प्रथमतो मन्त्रिणः कार्य्याः उक्तदोषगुणश्रवणात् ।
पुष्कलः सकलः । ननु प्रथमोक्तलक्षणबालस्य कथमत्र निषेधो युक्त इति चेत्सत्यं
परन्तु वयोधर्मस्य सर्व्वगुणेषु^७ प्राबल्यात् । तेन तत्कृतान्यायशङ्कां निरस्तु-
मशक्यत्वात् । अतएव मनुः^८ ।

मत्तोन्मत्तात्ताद्य^९ धीनैबलिन स्थविरेण वा ॥

नारदः^{१०} । “यद्बालः कुस्ते कार्य्यामि”त्यादि ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतोऽमात्यतरङ्गः ॥

^१ (घ) (ङ)योः । पटादौ ।

^२ (ङ) । अप्रतीकार्य्याणि ।

^३ (घ) । सप्रतीकार्य्याणि ।

^४ (घ) (ङ)योः । महीभुजा ।

^५ (क) (ख) (ग) (ङ)पुस्तकेषु । स्थूलतः ।

^६ स्वर्गं इति सुवचम् । (घ) (ङ)योः यशोऽस्वर्ग्यविनाशश्चेति सम्यक् पाठः ॥

^७ सर्व्वगुणभ्यः । (घ) ।

^८ निरासितुं इति साधीयान् ।

^९ म० । ८ । १६३ ।

^{१०} अध्यधीनैः । (घ) (म०) ।

मत्तोन्मत्तर्णाद्यधीनैः । (ङ) ।

^{११} ना० । ऋण० प्र० । ३९ ।

अथ पुरोहितादितरङ्गः ॥ (C. III.)

सर्व्वमङ्गलकारणमतोऽत्र पुरोहितो निरूप्यते ।

व्यासः^१ ।

वेदवेदार्थतत्त्वज्ञो जपहोमपरायणः ।

आशीर्वादपरो दक्ष एष राजपुरोहितः ॥

इदं पुरोहितस्वरूपम् । मनुः^२ ।

पुरोहितञ्च कुर्वीत वृणुयादेव चत्विजः^३ ।

तस्य गृह्याणि कर्म्मणि कुर्युर्वै तानि कानिचित्^४ ।

यजेत राजा क्रतुभिर्विविधैराप्तदक्षिणैः ।

धर्म्मार्थं चैव विप्रेभ्यो दद्याद्भोगान्धनानि च ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः^५ ।

पुरोहितञ्च कुर्वीत दैवज्ञमुदितोदयम् ।

श्रौतस्मार्तक्रियाहेतोर्वृणुयादेव च^६ त्विजम् ॥

यज्ञाश्चैव प्रकुर्वीत विधिवद्भूरिदक्षिणान् ।

भोगांश्च दद्याद्विप्रेभ्यो वस्तूनि विविधानि च ॥

अक्षयोऽयं निधी राज्ञां विप्रेभ्यः प्रतिपादितम्^७ ।

अस्कन्नमव्ययञ्चैव^८ प्रायश्चित्तैरदूषितम् ॥

अग्नेः सकाशाद्विप्राग्नौ हुतं श्रेष्ठमिहोच्यते ।

ऋत्विक्पुरोहिताचार्य्यैराशीभिर्भिवन्दितः ॥

अस्कन्नमन्यत्र^९ पतनाभावः ॥ उक्तपुरोहितादेरर्थधर्म्मयोरविशेषादत्रावसरः ।

^१ नोपलभ्यते मुद्रितव्यासस्मृतौ । ^२ म० । ७ । ७८, ७९ ।

^३ चत्विजम् । (घ) (ङ)योः ।

^४ म० । तेऽस्य वैतानिकानि च इति ।

^५ या० । १ । ३१३-३१६ । ३३२ । ऋत्विज इति या० पाठः ।

^६ ० राज्ञां यद्विप्रेषूपपादितमिति अपराकः ।

^७ या० । अस्कन्नमव्ययं (व्ययं वा) । अस्कन्दनमिति पाठस्त्यक्तव्यश्छन्दो-
भङ्गमिषा ।

^८ अस्कन्नं क्षरणरहितमिति मिताक्षरा ।

यत्तु यजनादेरदृष्टमेव फलमिति तन्न । “राज्यकामो विजयकामो धनकामः ^१पुष्ट्या-
दिकामो यजेदि”त्यादि दर्शनात्, व्यवहाराच्च । किञ्चाशीर्वादादेरर्थप्रयोजकस्य
पृथगुपादानात् । तथा चाह मनुः ^२ ।

न स्कन्दते न व्यथते न विनश्यति कर्हिचित् ।

वरिष्ठमग्निहोत्रेभ्यो ब्राह्मणस्य मुखे हुतम् ॥

सममब्राह्मणे दानं द्विगुणं ब्राह्मणब्रूवे ।

प्राधीते शतसाहस्रमनन्तं वेदपारगे ॥

पात्रस्य हि विशेषेण श्रद्धाधानतयैव च ।

अलं ^३ वा बहु वा प्रेत्य दानस्यावाप्यते फलम् ॥

न तं स्तेना न चामित्रा हरन्ति न च नश्यति ।

तस्माद्राज्ञा विधा ^४तव्यो ब्राह्मणेष्वक्षयो निधिः ॥

प्राधीते विद्यावति इदं प्रासङ्गिकम् ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतो राज ^५पुरोहितादितरङ्गः ॥

^१ पुत्र्यादिकामो । (ङ) । ^२ म० । ७ । ८३-८६ ।

^३ म० । अल्पमिति ॥ ० दानस्य फलमश्नुते इति ।

^४ म० । निधा० ।

^५ पुरोहितादितरङ्गः (घ) ।

अथ प्राड्विवाकः ॥ (C. IV.)

कात्यायनः ।

यदा कार्य्यवशाद्राजा न पश्येत्कार्य्यनिर्णयम् ।

तदा तत्र नियुञ्जीत ब्राह्मणं शास्त्रपारगम्^१ ॥

स्मृतिः ।

कुलशीलगुणोपेतः सत्यधर्मपरायणः ।

प्रवीणः पेशलो दक्षो धर्माध्यक्षो विधीयते ।

धर्माध्यक्षो न्यायकारी, अन्यकार्य्यसक्तः स्वयं यदि निर्णेतुमशक्तस्तदा राजा उक्तलक्षणं ब्राह्मणं न्यायकारित्वे नियुञ्ज्या^२दित्यर्थः ॥

बृहस्पतिः ।

राजा कार्य्याणि^३ पश्येत् प्राड्विवाकोऽथवा द्विजः ।

न्यायाङ्गान्यग्रतः कृत्वा सभ्यशास्त्रमते स्थितः^४ ॥

विवादे पृच्छति प्रश्नं प्रतिप्रश्नन्तथैव च ।

प्रियपूर्वं प्राग्वदति प्राड्विवाकस्ततः स्मृतः^५ ॥

पृच्छति विविनक्ति चेति प्राड्विवाकः । “विचारणपर्य्यन्तमेव प्राड्विवाकधर्म” इति पल्लवकारः । “न्यायाङ्गानि बह्विजलादीनि तान्यग्रतः कृत्वेति स्वरसाङ्गदिरपि” इति लक्ष्मीधरः । वस्तुतस्तु यथा नृपाज्ञा तथा कुर्यादिति व्यवहारोपि तथैव ॥

हारीतः ।

यथा शल्यम्भिषक्कार्य्यमुद्धरेन्मन्त्रशक्तितः^६ ।

प्राड्विवाकस्तथा शल्यमुद्धरेद्व्यवहारतः ॥

^१ (ख)(ग)(घ)(ङ)पुस्तकेषु वेदपारगमिति ॥ (ख)(ङ)पुस्तकयोः “शास्त्रपारगमिति पाठान्तरम्” इत्यधिकः पाठः ।

^२ (घ) । °दयमर्थः ।

^३ (ख)(घ)(ङ)पुस्तकेषु राजकार्य्याणि ॥ “राजा” ° इति कल्पतरुकारो लक्ष्मीधरः पठति ॥

^४ अपरार्कस्तु (या० २।३।) एतद् बृहद्बृहस्पतिवचनमित्युदाहरति ।

^५ वीरमित्रोदये “नारदहारीतौ । यथा शल्यं भिषक्कायादुद्धरेद्यत्नयुक्तितः” इति ।

भिषक् वैद्यः। शल्यमत्र छलम्^१ ॥

व्यासः ।

विवादानुगतं दृष्ट्वा ससभ्यस्तु प्रयत्नतः ।

विचारयति येनासौ प्राड्विवाकस्ततः स्मृतः ॥

मनुः^२ ।

सोऽस्य^३ कार्याणि पश्येत सभ्यैरेव त्रिभिर्वृतः ।

सभ्यत्रयस्यावश्यकत्वमित्यभिप्रायः, सभ्यचतुष्टयादेः प्रतिषेधाभावात् ।

नारदः^४ ।

यत्र सभ्यो जनः सर्वस्साध्वेतदिति मन्यते ।

स निःशल्यो विचारः स्यात्सशल्यः स्यादितोऽन्यथा ।

“निर्णयविषयं शल्यमधर्मरूपमिति सागरः । अत्रापि दण्डा^५द्वनमित्यर्थ-
परत्वम् ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतोऽत्र प्राड्विवाकतरङ्गः ॥

^१ शल्यमत्र लक्षणम् । (ङ) ।

^२ म० । ८ । १० ।

^४ ना० । ३ । १७

^३ (क) । सौम्यं । म० । संपश्येत् ।

^५ दण्डाधन० । (ङ) पुस्तकपाठोऽशुद्धः ।

अथ सभ्यनिरूपणम् ॥(C. V.)

सभासु साधुस्त्रभ्यस्तेन प्रथमं सभा निरूप्यते ॥

हारीतः^१ ।

प्रतिष्ठिताऽप्रतिष्ठिता^२ सुमुद्रिता शासिता सभा^३ ।

चतुर्विधा सभा प्रोक्ता सभ्याश्चैव तथाविधाः ॥^४

प्रतिष्ठिता पुरे ग्रामे नाना^५ग्रामेऽप्रतिष्ठिता ।

मुद्रिताध्यक्षसंयुक्ता राजयुक्ता च शासिता ॥

^६नृपाधिकृत-सभ्याश्च स्मृतिर्गणकलेखकौ ।

हेमाग्न्यम्बुस्वपुरुषाः साधनाङ्गानि वै दश ॥

तथाचायमर्थः । या ग्रामे राजग्रामे परिकल्पितस्थले सभा सा प्रतिष्ठिता, यदा कुत्रापि ग्रामे साऽप्रतिष्ठिता, याध्यक्षप्राड्विवाकाद्यधिष्ठिता सा मुद्रिता, या राजाधिष्ठिता सा शासिता इति पूर्वद्वये चापरद्वयं विशेषणम् । स्मृतिर्दम्भशास्त्रं स्वपुरुषा^४ वेत्रपाण्यादयः ॥

एषाम्मूर्द्धा नृपोऽङ्गानां मुखञ्चाधिकृतः कृतः ।

बाहू सभ्याः स्मृतिर्हस्तौ जंघे गणकलेखकौ ॥

हेमाग्न्यम्बुदृशौ दृष्टं पादौ स्वपुरुषास्तथा ।

दशानामपि^५ चैतेषां कर्म प्रोक्तं पृथक् पृथक् ॥

मूर्द्धा मस्तकः । अधिकृतोधिकारी, दृष्टं शास्त्रेषु ।

^१ बृहस्पतिः अपरार्कटीकायाम् (या० । २ । १ ।) ।

^२ या० अप० । अप्रतिष्ठा च । मुद्रिता इति (ख) (घ) (ङ) पुस्तकपाठो युक्तः । तथेत्यपरार्कः ।

^३ या० अप० । चलानाम् ।

^४ या० अप० । नृपोधिकृतः ।

^५ स्वपुरुषा वेत्रपाण्यादय इत्यारभ्य हेमाग्न्यम्बुदृशौ दृष्टं पादावित्यन्तः पाठः (घ) (ङ) योल्लेखकप्रमादात्त्रुटितः ।

^६ दासानामपीति पुस्तकेषु ।

वक्ताध्यक्षो नृपः शास्ता सभ्याः कार्यपरीक्षकाः ।
 स्मृतिविनिर्णयं ब्रूते जयं दानं दमं तथा ॥
 शपथार्थं हिरण्याग्नी^१ अम्बु तृषितक्षुब्धयोः^२ ।
 गणको गणयेदर्थं लिखेदर्थं^३ च लेखकः ॥
 सकृदुक्तं^४ गृहीतार्थो लघुहस्तो^५ जिताक्षरः ।
 सर्वशास्त्रसमालोकी एष शासनलेखकः^६ ॥
 प्रत्यर्थिसभ्याजनयनं साक्षिणाञ्च^७ स्वपूरुषः ।
 कुर्यादलग्नकौ^८ रक्षेदर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनौ सदा ॥
 अनग्नकावजातन्यायौ । एतानि प्रयोजनानि इत्यर्थः ।
 बृहस्पतिः^९ ।

एतद्दशाङ्गं करणं यस्यामध्यास्य पार्थिवः ।
 न्यायान्पश्येत्कृतमतिः सा सभा पुंससम्मता^{१०} ॥
 लोकवेदाङ्गधर्मज्ञास्सप्त पञ्च त्रयोपि वा ।
 यत्रोपविष्टा धर्मज्ञाः^{११} सा यज्ञसदृशी सभा ॥

मनुः^{१२} ।

यस्मिन्देशे निषीदन्ति विप्रा वेदविदस्त्रयः ।
 राज्ञश्चाधिकृतो^{१३} विद्वान् ब्राह्मणस्तां^{१४} सभां विदुः ॥

^१ (ङ) । “हिरण्याग्नि” इत्यशुद्धः पाठः । ^२ अपरार्कः । ० जन्तुषु ।

^३ अपरार्कः । लिखेद्व्यायमिति । ^४ (ङ) । सकृदुक्तगृहीतार्थ इति सम्यक् पाठः ।

^५ (ख) (ङ) योः । लेखकाग्र्यः ।

^६ (ख) (ङ) योः । एषः प्रोक्तो हि लेखकः ॥ (ग) (घ) योः । एषः स्यात्सत्यलेखकः ।

^७ साक्षिणाञ्चेति (क) (ख) (ग) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु ॥

^८ अपरार्कमित्रमिश्रोदाहृते बृहस्पतिवचने “कुर्यादलग्नकौ” इति पाठः ॥

^९ अपरार्कटीकायाम् (या० । २ । १ ।) ।

^{१०} पुंसेत्यार्षः ॥ (ख) (घ) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु । पुर० इति ॥ अध्वर० इति अपरार्कमित्रमिश्रौ पठतः ॥

^{११} विप्राग्र्या इत्यपरार्कपाठः । ^{१२} म० । ८ । ११ ॥

^{१३} राज्ञश्च प्रकृतो० इति मेधातिथिसर्वज्ञनारायणाः पठन्ति ॥

^{१४} ब्राह्मणस्तामिति मानवटीकाकाराः पठन्ति ॥

सप्त पञ्च त्रयोऽपि चेति तद्गुणवत्पुरुषपरम् । यज्ञसदृशीति । एतदुक्तलक्षणा
सभा प्रशस्ता अन्या त्वप्रशस्ता इति भावः ।

सभ्यानाह स^१ एव ।

साधुकर्मक्रियायुक्तास्त्यधर्मपरायणाः ।

अक्रोधलोभादशास्त्रज्ञास्तभ्याः कार्य्या महीभुजा ॥

नारदः^२ ।

राजा तु धार्मिकान् सभ्यान् नियुञ्ज्यात्सुपरीक्षितान् ।

व्यवहारधुरं वोढुं ये शक्तास्तदुपा^३ (?सदृषा) इव ॥

धर्मशास्त्रार्थकुशलाः कुलीनाः सत्यवादिनः ।

समाः शत्रौ च मित्रे च नृपतेः स्युः सभासदः ॥

विष्णुः^४ ।

धर्मकर्मक्रियोपेताः कार्य्या राज्ञा सभासदः ॥

व्यवहारोऽत्र विचारः धर्मशास्त्रार्थकुशलाः । मन्वादिधर्मशास्त्राणामर्थे
कुशला इति प्राञ्चः, नव्यास्तु अत्र धर्मशास्त्रं मुनिप्रणीतधर्मप्रयोजकशास्त्र-
मात्रं तेन मीमांसादेरपि संग्रह इति, मन्मते उभयोरविरोधः प्रथमे आदिपदोपादानात्
परन्तु धर्मशास्त्रं मन्वादिप्रणीतम्, अर्थशास्त्रं^५ राजनीत्यादि । “यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः
स्याद्धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयो”रिति नारद^६-वचनात् अर्थशास्त्रस्यापि निर्णयिकत्वाव-
गमादिति लक्ष्मीधरेणात्रैव व्याख्यातमिति युक्तम् ॥

कात्यायनः ।

अलुब्ध^७ धनवन्तश्च धर्मज्ञाः सत्यवादिनः ।

सर्वशास्त्रप्रवीणाश्च सभ्याः कार्य्या नृपैर्द्विजाः ॥

^१ मानवे वचनानुपलम्भात्, यज्ञसदृशीत्यादिसन्दर्भाच्च “स एव” इति
बृहस्पतिरित्यनुमीयते ॥ ^२ ना० । ३ । ४, ५ ।

^३ ना० । ‘सद्गवा’ । इति ॥ ‘पुङ्गवा०’ इति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकायां पाठः ।
मदनरत्ने.... कल्पतरावपि सद्गवा इत्येव पाठ इति मित्रमिश्रः ।

^४ वि० । ३ । ७४ । “जन्मकर्मव्रतोपेताश्च राज्ञा सभासदः कार्य्याः” इत्यादि
विष्णुस्मृतिपाठः ।

^५ अर्थस्त्वर्थशास्त्रं । (घ) (ङ)योः ।

^६ ना० । १ । ३९ ।

^७ अलुब्ध इति पुस्तकेषु । अलुब्धा० इति अपरार्कः ।

तथा ।

एवं शास्त्रमधीयानो^१ न विद्यात्कार्यनिर्णयम् ।
तस्माद्दुर्गमः^२ कार्यो विवादेनो^३त्तमो नृपैः ॥
यत्र विद्वाच्च विप्रः स्यात्क्षत्रियं तत्र योजयेत् ।
वैश्यं वा धर्मशास्त्रज्ञं शूद्रं यत्नेन वर्जयेत् ॥

वृषलस्य धर्मशास्त्रज्ञानेऽपि धर्मनिर्णयार्थं न नियुञ्जीत । तथाहि ।

अतोऽन्यैर्यत्कृतं कार्यमन्यायेन च यत्कृतम्^४ ।
नियुक्तैरपि विज्ञेयं दैवाद्यद्यपि शास्त्रतः ॥
यस्य राज्ञस्तु कुस्ते शूद्रो धर्मविवेचनम् ।
तस्य सीदति तद्राष्ट्रं पके गौरिव पश्यतः^५ ॥

व्यासः^६ ।

द्विजं विहाय यः पश्येत्कार्याणि वृषलैः सह ।
तस्य प्रक्षुभ्यते राष्ट्रं बलं कोषञ्च नश्यति^७ ॥

बृहस्पतिः ।

देशाचारानभिज्ञा ये नास्तिकाः शास्त्रवर्जिताः ।
उन्मत्तलुब्धकुद्धार्ता न प्रष्टव्या विनिर्णये ॥
एतेन वृषलसहायतापि निषिद्धा । तथा स एव ।
शब्दाभिधानतत्त्वज्ञौ गणनाकुशलौ शुची ।
नानालिपिज्ञौ कर्तव्यौ राज्ञा गणकलेखकौ ॥

शब्दाभिधानं कोषः, गणको ज्योतिर्वित् लेखको व्याकरणकोषवेत्ता द्वावपि
योगरूढी उभयत्र^८ तयोरेव कुशलतेत्यर्थः ।

^१ “एकं शास्त्रमधीते यः” इत्यादि कात्यायनवचनं पठत्यपराकः ।

^२ “०बद्वागम” इति अपराकः ।

^३ “विवादिषु” इति अपराकः ।

^४ “अन्यायेन कृतं तु तत्” इति अपराकः ।

^५ मानवेऽपि एष श्लोकः । म० । ८ । २१ ।

^६ (घ) (ङ)योः । नास्ति ।

^७ “द्विजान्” “कोषश्च” इत्यपराकः । (घ) (ङ)योः । कोषश्च ।

^८ (घ) (ङ)योः । उभय एतयोरेव ।

नारदः^१ ।

शुद्धेषु व्यवहारेषु बुद्धिं यान्ति सभासदः ।

शुद्धिश्च तेषां धर्माद्वि धर्ममेव वदेत्ततः ॥

कात्यायनः ।

अधर्माज्ञां^२ यदा राजा नियुञ्जीत विवादिनाम् ।

विज्ञाप्य नृपतिं सभ्यस्तदाकार्यं निवर्त्तयेत् ॥

इयमाज्ञा अधर्मायेति^३ नृपतिं विज्ञाप्य^४ निवर्त्तयेत् ।

^५सभ्येनावश्यकर्त्तव्यं धर्मार्थसहितं वचः ।

शृणोति यदि नो राजा स्यात्तु सभ्यस्ततोऽनृणः^६ ॥

न्यायमार्गदिपेतन्तु ज्ञात्वा चित्तं महीपतेः ।

वक्तव्यन्तु प्रियं नात्र न सभ्यः किल्बिषी भवेत् ॥

न चेत्सभ्यः किल्बिषी भवेदित्यर्थः ।

अधर्म्मतः प्रवृत्तन्तु नोपेक्षेरन् सभासदः ।

उपेक्षमाणाः^७ सनृपा नरकं यान्त्यधोमुखाः ॥

अन्यायतो यियासन्तं^८ येऽनुयान्ति सभासदः ।

तेपि तद्भागिनस्तस्माद्बोधनीयस्स तैर्नृपः ॥

अनुमतिं कुर्वन्तीत्यर्थः ।

मनुः^९ ।

राजा भवे^{१०} दनेनास्तु मुच्यन्ते च सभासदः ।

एनो गच्छति कर्त्तारं निन्दाहो^{११} यत्र निन्द्यते ॥

^१ ना० । ३ । ७ ।

^२ (क) (ख) (ग) पुस्तकेषु । अधर्मायेत्यपपाठः ।

^३ “अधर्मायेति” इत्यशुद्धः (क) (ख) (ग) पुस्तकपाठः ॥

^४ (ङ) । विज्ञाप्यालयं ।

^५ (ङ) । सखिनावश्यनिन्द्येते इति पाठः प्रामादिकः ।

^६ ततो नृप इति (क) (ख) (ग) पुस्तकेषु ॥

^७ (घ) । उपेक्षमाणाः । ^८ (ङ) । यियासन्तः ।

^९ म० । ८ । १९ । १५ । ^{१०} म० । ० भवत्य ० ।

^{११} (घ) । निन्दाहो यत्र विन्द्यते । (ङ) विन्द्यते । प्रामादिकावेतौ ।

धम्मं एव हतो हन्ति धम्मो रक्षति रक्षितः ।
तस्माद्धम्मो न हन्तव्यो मा नो धम्मो हतोवधीत् ॥

अनेनाः निष्पापः ।

नारदः^१ ।

ये तु सभ्याः सभां प्राप्य तूष्णीं ध्यायन्त आसते ।
यथाप्राप्तं न च ब्रूयुः सर्वे तेऽनृतवादिनः ॥
सभ्याः सभायामधम्मं^२ न्यायं बुद्धा मौनिनो न तिष्ठेयुः उक्तदोषात् ॥
इति चण्डेश्वरकृतोऽत्र सभ्यतरङ्गः ॥

^१ ना० । ३ । ११ ॥ व्यासस्मृतावप्येतदपरार्कपठनात् (या० २ । ४१) ।

^२ (घ) । अधर्मन्यायं ।

अथ दुर्गनिरूपणम् ॥ (C. VI.)

मनुः^१ ।

एकदशतं योधयति प्राकारस्थो धनुर्द्धरः ।

शतं दशसहस्राणि तस्माद्दुर्गं विधीयते ॥

इति दुर्गस्य प्रयोजनम् ।

याज्ञवल्क्यमनू^२ ।

रम्यं पशव्यमाजीव्यं जाङ्गलं देशमाविशेत्^३ ।

तत्र दुर्गाणि कुर्वीत जनकोपात्मगुप्तये ॥

तत्र तत्र च निष्णातानध्यक्षान् कुशलानृजून्^४ ।

प्रकुर्व्यादायकम्मर्मा^५न्तव्ययकर्मसु चोद्यतान्^६ ॥

पशव्यं पशूनां हितमाजीव्यं कृषिवाणिज्यादि । जाङ्गलमिति ।

^३अलोपदकतृणो यस्तु प्रचारः प्रचुरायतः^७ ।

स ज्ञेयो जाङ्गलो देशो बहुधान्यादिसंयुतः ॥

एतादृशो देशो जाङ्गल इत्यर्थः । तथा च सुजनहिरण्यरजतमणिमुक्ता-
प्रवालबहुमूल्यरत्नक्षौमवस्त्रा^८द्याधारकोप-स्वाभिगुप्तये इत्यर्थः ।

धनुर्दुर्गं^{१०} महीदुर्गं जलदुर्गं^{११} वार्क्षमेव वा ।

नृदुर्गं गिरिदुर्गं वा समाश्रित्य वसेत्पुरम् ॥

^१ म० । ७ । ७४ ।

^२ या० । १ । ३२१-३२ । (म० । ७ । ६९ । ६२ । ८१ ।)

^३ या० । आवसेत् ।

^४ या० । शूचीन् ।

^५ (घ) (ङ)योः । कर्मात्त इति पाठः प्रामादिकः ।

^६ (ख) (ङ)योः । ०प्रचोद्यतान् इति ।

^७ कुल्लूकटीकायाम् । (म० । ७ । ६९ ।) ।

^८ प्रवातः प्रचुरातप इति कुल्लूकपाठः ।

^९ (ख) (ङ)योः । ०क्षौरास्त्रा० इति । (घ) । क्षौरवस्त्रा० ।

^{१०} म० । ७ । ७० । धन्वदुर्गं महीदुर्गमब्दुर्गमिति पाठः ।

^{११} (घ) (ङ)योः । जालञ्च ।

अस्यार्थः—धनुर्दुर्गं^१ मुच्छ्रायवेष्टितं^२ सर्वदिशं^३ पञ्चयोजनं निज्जलं [।]
महीदुर्गं दृषदा पक्वेष्टकया वा विस्तारा द्वैगुण्योच्छ्रायेण द्वादशहस्ताद्युन्नतेन^४
संग्रामार्थमुपरिभ्रमणयोग्येन साधारण^५ गवाक्षादियुक्तेन प्राकारेण वेष्टितम् ।
जलदुर्गमगाधजले^६ चतुर्दिशं परिवेष्टितम् । वार्क्षं^७ दुर्गं बहिश्चतुर्दिक्षु योजनमात्रं
द्रुमकण्टकलतादिवेष्टितम् । नृदुर्गं चतुर्दिगवस्थाधि गजाश्वरथयुक्तपदातिपालितम् ।
गिरिदुर्गं सर्वतः^८ पृष्ठमतिदुरारोहं संकोचैकमार्गोपेतम्मध्ये नदीप्रसवणादिप्रयु-
क्तजलयुक्तं^९ बहुव्रीह्युत्पन्नक्षेत्रवृक्षावृतम् । दुर्गेषु^{१०} तेषु मध्यादन्यतमं दुर्गमा-
श्रित्य पुरं विचारयेदित्यर्थः^{११} । तथा^{१२} ।

सर्वेण तु प्रयत्नेन गिरिदुर्गं समाश्रयेत् ।

तेषां हि बाहुगुण्येन गिरिदुर्गं विशिष्यते ॥

त्रीण्याद्यान्याश्रितास्त्वेषां मृगगत्तिश्रयाऽप्सराः ।

त्रीण्युत्तराणि क्रमशः प्लवङ्गमनरामराः^{१३} ॥

^१ म० । धन्वदुर्गमिति ॥ (घ) (ङ) योर्नास्त्येष पाठः ॥

^२ कुल्लूकभट्टस्तु धनुर्दुर्गमिति पठित्वा “मरुवेष्टितं चतुर्दिशं पञ्चयोजन-
मनुदक ” मित्यर्थमाह ॥ मेधातिथिरपि धनुर्दुर्गमिति प्रतीकमुपादाय
‘उक्तप्रकारेण द्विगुणोत्सेधेनेष्टकेन शैलेन द्वादशहस्तादूर्ध्वमुद्धतेन ताल-
मूलेन कपिशिरीर्षचिताग्रेण दृढप्रणाल्या परिकृतं धनुर्दुर्गं” मिति कुल्लूक
विपरीतार्थमाह ॥

^३ (घ) (ङ) योः । सर्वतोदिशं ।

^४ हस्ताद्युन्नतेनेतित्वसन्दिग्धः पाठः ।

^५ कुल्लूकभट्टः सावरण ० इति । राघवानन्दस्तु “साधारणगवाक्षादियुक्तेन”
इति व्याचष्टे ॥ ^६ कु० । अगाधजलेन ।

^७ (घ) (कु०) वार्क्षदुर्गं । (ङ) । वार्क्षं दुर्गवहिः । समन्ततोऽर्धयोजनमात्रं
घनमहावृक्षान्वितं वार्क्षमिति मेधातिथिः । कुल्लूकस्तु योजनमात्रमिति ।

^८ कु० । पर्वतपृष्ठमिति ।

^९ (घ) (ङ) योः । कुल्लूकटीकायामपि । प्रयुक्त इति नास्ति ।

^{१०} (घ) । दुर्गेष्वेतेषु ।

^{११} कु० । विरचयेदिति तु समीचीनम् । ^{१२} म० । ७ । ७१-७३ ।

^{१३} “०नरापराः” इति एवं पूर्वार्द्धे “०श्रयापरा” इति च पञ्चपुस्तकपाठौ
प्रामादिकौ ॥

यथा दुर्गाश्रितानेतान् नोपहिंसन्ति शत्रवः ।

तथारयो न हिंसन्ति नृपं दुर्गसमाश्रितम् ॥

तथा च यथा तत्तद्दुर्गाश्रितान् मृगादीन् न हिंसन्ति तथा उक्तदुर्गाश्रितं
नृपं शत्रवो न हिंसन्ति इत्यर्थः ।

^१ तत् स्यादायुधसंपन्नं धनधान्येन वाहनैः ।

ब्राह्मणैः शिल्पिभिर्यन्त्रैर्यवसेनोदकेन च ॥

तस्य मध्ये सुपर्याप्तं कारयेद् गृहमात्मनः ।

गुप्तं सर्ववर्तुकं शुभ्रं जलवृक्षसमन्वितम् ॥

भारते ^२ ।

पुरञ्च तैः ^३ सुगुप्तं स्याद्दृढप्राकारतोरणम् ।

अट्टाट्टालकसंवेधं ^४ पदपथं सर्वतो दिशम् ॥

तस्य दुर्गाणि कार्याणि पर्याप्तानि बृहन्ति च ।

अदुर्गो विषयः कस्य नारेः परिभवास्पदः ^५ ॥

सर्वतः सुविभक्तानि यन्त्रैरारक्षितानि च ।

अदुर्गो नाश्रयो राजा पोतच्युतमनुष्यवत् ॥

दुर्गं कुर्यान्महात्मा ^६ तमुच्चप्राकारसंयुतम् ^७ ।

यो यत्र निपुणः कार्ये तञ्च तत्र नियोजयेत् ^८ ॥

कार्यमुद्दिष्टकर्मा ^९ योऽशास्त्रतोपि स मुह्यति ^{१०} ।

अथास्य संक्षेपः । आयुधधनधान्यवाहनब्राह्मणशिल्पियन्त्रयवसोदक-पुष्पवा-
टिकाजलाधारवृक्षयुतं गृहमालयाढ्यञ्च ^६ कारयेत् अट्टाट्टालकाद्यपि दुर्गस्या-
वश्यकतेति ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतोऽत्र दुर्गतरङ्गः ॥

^१ म० । ७ । ७५-७९ ॥

^२ म० भा० । आश्रम० । ६ । १६-१७ ।

^३ म० भा० (घ) (ङ) योश्च । ते इति ।

^४ म० भा० । ० संवाधं षट्पदम् । इति ।

^५ नास्ति मुद्रितभारते ।

^६ "ख्या०" इति (क) (ख) (ग) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु ।

^७ कर्ममुद्दिष्टकर्मा योऽशास्त्रतोपि स मुच्यति । (घ) (ङ) योः ।

^८ यवसेदन । (घ) (ङ) योः । ^९ मालयाख्यं । (ङ) ।

अथ मन्त्रणा ॥ (C. VII.)

तत्र मन्त्रणादेशमाह मनुः^१ ।

गिरिपृष्ठं समारुह्य प्रासादं वा रहोगतः ।

अरण्ये निःशलाके वा मन्त्रयेद्भूरिभावितः^२ ॥

कालमाह^३ ।

मध्यन्दिनेऽर्द्धरात्रे वा विश्रान्तो गतकल्मषः^४ ।

चिन्तयेद्धर्मकामार्थान् सार्धन्तैरेक एव वा ॥

महाभारते^५ ।

सुसंवृतं मन्त्रगृहं स्थलञ्चारुह्य मन्त्रयेः ।

अरण्ये निःशलाके वा न च रात्रौ कथञ्चन ॥

निःशलाके जनप्रचाररहिते । इयं देशकालव्यवस्था कालसापेक्षे^६ ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः^७ ।

मन्त्रमूलं यतो राज्यमतो मन्त्रं सुरक्षितम् ।

कुर्याद्यथास्य न विदुः कर्मणामाफलोदयात् ॥

मनुः^८ ।

जडमूकान्धबधिरांस्तैर्यग्यो नान्वयोतिगान्^९ ।

स्त्रीम्लेच्छव्याधितव्यङ्गान्मन्त्रकालेऽपसारयेत् ॥

^१ म० । ७ । १४७ ।

^२ म० । अविभावित इति ।

^३ म० । ७ । १५१ ।

^४ म० । विगतकल्मषः । इति ।

^५ म० भा० । आश्रम० । ६ । २२ ।

^६ इयं देशकालसापेक्षे । (ङ) ।

^७ या० । १ । ३४२ ।

^८ म० । ७ । १४९-१५० ।

^९ (क) (घ)योः । “०नुयोधिमान्” । (ख) (ग) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु ।

“०न्वयोधिमान्” । इति च पाठौ प्रामादिकौ ।

भिन्दत्यवमता मन्त्रं तैर्यग्योना^१स्तथैव च ।
स्त्रियश्चैव विशेषेण तस्मात्तत्रादृतो^२ भवेत् ।

महाभारते^३ ।

वानरः पक्षिणश्चैव ये मनुष्यानुमारिणः^४ ।
सर्वे^५ मन्त्रगृहे वाय्या ये चापि जडपङ्कजः ॥
मन्त्रभेदे हि ये दोषा^६ भवन्ति पृथिवीक्षिताम् ।
न ते शक्याः समाधानुं कथञ्चिदिदि मे मतिः ॥

एते जडादयो मन्त्रे त्याज्याः यत^७ एते स्वभावतः पापा अवमानिताः सन्तो
मन्त्रभेदका एवेत्यर्थः ।

मनुः^८ ।

यस्य मन्त्रज्ञ जानन्ति समागम्य^९ पृथग्जनाः ।
स कृत्स्नां पृथिवीं भुङ्क्ते कोपहीनोऽपि पार्थिवः ॥

नीतौ ।

षट्कर्णो^{१०} भिद्यते मन्त्रस्तथा प्राप्तस्य वार्त्तया ।
इत्यात्मना^{११} द्वितीयेन मन्त्रः कार्यो महीभुजा ॥

षट्कर्ण इति प्रभोद्वौ^{१२} कर्णौ मन्त्रिणां द्वौ कर्णौ तद्भिन्नकर्णद्वयपतनात्मन्त्र-
भेद इत्यर्थः ।

राजनीतौ^{१३} ।

संरक्षेन्मन्त्रबीजन्तु तद्वीजं हि महीभुजाम् ।
तस्मिन् भिन्ने ध्रुवो भेदो गुप्ते गुप्तिरनुत्तमा ॥

^१ ०योतः । इति (क) (ख) (ग) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु ।

^२ (ङ) । तत्रानृतो भवेदित्यशब्दः पाठः ।

^३ म० भा० । आश्रम० । ६ । २३-२४ ।

^४ म० भा० । वानरा इति । मनुष्यानुकारिणः इति च ।

^५ (ङ) । सर्वमन्त्रगृहे । म० भा० । वज्या ।

^६ (ङ) । भेदाः ।

^७ (ङ) । य एते ।

^८ म० । ७ । १४८ ।

^९ (घ) (ङ) योः । समगत्य ।

^{१०} (घ) (ङ) योः । आत्मनः ।

^{११} का० । १२ । ३३ ।

मन्त्रमाह^१ ।

सहायास्साधनोपाया विभागो देशकालयोः ।

विपत्तेश्च प्रतीकारः पञ्चाङ्गो मन्त्र उच्यते ॥

सहाया मन्त्रिणः । साधनोपायास्तर्कादयः । देशकालविभागानुक्तौ, यदेयं विपत्तिस्तदासौ प्रतीकार इति पञ्चाङ्गो मन्त्रः । अस्य प्रकारः ।

^२अनुतिष्ठेत्समारब्धमनारब्धं प्रयोजयेत् ।

प्रचारयेन्मन्त्रविदः कार्यद्वारेष्वनेकेषां ॥

यत्र तच्चेतसां साम्यं तेन^३ साधु समुत्पतेत् ।

यत्र मन्त्रिमनःसाम्यं तत्र^४ चेतो न शङ्कते ॥

यत्र सन्तो न निन्दन्ति तं^५ परीयाच्चिकीर्षितम् ।

धृतेऽपि मन्त्रे मन्त्रज्ञैः स्वयं भूयो विचारयेत् ॥

कार्यद्वारेषु मन्त्रबहिःस्थलेषु मन्त्रविदः स्वमन्त्रभिन्नान्^६ । अनेकेषां अनियमितप्रकारेण प्रचारयेत् । तथा चान्योपदेशेन मन्त्रसन्देहो निरसनीयोऽन्यमन्त्रित इति । एवं स्वमन्त्रमतसाम्ये ब्राह्मणानुमतं परीयात् एवं निर्गलितार्थमपि स्वयं बहु विचारयेत् । पुनः तत्रैव^७ ।

तथा वर्तते नीतिज्ञो यथा स्वार्थं पीडयेत् ।

मन्त्रिणः स्वार्थतात्पर्यादीर्घमिच्छन्ति विग्रहम् ॥

मन्त्रिणां^८ भोग्यतामेति दीर्घकार्याकुलो नृपः ।

आवर्तयेन्मुहुर्मन्त्रं^९ स्मरयेच्च प्रयत्नवान्^{१०} ॥

प्रयत्नेनाधृतो^{११} मन्त्रः प्रचलत्तन्निवद्देहत् ।

^१ कामन्दकः । १२ । ३६ । ^२ कामन्दकः । १२ । ३७-४० ।

^३ तेषु । इति गणपतिशास्त्रिणा मुद्रितेऽनन्तशयनीये कामन्दकीये । मैथिल-प्राचीन-का०-पुस्तके (१४७६ शाकाङ्किते) "तेन" इति ।

^४ का० । यत्र । ^५ का० । तत् ।

^६ "इदं कार्यमुपस्थितं तत्र किमाहुर्भवन्त इति कार्योपायेषु प्रवर्तये" इति शंकरार्यः कामन्दकटीकाकारः । ^७ का० । १२ । ४०-४२ । ४६ ।

^८ तेषां च । इत्यनन्तशयनीय-का० । सन्त्रिणामिति मैथिल-का०-पुस्तके ।

^९ मन्त्रान् कारयेच्च (घ) (ङ)योः ।

^{१०} धारयेच्च प्रयत्नतः । इति का० ।

^{११} अप्रयत्नधृत इति का० ।

यदा दीर्घकार्याकुलः स्यात्तदाऽस्मत्स्वार्थदः स्यादित्यभिप्रायः । अग्निवदिति यथाग्निः प्रचलन् दहेत्तथैव मन्त्रोऽपि ।

^१अप्यात्म^२सन्ततेर्मन्त्रं संरक्षेतत्परस्तु सन् ।

अरक्ष्यमाणमन्त्रं^३ हि भिन्दन्त्यात्मपरम्पराः ॥

आत्मपरम्परा आत्मीयपरम्पराः । य इष्टस्तस्यापि कोऽपीष्ट इत्यर्थः ।

मनः^४ प्रसादबुद्धी^५ च तथा कारणपाटवम्^६ ।

सहायोत्थानसम्पन्न कार्याणां^७ सिद्धिलक्षणम् ॥

मनोऽप्रसादो ऽस्त्यञ्च^८ सुप्तप्रलपितानि च ।

भिन्दन्ति मन्त्रं प्रच्छन्ताः कामिन्योऽवमतास्तथा ॥

प्रसादः प्रसन्नता । बुद्धिर्यथार्थस्वमतपरमतानुसारिणी, कारणपाटवं कारण-सम्यक्त्वम्, सहायोत्थानं प्रबलसाहित्यं, सम्पन्नमेभिः कार्यसिद्धिः, अप्र^९सादादि-पञ्चासिद्धिकारणं तथाचोक्तमन्त्रेणासाध्यमपि साध्यं, स कृत्स्ना^{१०}मिति मनोरभिधानात् तथा चामन्त्र^{१०}मन्त्रभेदे स्वप्रमादेषु सत्स्वर्थहानिरिति प्रकरणार्थः ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतोऽत्र मन्त्रणातरङ्गः ॥

^१ का० । १२ । ४५ ।

^२ आप्ताप्त० । इति का० ।

^३ अरक्ष्यमाणं । (घ) (ङ)योः । कामन्दकीये च ॥ भिनत्त्यात्मपरंपरा ।
(घ) (ङ)योः । कामन्दकीये च ।

^४ का० । १२ । ४२ । ४६ ।

^५ “०प्रसादः श्रद्धा वाक्” इति मै० का० । “प्रसादः श्रद्धा च” इति
अ० का० । ^६ करणपाटवम् इति का० ।

^७ अ० का० । “कर्मणां” ॥ मै० का० । “कार्याणां” ।

^८ का० । मदः प्रमादः कामश्च इति ।

^९ अप्रसादादि । (घ) (ङ)योः ।

^{१०} मन्त्रभेदेस्वप्रसादेषु । (घ) (ङ)योः ।

अथ कोषनिरूपणम् ॥ (C. VIII.)

नीतौ^१ ।बह्वादानोऽल्पनिःस्त्रावः ख्यातः^२ पूजितदैवतः ।ईप्सितद्रव्यसंपूर्णो हृद्यः^३ स्वाप्तैरधिष्ठितः ॥

मुक्ताकनकरत्नाढ्यः पितृपैतामहोचितः ।

धर्म्मार्ज्जितो व्ययसहः कोषः कोषज्ञसम्मतः ॥

आदानमत्र निःक्षेपः, निःस्त्रावो निष्कासनं, स्वाप्तैरतिप्रत्यायितैरधिष्ठितो रक्षितः, पितृपैतामहमुचितं यत्रेति समासः, धर्म्मार्ज्जितो राज्ञः प्रजापालनं धर्म्मस्ते-
नार्ज्जितः, आपदि व्ययेऽपि नाकुलः । तनु प्रजापालनमदृष्टफलजनकं कथं
तेनार्ज्जितमिति चेन्न, प्रजापालनस्यापि परम्परयार्थनिमित्तत्वात्, धर्म्माद्
वृद्धिरित्यन्ये ।

^४धर्म्महेतोस्तथार्थाय भृत्यानां भरणाय च ।

आपदर्थञ्च संरक्ष्यः कोषः कोषवता सदा ॥

^५आपदर्थमिति धनेन विपत्तिप्रतीकार इत्याशयः, संरक्ष्य इति सर्वत्रान्वयः ।
अत्रार्थे मनुः^६ ।

आपदर्थं धनं रक्षेद्वारान् रक्षेद्धनैरपि ।

आत्मानं सततं रक्षेद्दारैरपि धनैरपि ॥

आपदर्थं^७ स्वीयापदर्थमात्मानमित्युपसंहारात् अत्र धनमित्युपलक्षणं 'सर्वतः'
आत्मानं गोपायित' इति श्रुतेः ।

^१ कामन्दकः । ४ । ६०-६१ ।^२ "ख्यातः" । इति साधीयान् कोषस्य नितरां गोपनीयत्वात् ।^३ "हृद्यैः" । इति कामन्दकपाठान्तरम् ।^४ का० । ४ । ६२ ।^५ आपदर्थधनेन । (घ) (ङ)योः ।^६ म० । ७ । २१३ ।^७ आपदर्थमिति । (घ) (ङ)योः ।^८ सर्वत्र । (ङ) ।

क्षेम्यां सस्यप्रदां नित्यं पशुवृद्धिकरीमपि ।
परित्यजेन्नृपो भूमिमात्मार्थमविचारयन् ॥

इदं स्वरक्षाप्रकारान्तराभावे ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः^१ ।

हिरण्यं व्यापृतानीतं भाण्डागारेषु निक्षिपेत् ॥

व्यापृतानीतं नियुक्तैरानीतं कोपस्य भाण्डागारादयो भेदाः अत्र बहुवचन-
निर्देशात् । तदाह राजनीतौ महाभारते^२ च ॥

कोपस्य संचये^३ यत्नं कुर्वीथा न्यायतः सदा ।

विविधस्य महाराज विपरीतं विपर्ययात्^४ ॥

नीतौ^५ ॥

संवर्द्धयेत्सदा कोपमाप्तैस्तज्ज्ञैरधिष्ठितम् ।

काले चास्य व्ययं कुर्यात्त्रिवर्गपरिवृद्धये^६ ॥

काले आवश्यके, तज्ज्ञैः कोपकर्मप्रवीणैः 'आप्तैरतीष्टसम्बन्धिभिस्तज्-
ज्ञैस्तत्कर्मज्ञैश्चे'ति सागरः । 'तज्ज्ञैरिष्टै'रिति पल्लवः । तथा च धनार्जनं
कोपसंचयश्च त्रिवर्गहेतुरिति । 'धनमर्जय काकुत्स्थ धनमूलमिदं जगदि'त्या-
द्युक्तेः ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतः कोपतरङ्गः ।

^१ म० । ७ । २१२ ।

^२ या० । १ । ३२८ ।

^३ म० भा० । आश्रम० । ६ । ४० । ^४ म० भा० । निचये ।

^५ म० भा । विवर्जयेः ।

^६ कामन्दकः । ५ । ८६ ।

^७ "प्रतिपत्तये" इति अ० का० ॥ "परिवृद्धये" इति म० का० ।

अथ बलनिरूपणम् ॥ (C. IX.)

मनुः^१ ।

बलस्य स्वामिनश्चैव स्थितिः कार्यार्थसिद्धये ।

बलमत्र षडात्मकं स्वामिपदस्वरसात् । भारते^२

यात्राङ्गच्छेद्वलैर्युक्तो राजा षड्भिः परन्तप ।

युक्तश्च देशकालाभ्यां तथा^३ बलगुणैर्नृपः ॥

हृष्टपुष्टबलो गच्छेद्राजा वृद्धचुदये रतः ।

^४आहूतश्चाप्यथो यायादनृतावपि पार्थिवः^५ ॥

बलगुणैरित्यत्र बलं त्रिविधशक्त्यात्मकं, बलं शक्तिमात्रं तस्याः प्रथमतः उपयुक्तत्वात् इत्यन्ये । गुणा अत्र सन्ध्यादयः शरशिक्षादयोऽपि, दण्डिनीत्यादयः, इति गुरवः । अनृतावपि वक्ष्यमाणसंग्रामसमयभिन्ने, षड्भिर्हस्त्यश्वरथपदातिसेना-सैन्यात्मकैः^६ शक्तिस्त्रिविधा प्रभावजा उत्साहजा मन्त्रजा एतास्वपि मन्त्रजा बलवती तदाह कामन्दकः^७ ।

प्रभावोत्साहशक्तिभ्यां मन्त्रशक्तिः प्रशस्यते ।

प्रभावोत्साहवान् काव्यो जितो देवपुरोधसा^८ ॥अशिक्षितनयः सिंहो हन्तीभं यौवनं^९ बलात् ।तञ्च वीरो^{१०} नरस्तेषां शतानि मतिमान् जयेत् ॥^१ म० । ७ । १६७ ।^२ म० भा० । आश्रम० । ८ । १२-१३ ।^३ म० भा० । बलैरात्मगुणैस्तथा ।^४ म० भा० । अकृश० ।^५ म० भा० । पाण्डव ।^६ ०सेना-सेनान्यात्मकैरित्युचितम् ॥ कामन्दकीये तु 'षडङ्गं मन्त्रकोशाभ्यां पदात्यश्वरथद्विपैः' (का० । १९ । २४) । (ङ) । ०पादात० । (घ) (ङ) सेनात्मकैः ।^७ का० । १२ । ७-८ । १०-११ ।^८ जितो देवपुरोधसेति पौराणिकी कथा शंकरार्यटीकायां द्रष्टव्या ।^९ का० । केवलं ।^{१०} का० । धीरः ।

शक्याशक्यपरिच्छेदं कुर्व्याद् बुद्ध्या प्रसन्नया ।
 केवलं दण्डभङ्गाय दण्डिनः शैलताडनम्^१ ॥
 उपायपूर्वं लिप्सेत कालं वीक्ष्य समुत्पतेत् ।
 पश्चात्तापाय भवति विक्रमैकरसज्ञता ॥

मनु^२ : ।

कृत्वा विधानं मूले च यात्रिकञ्च यथाविधि ।
 उपगृह्यास्पदञ्चैव चारान् सम्यग् विधाय च ॥
 संशोध्य त्रिविधं मार्गं षड्विधञ्च बलं स्वकम् ।
 साम्प्रयाधिककल्पेन यायादरिपुरं शनैः ॥

मूले दुर्गराष्ट्ररूपे, विधानं पाणिग्राह्यविधानं, यात्रिकं यात्रोपयुक्तं बाह्यादि
 आस्पदं शत्रुदेशावस्थानायान्नादि,^३ चारान् शत्रुदेशमार्गमन्त्रविदस्तत्पक्षकापटिका-
 दीन् साम्प्रयाधिककल्पेन सांग्रामिककल्पेन ।

भारते^४ ।

प्रयास्यमानो नृपतिस्त्रिविधं परिचिन्तयेत् ।
 आत्मनश्चैव शत्रोश्च शक्तिं शास्त्रविशारदः ॥
 उत्साहप्रभुशक्तिभ्यां मित्रशक्त्या^५ च भारत ।
 उपपन्नो नृपो यायाद्विपरीतमतोज्यथा^६ ॥

षड्विधमपि चतुर्विधं तत्रैव ।

आददीत बलं राजा मौलं मित्रबलं तथा ।
 सदा अरिबलञ्चैव तथा श्रेणीबलञ्च यत्^७ ॥
 तत्र मित्रबलं राजन् मौलञ्चैव विशिष्यते ।
 श्रेणीबलं भृतञ्चैव तुल्यमेवेति^८ मे मतिः ।
^९ यथाचारबलञ्चैव परस्परसमं नृप ॥

^१ ०दन्तभङ्गाय दन्तिनः० इति (क)(ग)(घ)पुस्तकेषु, (ङ) । दण्डिनः ।
 कामन्दकीये च । ^२ म० । ७ । १८४-८५ ।

^३ (घ)(ङ)योः । अन्नम् । ^४ म० भा० । आश्रम० । ८ । ५-९ ।

^५ म० भा० । मन्त्र० । ^६ म० भा० । विपरीतञ्च वर्जयेत् इति ।

^७ म० भा० । अटवीबलं भृतं चैव तथा श्रेणीबलं प्रभो इति ।

^८ म० भा० । तुल्ये एवेति । ^९ म० भा० । तथा । इति ।

मौलं पितृपितामहादिक्रमागतम्, अरिबलं^१ शत्रुं विहायागतम् । श्रेणीबलं साहित्यार्थमागतम् । तथा च मौलबलं मित्रबलञ्च विश्वसनीयमतो विशिष्यते, श्रेणीबलन्तु भूतकवत् यथा भूतकस्य भरणमेव निमित्तं तेन प्राणसंशयेऽपसरणसंभावना तथा श्रेणीबलस्य साहित्यनिमित्तादपसरणसंभावना । अयमाशयः अरिबलस्य ग्रहण-मरिन्धूनीकरणाय न तु तत्र विश्वासः, पञ्चमे चारबले उभयसम्बन्धादविश्वास-स्तथैवेत्यर्थः । अतएव मनुः^२ ।

शत्रुसेविनि मित्रे च गूढे युक्ततरो भवेत् ।

गतप्रत्यागते चैव स हि कष्टतरो रिपुः ॥

गतप्रत्यागते एकदा तिरस्कारादिना बहिःकृते पुनरागते कष्टतर इति तेन कृतं वैरिनिर्ययितं अप्रतीकार्यमेवेति भावः । मनुः^३ ।

मार्गशीर्षे शुभे मासि यायाद्यात्राम्महीपतिः ।

फाल्गुनं वाथ चैत्रं वा मासौ प्रति यथाबलम् ॥

अन्येष्वपि तु कालेषु यदा पश्येद् ध्रुवं जयम् ।

तदा यायाद्विगृह्यैव व्यसने चोत्थिते रिपोः ॥

मार्गशीर्षे अग्रहणे स्वेच्छागमनमुक्तमिदं नाह्वानेन गमनादौ तदा गमने प्रत्यवायप्रसङ्गात् । संक्षिप्याह याज्ञवल्क्यः^४ ।

यदा सम्यग्गुणोपेतं^५ परराष्ट्रं तदा व्रजेत् ॥

इदं पूर्वकृत्यमथ संग्रामकृत्यमाह मनुः^६ ।

दण्डव्यूहेन तन्मार्गं यायात्तु शकटेन वा ।

वराहमकराभ्यां वा सूच्या वा गरुडेन वा ॥

यतश्च भयमाशङ्केत्ततो विस्तारयेद्बलम् ।

पद्मेन चैव व्यूहेन निविशेत् तदा^७ स्वयम् ॥

सेनापतिबलाध्यक्षौ सर्वदिक्षु निवेशयेत् ।

यतश्च भयमाशङ्केत्प्राचीं तां कल्पयेद्दिशम् ॥

गुल्मांश्च स्थापयेदाप्तान् कृतसंज्ञान् समन्ततः ।

स्थाने युद्धे च कुशलानभीरून्विकारिणः ॥

^१ अरिबलं शत्रुं विहायागतमिति पाठः (घ) (ङ)योर्नास्ति ।

^२ म० । ७ । १८६ ।

^३ म० । ७ । १८२-१८३ ।

^४ या० । १ । ३४८ ।

^५ या० । सम्यग्गुणोपेतं ।

^६ म० । ७ । १८७-१९१ ।

^७ म० । “सदा” । इति । (घ) सदा ।

संहतान् योधयेदल्पान् कामं विस्तारयेद्बहून् ।

सूच्या वज्रेण चैवंतान् व्यूह्य व्यूहेन योधयेत् ॥

दण्डशकटवराहमकरसूचीगरुडपद्मवज्राकारा व्यूहाः, व्यूहरचना तु व्यूहमध्ये पद्मव्यूहस्थो राजा अग्रे बलाध्यक्षः व्यूहपश्चात्सेनानीति^१ तत्पार्श्वयोर्हस्तिनः तत्समीपे व्यूहमध्येऽश्वाः । तत्समीपे व्यूहमध्ये पदातयः । व्यूहस्वरूपं सर्वतो भये सति समविन्यासो दण्डव्यूहः, पृष्ठतो भये सति सूच्याकाराग्रः शकटव्यूहः, पार्श्वतो भये सति सूक्ष्ममुखः पश्चाद्भागः पृथुमध्यो वराहस्तथा एष एव पृथुतरमध्यो गरुडः, वराहविपर्ययेण मकरः पश्चादग्रे^२ च भये सति पिपीलिकापंक्तिरिव शीघ्र-प्रवीरपुरुषमुखः सूचीव्यूहसमोग्रे भये सति पद्माकारः पद्मव्यूहः, वज्राकारो वज्रव्यूहः, इमौ सर्वसाधारणौ एतैर्गच्छेदित्यर्थः अत्र यदिशो भयं सेव पूर्वा, बलविस्तारोपि तत्रैव । गुल्मान्सेन्यान्तर्गतसैन्यसमूहान्, कृतसंज्ञान् भेरीपटहादिभेदेन कृतसंकेतान्, स्थानेऽवस्थाने^३ अल्पानेकत्रीकृत्य^४ बहून् यथेष्टं योधयेत् ।

युद्धक्रममाह^५ ।

स्यन्दनाश्वैस्समे युद्धयेदनूपे^६ नीद्विपैस्तथा ।

वृक्षगुल्मावृते चापैरसिचम्मयिधुः स्थले ॥

घोटकानाह^७ ।

कुरुक्षेत्रांश्च मत्स्यांश्च पाञ्चालाञ्छूरसेनजान्^८ ।

दीर्घाल्लघूश्चैव नरानग्रानीकेषु योधयेत्^९ ॥

‘कुरुक्षेत्राद्युपलक्षणमन्यानपी’ति श्रीकरः ।

भारते^{१०} ।

अथो^{११} पयायाच्छकटं वज्रपद्मञ्च पार्थिवः ।

उशाना वेद यच्छास्त्रं तत्रैतद्विदितं^{१२} विभो ॥

^१ इति । नास्ति (घ) पुस्तके । ^२ कु० । अग्रे पश्चाच्चोभयत्र भये सति ।

^३ (ङ) । अवस्थाने इति नास्ति । ^४ (घ) (ङ)योः । एकीकृत्य ।

^५ म० । ७ । १९२ । ^६ (ङ) । अनपे इत्यशुद्धः पाठः ।

^७ म० । ७ । १९३ ॥ (घ) (ङ)योः कुल्लूकटीकायाञ्च । “योधानाह” इति पाठः । ^८ सूरसेन ० इति (क) (ख) (ग) पुस्तकेषु ।

^९ म० । योजयेत् । ^{१०} म० भा० । आश्रम ० । ८ । १५-१८ ।

^{११} म० भा० । ‘अथोपपत्त्या’ ‘भारत’ ।

^{१२} म० भा० । विहितमिति ।

वारयित्वा^१ परबलं कृत्वा स्वबलदर्शनम् ।
 स्वभूमौ योजयेद्बुद्धं परभूमौ तथैव च ॥
 बलं प्रसादयेद्राजा निक्षिपेद्वलिनो बलान्^२ ।
 कृत्वा^३ स्वविषयं तत्र^४ सामादिभिरुपक्रमेत् ॥
 सर्वथैव महाराज शरीरं धारयेदिह ॥

मनुः^५ ।

प्रहर्षयेद्वलं व्यूह्य तांश्च सम्यक् परीक्षयेत् ।
 चेष्टां^६ श्चैव विजानीयादरीन्योषयतामपि ॥

प्रहर्षयेत्—जये तु^७ यशोभूम्यादिलाभः, संग्राममरणे तु यशोदिव्यस्वर्गलाभो-
 त्तमसुखानि, पलायनेऽर्थहानिः^८ अकीर्तिः नरकदुःखानि रणादपक्रान्तस्यापि काले
 मरणमवश्यमेवेत्यादि सप्रमाणवाक्यैः । 'भेर्यादिभिरपी'ति पल्लवः । बलमत्र
 सैन्यादि^९ परं 'बलमत्रषड्विधमिभादेरपि हर्षेण जयसंपत्ते'रिति लक्ष्मीधरः ।
 इष्टतया किमनिष्टतया इच्छया किमनिच्छया^{१०} युध्यत इति ज्ञापकेङ्गितादिरूपा
 चेष्टा ।

^{११} उपरुद्धचारिमासीत राष्ट्रं चास्योपपीडयेत् ।
 दूषयेच्चास्य सततं यवसान्नोदकेन्धनम् ॥
 भिन्द्याच्चैव तडागानि प्राकारं^{१२} परिखास्तथा ।
 समवस्कन्दयेच्चैनं रात्रौ वित्रासयेत्तथा ॥

^१ म० भा० । चारयित्वा इति ।

^२ म० भा० । नरान् ।

^३ म० भा० । ज्ञात्वा ।

^४ (घ) (ङ)योः । मासादिभिः ।

^५ म० । ७ । १९४ ।

^६ म० । (घ) । चेष्टाश्चैव ॥ (ङ) । "चेष्टाञ्चाव०" इत्यशुद्धः पाठः ।

^७ (घ) । "तु" नास्ति ।

^८ (घ) (ङ)योः । अर्थहान्यकीर्तिनरकदुःखानि इति सम्यक् पाठः ।

^९ (ख) (ग) (घ) पुस्तकेषु सेनान्यादिपरमिति ।

^{१०} किमनिच्छयेति पाठः प्रमादात् (ङ) पुस्तके त्रुटितः ।

^{११} म० । ७ । १९५-७ ।

^{१२} म० । प्राकारपरिखास्तथा ॥ (घ) (ङ)योः । प्रकारमित्यपपाठः ।

उपजप्यानुजपेद्बुद्धयेन्वैव^१ च तत्कृतम् ।

^२युक्ते च देवे युद्धयेत जयप्रेप्सुरपेतभीः ।

उपजपेत् भेदयेत् ।

विजयोत्तरकृत्यमाह स एव^३ ।

जित्वा संपूजयेद्देवान् ब्राह्मणांश्चैव धार्मिकान् ।

प्रदद्यात्परिहारांश्च व्यापयेदभयानि च ॥

सर्वेषान्तु विदित्वैषां समासेन^४ चिकीर्षितम् ।

स्थापयेत्तत्र तद्वंश्यं कुर्याच्च समयक्रियाम् ॥

सर्वेषामरिमन्त्रिणां चिकीर्षितमभिप्रायं, तद्वंश्यं निहतशत्रुवंश्यं स्थापयेद्राज्ये-
ऽभिषेचयेत्, समयक्रियामिदं त्वया कर्तव्यमिति व्यवस्थाम् । विष्णुः ।

“अरावाप्तौ^५ तद्वंश्यं^६ मभिषिञ्चेत्^७” ॥

अत्र बलायुधादिशिक्षादि^८ विस्तरभयान्नोक्तम् ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतोत्र बलतरङ्गः ॥

^१ युद्धयेदिति (क) (ख) (ग) (घ) पुस्तकेषु ॥ म० । बुध्येतैव ।

^२ “मुक्तेऽपि” इति (ङ) पुस्तक पाठः प्रामादिकः । म० । देवे ।

^३ म० । ७ । २०१-२ ॥ (घ) (ङ) योः स एवेति पाठो नास्ति ।

^४ समानेनेति (ङ) पुस्तक पाठः प्रामादिकः ।

^५ पुरावाप्तौ (घ) (ङ) योः ।

^६ तदवश्यमिति (ङ) पाठः प्रामादिकः ।

^७ विष्णुस्मृतौ तु (३ । ४७) “राजा परपुरावाप्तौ तु तत्र तत्कुलीनमभि-
षिञ्चेत् ॥”

^८ (ग) । बलायुधादि विस्तर० । इति ।

अथ सेनानी ॥ (C. X.)

मनुः^१ ।

अमात्ये दण्ड आयत्तो दण्डे वैनयिकी क्रिया ।

नृपतौ कोशराष्ट्रे च दूते सन्धिविपर्ययौ ॥

अमात्यः सेनानी, दण्डो हस्त्यश्वरथपदातादिः^२ ।

भारते ।

सेनाप्रणेता च भवेत्तावता तु दृढव्रत^३ ।

शूरः क्लेशसहश्चैव हितो भक्तश्च पूरुषः ॥

राजनीतौ^४ ।पितृपैतामहो^५ वंश्यस्संहतो दत्तवेतनः ।^६प्रख्यातपौरुषो जन्यः कुशलः कुशलैर्वृतः ॥

नानाप्रहरणोपेतो नानायुद्धविशारदः ।

नानायोध^७समाकीर्णो नीराजितहयद्विपः ॥^८प्रवासायासदुःखेषु युद्धेषु च कृतश्रमः ।अद्वैधः^९ क्षत्रियप्रायो दण्डो दण्डविदां मतः ॥^१ म० । ७ । ६५ ।^२ नैषोऽर्थः समीचीनः । “अमात्ये मन्त्रिणि दण्ड आयत्तः अधीन” इति रामचन्द्रः । “अमात्यः सर्वकार्यनिर्वाहक” इति नन्दनः । दण्डः शासनम्, यथा दण्डनीतिपदे । पदात्यादिरिति युक्तम् ॥ (घ) (ङ) योः । पादा-तादिः । कु० ।^३ म० भा० । आश्रम० । ६ । ४३ । “तव तात दृढव्रतः” । इति भारते ॥^४ कामन्दकः । ४ । ६३-६५ ।^५ का० । वश्यः । इति ।^६ का० । विख्या० । इति ।^७ का० । ०यौध० । इति ।^८ (ख) । “पुरा व्यायामदुःखेषु” । पुरायासदुःखेषु । (ङ) ।^९ अ० का० । ‘अद्वैध्यः’ ॥ म० का० । ‘अद्वैधः’ । आयुधः । (ङ) ।

पितुरयं ^१पितामहस्यायमिति पितृपैतामहो, वंश्यः संबन्धी, संहतोऽपेक्षितः, दण्डोऽत्र ^२सेनापतिविवक्षितः प्रागुक्तादुक्तविशेषणासंभवात् न च पदातौ सम्भवो नीराजितहयद्विपत्वाभावात् ।

^३नद्यद्विवनदुर्गेषु यत्र यत्र भयं नृप^४ ।

तत्र तत्र च सेनानीर्यायाद्^५ व्यूहीकृतैर्वलैः ॥

पार्श्वयोरुभयोरश्वा अश्वानां पार्श्वतो रथाः ।

रथानां पार्श्वतो नागा नागानाञ्च पदातयः^६ ॥

पश्चात्सेनापतिर्यायात्सेनामाश्वासयश्छनैः ।

मनुः^७ ।

आहवेपु मिथोजन्योन्यं जिघांसन्तो महीक्षितः ।

युध्यमानाः परं शक्त्या स्वर्गं यान्त्यपराङ्मुखाः ॥

न कूटैरायुधैर्हन्त्याद्युध्यमानो रणे रिपून् ।

न कर्णभिर्नापि^८ दिग्धैर्नाग्निज्वलिततेजनैः ॥

न च हन्यात्स्थलारूढं न क्लीवं न कृताञ्जलिम् ।

न मुक्तकेशं नासीनं न तवास्मीतिवादिनम् ॥

न सुप्तं न विसन्नाहं न नग्नं न निरायुधम् ।

नायुध्यमानं पश्यन्तं न परेण समागतम् ॥

न युद्धं व्यसनप्राप्तं नार्तं नातिपरीक्षितम्^९ ।

न भीतं न परावृत्तं सतां धर्ममनुस्मरन् ॥

यस्तु भीतः परावृत्तः संग्रामे हन्यते परैः ।

भर्तुर्यद्दुष्कृतं किञ्चित्तत्सर्वं प्रतिपद्यते ॥

^१ (क) (ग) । पैतामहस्य० ।

^२ दण्डोऽत्र सेनायाम् ।

^३ का० । १९ । ४४ । ४६ । ४७ ।

^४ का० । भवेत् । सेनापतिस्तत्र तत्र गच्छेद्० । इति ।

^५ का० । “नागानाञ्चाटवीबलम् । पश्चात्सेनापतिस्सर्वं पुरस्कृत्य कृती स्वयं, यायात्सन्नद्धसैन्यौघः खिन्नानाश्वासयश्छनैः ।”

^६ म० । ७ । ८९-९५ ।

^७ नासिदिग्धैर्नापि ज्वालन्ततेजनैः । (ङ) ।

^८ नायुधव्यसन० । इति मानवपाठान्तरम् ।

^९ म० । नातिपरिक्षतम् । इति ।

यच्चास्य सुकृतं किञ्चिदमुत्रार्थमुपाजितम् ।

भर्ता च^१ तत्समादत्ते परावृत्तहतस्य तु ॥

अत्र महीक्षित उपलक्षणम् । ^२सेनान्यादीनामप्येष एव धर्मः । ^३‘एषो-
ऽनुपस्कृतः प्रोक्तो ^४‘योधधर्मस्सनातन’ इत्युपसंहारात् । इदमदृष्टार्थं प्रसङ्गा-
दुक्तम् ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतस्सेनानीतरङ्गः ॥

^१ म० । तत्सर्वमादत्ते ।

^२ सेन्यादीनां (ङ) ।

^३ म० । ७ । ९८ ।

^४ यो हि धर्मः । (ङ) ।

अथ दूतादिः ॥ (C. XI.)

मनुः^१ ।

दूतञ्चैव प्रकुर्वीत सर्वशास्त्रविहारदम् ।
 इङ्गिताकारचेष्टज्ञं शुचिं दक्षं कुलोद्गतम् ॥
 अनुरक्तः शुचिर्दक्षः स्मृतिमान्देशकालवित् ।
 वपुष्मान् वीतभीर्वाग्मी दूतो राज्ञः प्रशस्यते^२ ॥
 दूत एव हि सन्धत्ते भिनत्त्येव च संहतान् ।
 दूतस्तत्कुले कर्म भिद्यन्ते^३ येन मानवाः^४ ॥
 स विद्यादस्य कृत्येषु निगूढेङ्गितचेष्टितैः ।
 आकारमिङ्गितं चेष्टा^५ भृत्येषु च चिकीर्षितम् ॥
^६लब्ध्वा च सर्वं तत्त्वेन परराजचिकीर्षितम् ।
 तथा प्रयत्नमातिष्ठेद्यथात्मानं न पीडयेत् ॥

दूतद्वारेण लब्ध्वा राजेति शेषः । दूतस्यावध्यत्वमाह नीतौ शुक्रः ।
 दूतो म्लेच्छोऽप्यवध्यः स्याद्राजा दूतमुखो यतः ।
 उद्यतेष्वपि शस्त्रेषु दूतो वदति नान्यथा ॥

तथा^७ ।

स्वापकर्षं परोत्कर्षं दूतोक्तैर्मन्यते च कः ।
^८सदैवावध्यभावेन दूतस्सर्वं हि जल्पति ॥

^१ म० । ७ । ६३-६८ ।^२ एतदग्रे (घ) (ङ)योः

“अमात्ये दण्ड आयत्तो दण्डे वैनयिकी क्रिया । नृपतौ कोषराष्ट्रे च दूते
 सन्धिविपर्ययौ” ॥ इत्यधिकः पाठः ॥

^३ (ङ) । भिन्दन्ते इति ।^४ (क) (ग)योः । वा नराः ।^५ म० । चेष्टामिति ।^६ म० । बुध्वा ।^७ (घ) (ङ)योः । ‘तथा’ इति नास्ति ।

^८ सदैवावध्यभावेनेति (ङ) पुस्तकपाठः सम्यक् ॥ “सदैवारा०”
 इत्यन्येष्वपपाठः ।

प्रतीहारकार्यमाह ।

^१ विश्वस्तांस्तान्विचिन्वीरन् ^२ द्वास्थाः पक्षान्तरं ^३ गतान् ।

ते शस्त्रवाहकाः ^४ ब्रूयुः प्रयुक्ताः स्म इति स्फुटम् ।

विश्वस्तान् यद्गमनेन न स्वामिभयादितान् (° भयार्तिस्तान् ?)
पक्षान्तरं ^५ गतान् प्रत्यर्थिपक्षोपगतान्, विचिन्वीरन् एकमन्तर्गमयेयुरेकं द्वारेऽव-
रुन्धन्ति ते चास्मिन्नर्थे वयं नियुक्ता इति ब्रूयुः समागतसज्जनमाना ^६ येत्यभि-
प्रायः ।

मित्रमाह मनुः ^७ ।

हिरण्यभूमिसंप्राप्त्या पार्थिवो ^८ न तथैधते ।

यथा मित्रं ध्रुवं लब्ध्वा कृ^९शमप्यायतिक्षमम् ॥

धर्मज्ञञ्च कृतज्ञञ्च तुष्टप्रकृतिमेव च ।

अनुरक्तं स्थिरारम्भं लघुमित्रं प्रशस्यते ॥

नीतौ ^{१०} ।

य एनमुत्पथगतं वारयन्ति निवारिताः ^{११} ।

सज्जमान ^{१२} मकार्येषु सुहृदो वारयन्ति हि ॥

^{१३} सत्यं न ते हि सुहृदो गुरवो गुरवो हि ते ।

^{१४} पश्यन्नपि भवत्यन्धो यस्माद्रागावृतः पुमान् ^{१५} ॥

^१ का० । ६ । १२ ।

^२ इति मै० का० पुस्तकेऽपि । अ० का० । 'विश्वस्ता विचिन्वीर्युः' ।

^३ का० । 'कक्ष्यान्तरागतान्' । ४ (ख) (ग) (घ) (ङ) । 'पक्षान्तरं गतान्' ।

^४ ग्राहका इति मै० का० । °ग्राहिण इति अ० का० ।

^५ (क) । °गमनाय । (घ) मानाय ।

^६ म० । ७ । २०८-९ ।

^७ पार्थिवेन यथैधते । (घ) । पार्थिवेन यथेजते । (ङ) ।

^८ भृश० इति (क) (ख) (ग) (घ) पुस्तकेषु ।

^९ कामन्दकः । ४ । ४२-६ । वारयन्त्यनिवारिताः । का० ।

^{१०} का० । सज्जमान० ।

^{११} इति मै० का० पाठोऽपि । अ० का० पाठः (४३, ४५) व्यत्यस्तः ।

^{१२} का० । 'वृतेक्षणः' ।

सुहृद्वैद्याश्चिकित्सन्ति निर्म्मलैर्विनयाञ्जनैः ।
 कृतविद्योपि बलिना रक्तो^१ रागेण रज्यते ॥
 रागोपरक्तचित्तस्सन्न किं कुर्यादसांप्रतम् ।
 राग-मान-मदान्धस्य स्वलतः पृथिवीपतेः ॥
 हस्ताबलम्बो भवति सुहृत्सचिवचेष्टितम् ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः^२ ।

हिरण्यभूमिलाभेभ्यो मित्रलब्धिर्वरायते^३ ।
 अतो यतेत तत्प्राप्त्यै रक्षेत्तत्त्वं समाहितम्^४ ॥

तन्वनयगामिनृपधारणे प्राणसन्देहस्तदा कथं निवारित इति सत्यमेतत्परन्तु
 श्रुतिस्मृत्यादौ नित्यत्वाद्वर्म्मस्यैव निरुपेक्षितत्वात्^५ लोकेऽपि वाच्यत्वप्रसङ्गाच्च ।
 तदाह^६

मदोन्मत्तस्य^७ नृपतेः संकीर्णस्येव दन्तिनः ।
 गच्छन्त्यन्यायवृत्तस्य नेतारः^८ खलु वाच्यताम् ॥

मित्रपरीक्षा ।

^९त्यागविज्ञानमन्त्राढ्यं^९ महापक्षं प्रियंवदम् ।
 आयतिक्षममद्वेष्यं मित्रं कुर्वीत सत्कुलम् ॥
 सत्कुलं कुलीनं तत एव मैत्री निर्वहतीति युक्तिः ।
^९दूरादेवाभिगमनं स्पष्टार्थहृदयानुगा ।
 वाक् सत्कृत्य प्रदानञ्च त्रिविधो मित्रसंग्रहः ॥

अभिगमनमभ्युत्थानं, स्पष्टार्थहृदयानुगा अच्छदमधुरा^{१०} वाणी, सत्कृत्य-
 दानमिष्टकरणमिति त्रिविधो मैत्रीरक्षणो^{११}पायः ।

^१ का ०। 'व्यक्तम्' ।

^२ या० । १ । ३५२ ।

^३ या० । 'वरा यतः' । समाहितः ।

^४ (क) । 'निरुपेक्षितत्वात्' ।

^५ का० । ४ । ४७ । मदोद्धत्तस्येति ।

^६ नेतरः (घ) (ङ) योरशुद्धः पाठः ।

^७ का० । ४ । ६६ । योगविज्ञान इति मै० का० ।

^८ का० । 'सत्त्वाढ्यम्' । मन्त्राद्यं (ङ) ।

^९ का० । ४ । ६९ ।

^{१०} मधुरानुरागिणी । (ङ) ।

^{११} मैत्री करणोपायः । (ङ) ।

^१धर्मार्थकामसंयोगो मित्राञ्च त्रिविधं फलम् ।

यस्मिन् ^२एतत्त्रयन्नास्ति तन्न सेवेत पण्डितः ॥

औरसं कृतं ^३सम्बन्धं तथा वंशं ^४क्रमागतम् ।

रक्षितं व्यसनेभ्यश्च मित्रं ज्ञेयं चतुर्विधम् ॥

औरसमत्र जन्मना सम्बन्धि, कृतसम्बन्धं पाणिग्रहणादिना ^५सम्बन्धि, वंश-
क्रमागतं पित्रादिमित्रं, व्यसनेभ्यः रक्षितं चतुर्विधमिदं मित्रमिति । न चौरसपदेन
पुत्रो, ^६मातापितृभ्रातृबान्धवादीनां ^७तथात्वात् ।

^८शुचिता त्यागिता शौर्य्यं समानसुखदुःखता ।

अनुरागश्च दाक्ष्यञ्च सत्यता च सुहृद्गुणाः ॥

यद्यपि सर्वं एवैते मित्रगुणास्तथापि समावेशात्संक्षिप्याह ।

^९तदर्थेहानुरागश्च संक्षिप्तं मित्रलक्षणम् ।

यस्मिन्नेतद्धि तन्मित्रं तत्रात्मानं विनिःक्षिपेत् ^{१०} ॥

तदर्थेहा तदिष्टस्पृहा । इदं सामान्यं, विशेषो मण्डलकथने (C.XII) ॥ चाराः ^{११} ।

मनुः ^{१२} ।

उपगृह्यास्पदञ्चैव चारान्सम्यग्विधाय च ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

^{१३}चारान् पश्येत्ततो दूतान् प्रेषयेन्मन्त्रिसङ्गतः ।

महाभारते ^{१४} ।

चारैर्विदित्वा शत्रूश्च ये राज्ञामन्तरैषिणः ।

तानाप्तः ^{१५} पुरुषैर्दूराद्घातयेथा नरर्षभ ^{१६} ॥

^१ का० । ४ । ७०-७१ ।

^२ इति मै० का० पाठोऽपि । अ० का० । 'यस्मात्' । मैत्रसम्बद्धं । देश० ।

^३ पाणिग्रहादिना । (ङ) । ^४ पुत्राविति । (घ) ।

^५ मातृ० इति पठनीयम् । ^६ का० । ४ । ७२ ।

^७ का० । ४ । ७३ ।

^८ का० । 'यस्मिन्नेतन्न तन्मित्रं न निक्षिपेत्' ।

^९ नास्ति । (घ) (ङ) योः । ^{१०} म० । ७ । १८४ ।

^{११} या० । १ । ३२७ । पश्येच्चारांस्ततो दूतानिति या० ।

^{१२} म० भा० । आश्रम० । ६ । ३६ ॥ ७ । १३ ।

^{१३} म० भा० । आप्तैः । इति । (घ) । म० भा० । नराधिप ।

प्रकृतीनाञ्च राजेन्द्र चाराणां^१ च विभावयेत् ।

क्रमेण युगपत्सर्वं^२ व्यवसायं महाबलम् (read बलाबलम्) ॥

बलाबलादिज्ञानार्थं प्रथमं चारान् पश्येत्ततो दूतानित्यर्थः । चारान् गूढान्
गूढपुरुषान् दूतान् परस्परं^३ वृत्तसूचकान् ।

राजनीतौ^४ ।

प्रख्यातवंशं^५ मक्रूरं लोकसङ्ग्राहिणं शुचिम्^६ ।

कुर्वीतात्महिताकाङ्क्षी परिवारं महीपतिः ॥

^७ क्रूरोऽपि भाग्यतामेति परिवारगुणैर्नृपः ।

प्रख्यातवंशं कुलीनं लोकसङ्ग्राहिणं सापेक्षं परिवारं सेवकम् । सपरिवार-
कृत्यमाह^८ ।

वृत्तस्थं वृत्तसंपन्नाः कल्पवृक्षोपमं नृपम् ।

उपगम्य^९ गुणैर्युक्तं सेवेरन्ननुजीविनः ॥

द्रव्यप्रकृतिहीनोऽपि सेव्यः सेव्यगुणान्वितः^{१०} ।

भवत्याजीवनं तस्मात् श्लाघ्यं कालान्तरादपि ॥

अनात्मवान्नयद्वेषी वर्धयन्नरिसम्पदः ।

प्राप्यापि महदैश्वर्यं सह तेन विपद्यते^{११} ॥

अनात्मवान्नयः नयद्वेषी नीतिनिन्दकः रिपुसंपद्वर्द्धको न सेव्य इत्याशयः

^{१२} तत्क्लिश्यन्नापकुर्वीत ^{१३} न ^{१४} लोकद्वेषमाचरेत् ।

^१ म० भा० । राजादीनामिति [राजादीनानिति, वा (कु० म० भा०)] ।

बुध्वा व्यसनानां बलाबलम् । म० भा० ।

^२ परस्परवृत्तसूचकान् (घ) (ङ) योः ।

^३ का० । ४ । १०-११ ।

^४ म० का० । 'वर्त्म' ।

^५ शुचीन् । (घ) (ङ) योः ।

^६ म० का० । 'क्रूरोऽपि सेव्यता०' । आ० का० । 'दुष्टोऽपि' (क्रूरोऽपि वा)
भोग्यता० ।

^७ लोकसापेक्षं लोकसंग्राहिणम् । (ङ) ।

^८ का० । ५ । १-२ । ४ ।

^९ का० । 'अभिगम्य०' ।

^{१०} म० का० । 'गुणैर्युक्तः' ।

^{११} का । विनश्यति । इति पाठान्तरम् ।

^{१२} का० । ५ । ६ ।

^{१३} का० । 'तत्क्लिश्यन्नपि०' ॥ म० का० । 'न्नपि' मेधावी ।

^{१४} लोके (ङ) । का० ०द्विष्ट० ।

स्वामितो दुःखितोऽपि स्वामिनो नापकारं कुर्यात् न परद्वेषमाचरेत् वृथेति
शेषः ।

^१ क्लिश्यन्नपि हि मेधावी शुद्धं जीवनमाचरेत् ।

तेनेह श्लाघ्यतामेति लोकेभ्यस्तु न हीयते ॥

आरिराधयिषुस्सम्यगनुजीवी महीभुजम्^२ ।

विद्याविनयशिल्पाद्यैरात्मानमुपपादयेत् ॥

कुलविद्याश्रुतौदार्यशिल्पविक्रमधैर्यवान् ।

वपुस्सत्त्वबलारोग्यसत्य^३शौचदयान्वितः ॥

पैशुन्यद्रोहसंभेदशाठ्यमौढ्या^४नृतातिगः ।

^५ दम्भचापल्यहीनश्च सेवनं कर्तुमर्हति ॥

सम्भेदोऽत्र कलिकर्म ।

^६ दक्षता भद्रता दाढ्यं क्षान्तिःक्लेशसहिष्णुता ।

सन्तोषः शीलमुत्साहो मण्डयन्त्यनुजीविनम् ॥

इत्यष्टौ प्रधानगुणाः ।

परस्थानासनं क्रौर्यमौढ्यं मत्सरं त्यजेत् ।

^७ विसृज्य कथनञ्चैव न कुर्याज्जायया^८ सह ॥

राजवेश्मनि एकान्ते कथनं स्त्रिया सह न कुर्यात् जायया राजजाययेति ।

“राजानं विसृज्य न कुर्यादि”ति पल्लवः ।

^९ विप्रलम्भं च मायां च दम्भं स्तेयं च वर्जयेत् ।

स्तेयं विवर्जयेत् । यद्यपि सर्वनिषेधस्तथापि राजवेश्मनि सन्निहितभयादत्र
विशेषतो निषेध इत्याशयः ।

^१ का० । ५ । ९ । १२-१४ । क्लिश्यन्नपीह । (ङ) ।

^२ महीभुजाम् । (ङ) । का० । महीपतिम् ।

^३ का० । सत्यैशौच० ।

^४ का० । लौल्य० । मौढ्यनृतातिगः । (ङ) ।

^५ का० । स्तम्भचापल० । (ङ) । ०हीनश्च ।

^६ का० । ५ । १५ ।

^७ का० । ५ । १८ । विगृह्य कथनं चापि ।

^८ का० । ‘जायया’ ।

^९ का० । ५ । १९ । (ङ) । दम्भस्तेयं ।

१ न नर्मसचिवैः सार्धं किञ्चिदप्यप्रियं वदेत् ।

तेऽस्य मर्माणि कृन्तन्ति २ प्रहासेनैव संसदि ॥

नर्ममु सचिवैर्नर्मसचिवैः परिहासादिचतुरैः, कटुनादिभिरिति पल्लवः ।
प्रियाद्विज्ञप्तमप्रियं साभिप्रायार्थवचनमिति यावत् मर्माण्याशयानि । तथा च तैः
सभायां तद्वचनप्रहासेन तदुच्छेद इत्यर्थः ।

३ भर्तुरर्धासने ४ दृष्टिं मुहुर्नान्यत्र कारयेत् ५ ।

न ब्रूयात्किञ्चिदन्योन्यं तिष्ठेदास्यं विलोकयन् ॥

कोऽनेत्यहमिति ब्रूयात्सम्यगादेशयेति ६ च ।

आज्ञां न वितथां कुर्याद्यथाशक्त्यविलम्बितः ७ ॥

उच्चैः प्रकथनं हास्यं ८ ष्ठीवनं कुत्सितं ९ तथा ।

जृम्भणं गात्रभङ्गं च पर्वस्फोटं विवर्जयेत् ॥

अर्धासने पुरोभागार्धासने अन्योन्यं सेवकेन सह न ब्रूयात् । ष्ठीवनं मुखनिर्गत-
जलविन्दुविशेषम् । जृम्भणं मुखव्यायक्रियाविशेषं, गात्रभङ्गं गात्रकौटिल्यक्रिया-
विशेषं पर्वस्फोटमङ्गुलीपर्वस्फोटनम् ।

९ समर्थयंश्च तत्पक्षं साधु भाषेत १० भाषितम् ।

तत्पक्षं प्रमुपक्षम् ।

११ विजानन्नपि न ब्रूयाद्भर्तुः क्षिप्तोत्तरं वचः ।

प्रवीणोऽपि हि मेधावी वर्जयेदभिमानिताम् ॥

क्षिप्तोत्तरम् परित्यक्तोत्तरम् ।

१२ यदप्युच्चैर्विजानीयान्नीचैस्तदपि कीर्तयेत् ।

१३ कर्मणा तस्य वैशिष्ट्यं कथयेद्विनयान्वितः ॥

१ का० । ५ । २० । २ इति मै० का० पाठोऽपि । अ० का० । 'अभिघ्नन्ति' ।

३ का० । ५ । २१-२३ ।

४ इति मै० का० पाठोऽपि । अ० । का० । अन्वासितः । निक्षिपेत् ।

५ का० । 'आज्ञापयेति' ।

६ इति मै० का० पाठोऽपि । अ० का० । 'अविलम्बितम्' ।

७ का० । हासं । ८ का० । कुत्सितं ।

९ का० । ५ । २४ ।

१० (क) (ख) (ग) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु 'भाषित' ।

११ का० । ५ । २६ ।

१२ का० । ५ । २७ ।

१३ कर्मणा तस्येत्यारभ्य मृदु कीर्तयेदित्यन्तः
पाठो लेखकप्रभावात् (ङ) पुस्तके द्रुदितः ॥

प्रबलतरमपि वचनं मृदु कीर्तयेत् कर्मणा सोपन्यासेन ।

^१ आपद्यन्मार्गगमने कार्यत्यागात्ययेषु ^२ च ।

^३ तन्नियोगेन तु ब्रूयादर्थं सुपरिनिष्ठितम् ^४ ॥

अत्र तदभिप्रेतं ब्रूयात् । इदं तु कार्यसिद्धौ मज्जमानमकार्येष्वित्यादि-
वचनात् ।

मुखप्रसन्नगोष्ठीषु ^५ वादेषु वादिनां मतम् ।

^६ अपृष्टोऽपि हितान्वेषी ब्रूयात्कल्याणभाषितम् ॥

^७ गुह्यं कर्म च मन्त्रं च न भर्तुः संप्रकाशयेत् ।

विद्वेषं च विनाशं च ^८ मनसापि न चिन्तयेत् ॥

स्त्रीभिस्तर्द्दशिभिः पापैर्वैरिभूतैः ^९ निराकृतैः ।

एकार्थचर्यां संवासं ^{१०} संसर्गं च विवर्जयेत् ।

देशभावा ^{११} नुकरणं न कुर्यात्पृथिवीपतेः ॥

सम्पन्नोऽपि हि मेधावी स्पृष्टो न च तद्गुणैः ।

रागानुरागौ ^{१२} जानीयाद्भर्तुः कुशलकर्मकृत् ॥

इङ्गिताकारतत्त्वाद्यैः ^{१३} रिङ्गिताकारस्त्ववित् ।

दृष्ट्वा प्रसन्नो भवति वाक्यं गृह्णाति चादरात् ॥

स्वामिनो मय्यनु ^{१४} रक्ति(नं) वेति विज्ञापयेत् (? विजानीयात्) । मय्यनु-

^१ का० । ५ । २८ ।

^२ का० । 'कार्यकालात्ययेषु' ।

^३ का० । ५ । २५ । एषः श्लोकानुक्रमः (अ० का० २६, २९, २८, २५)

सै० कामन्दकीयेऽपि । व्यत्यासः अ० कामन्दकीये ।

^४ का० । सुपरिनिश्चितम् । इति पाठान्तरम् ।

^५ का० । मुखप्रबन्ध० ।

^६ का० । ५ । २८ ।

^७ का० । ५ । ३१-३५ ।

^८ इति सै० का० पाठोऽपि ॥ अ० का० । 'विद्विष्टमपि नाशं च' ।

^९ का० । ०कृतैः ।

^{१०} का० । एकार्थचर्यासङ्घातं ॥

^{११} का० । देशभाषा० ।

^{१२} का० । 'रागापरागौ' ।

^{१३} का० । 'इङ्गिताकारलिङ्गाभ्याम्' ।

^{१४} स्वामिनो मय्यनुरक्तिर्वेति । (घ) (ङ)योः ।

रक्तविरक्तस्य स्वरूपमाह ।

१ दिशत्यासनमभ्याशे कुशलं परिपृच्छति ।
 विविक्तदर्शने २ स्थाने रहस्यं च ३ न शङ्कते ४ ॥
 ३ तदर्थान्तकृतां चोच्चैराकर्णयति सत्कथाम् ।
 श्लाघते श्लाघ्यमानेषु श्लाघनीयञ्च नन्दते ५ ॥
 कथारम्भेषु ६ स्मरति प्रकृष्टं ७ कीर्तयेद्गुणान् ।
 सहते तथ्यमप्युक्तं ८ न निन्दामनुवर्तते ९ ॥
 करोति वाक्यं तद्वक्तं १० तद्वचो ११ बहुमन्यते ।
 उपचारेषु माध्यस्थ्यं १२ दर्शयत्यद्भुतेषु च १३ ।
 तत्कृतं कर्म चान्येन कृतमित्यभिभाषते ॥

रहस्यं न शङ्कते, १३ गोप्यमिदमनेनास्य भेद इति न शङ्कते तदर्थं तदिष्टं
 कार्यान्तरेष्वनवसरेषु । अतथ्यमपि तेनोक्तं सहते क्षमते तत्कृतं कर्म्ममिति अन्यकृतं
 उत्कृतं भाषते च शब्दाद्विपरीतं कर्म्म तेन कृतमन्यकृतं भाषते अनुरक्तौ ।

१४ विपक्षमुत्थापयति विनाशं चाप्युपेक्षते ।
 कथ्यं संवर्धयत्याशां फले च कुरुतेऽन्यथा ॥

१ का० । ५ । ३५-४० ।

२ ०दर्शनमिति पुस्तकेषु ॥ का० । ०दर्शने । इति । रहस्ये । इति । (घ)
 (ङ)योः । शङ्कते ।

३ तदर्थं तत्कृतं चोच्चैरिति (ङ) पुस्तकपाठोऽशुद्धः ।

४ का० । 'श्लाघनीयेषु श्लाघ्यमानं च नन्दति' ।

५ का० । 'कथान्तरेषु' । ६ का० । 'प्रहृष्टः' ।

७ इति मै० का० पाठोऽपि । अ० का० । 'पथ्यमुक्तस्सन्' ।

८ का० । 'मन्यते' ।

९ का० । तस्यैवेति । तद्वक्तमिति अ० का० कामन्दकपाठान्तरम् । (ङ)
 तेनोक्तं ।

१० अ० का० । 'तद्वच्च' । मै० का० । तद्वचः ।

११ का० । 'उपचारेषु माध्यस्थ्यम्' ।

१२ वृद्धाविति श्लोकार्द्धः (अ० का० ५ । ३९) मैथिलपुस्तके रत्नाकरे
 नास्ति ।

१३ शक्यते । (घ) (ङ)योरशुद्धः पाठः ।

१४ का० । ५ । ४०-४७ ।

यद्वाक्यं मधुरं किञ्चित्तदप्यर्थेन निष्ठुरम् ।
 आचरत्यात्मसंसत्सु परिवादेन^१ केवलम् ॥
 अकोपोऽपि हि कोपाभः^२ प्रसन्नोऽपि हि निष्फलः ।
 वदत्यकस्माद्वदति रुक्षं च मुहुरीक्षते^३ ।
^४आघट्टयति भर्माणि सहस्रास्यं प्रपद्यते^५ ॥
 संभावयति दोषेण^६ वृत्तिच्छेदं करोति च ।
 साधूक्तमपि तद्वाक्यं समर्थयति चान्यथा ॥
 अपर्वणि कथारम्भं^७ करोति विरसीभवन् ।
 उपास्यमानः शयने सुप्तलक्षणे तिष्ठति ॥
 यत्नेनाराध्यमानोऽपि सुप्तवच्च विचेष्टते ।
 इत्यादि चानुरक्तस्य विरक्तस्य तु लक्षणम् ॥

विपक्षमुत्थापयति सेवकादेः विपक्षं प्रेरयति कलये(?)^८ पुनर्विनाशमप्यु-
 पेक्षते । विनाशस्याप्युपायं न कुरुत इत्यर्थः [1] साधूक्तमवश्यकर्तव्यमपि तद्वचन-
 मन्यथा तदा तिरस्कृत्यान्यद्वारेण साधयति । अपर्वणीति अपूर्णायां कथायां विरसी-
 भवन् रुक्षीभवन्कथाभङ्गं करोति कथां छिनत्तीत्यर्थः ।

^९रक्ताद्वृत्तिं समीहेत विरक्तं च विवर्जयेत्^{१०} ।

इति अनुरागविरागपरीक्षाफलम् ॥

^{११}निर्गुणं चापि^{१२} भर्तारमापत्सु न परित्यजेत् ।

अतः परतरो नास्ति य आपत्सूपतिष्ठते ॥

^१ का० । 'परिवादं च' । परीवादेन । (ङ) ।

^२ अ० का० । 'स कोपाभः' । मै० का० । 'कोपाभः' ।

^३ अ० का० । 'हसत्यकस्माद् व्रजति रुक्षं च समुदीक्षते' ॥ मै० का० ।
 व्रजत्य० (शेषः यथा रत्नाकरे) ।

^४ विज्ञाप्यमान इति श्लोकार्द्धः (अ० का० । ४३ ।) नास्ति मै० पुस्तके
 रत्नाकरे च ।

^५ अ० का० । 'गुणैर्न बहुमन्यते' । मै० का० । हसन्नास्यं० ।

^६ मै० का० । 'दोषं च' ।

^७ का० । कथाभङ्गम् । चण्डेश्वरोपि टीकायां कथाभङ्गमित्येव पठति ।

^८ कलहे (?) । (ग) कालये (?) । ^९ का० । ५ । ४७ ।

^{१०} का० । 'परित्यजेत्' । ^{११} का० । ५ । ४८-५० । ५३ । ५५ । ५९ । ६२ ।

^{१२} का० । 'ह्यपि' ।

विपत्सु^१ धर्मधुर्याणां तेषां नामातिरिच्यते ।
 श्लाघ्या^२ चानन्दजननी^३ महतामुपकारिता ॥
 काले कल्याणमाधत्ते स्वल्पापि हि^४ महोदयम् ।
 राजानं ये ह्युपेक्षन्ते सज्जमानमकर्मसु^५ ॥
 ते गच्छन्त्यकृतात्मानस्सह तेन पराभवम् ।
 भर्तुश्चित्तानुवर्तित्वं^६ सद्बृत्तमनुजीविनाम् ॥
 अप्रियोऽपि हि पयः स्यादिति वृद्धानुशासनम् ।
 वृद्धानुशासने तिष्ठन् प्रियतामधि^७ गच्छति ।
 अर्थार्थी जीवलोकोऽयं ज्वलन्तमुपस्पर्शति ।
 क्षीणक्षीरां निराजीव्यां वत्सस्त्यजति मातरम् ॥

इदमनुजीविकृत्यम् ॥

अथानुजीविनि राजकृत्यमत्रैव^८ ।

^८अपात्रे वर्षणं यत्तत्र कुर्यात्सद्विगर्हितम् ।

^९अपात्रे ^{१०}वर्षणादन्यत्किं स्यात्कोपक्षयादृते ॥

वर्षणं जलवर्षणम् (?) इत्यर्थः ।

^{११}कुलं विद्यां श्रुतं शौर्यं सौशील्यं भूतपूर्वताम् ।

वयोऽवस्थां च संलक्ष्य^{१२} आद्रियेत महात्मनाम्^{१३} ॥

^१ इति मै० का० । अ० का०—‘विरोधे’ कर्मधुर्याणां । (ङ) । नामाति
 विद्यते ।

^२ इति मै० का० । अ० का०—‘चानन्दती’ । (ङ) । श्लाघ्यं ।

^३ का० । सु० ।

^४ अ० का० । ‘सज्जमानं विकर्मसु’ । मै० का० । ‘सज्जमानमवर्त्मसु’ ।
 सज्जमानमकर्मसु । (ङ) ।

^५ वृत्तित्वं । (ङ) । ^६ का० । ०मुप०

^७ का० । ५ । ६५ ।

^८ का० । ‘अपात्रवर्षणं जातु न कुर्यात् सद्विगर्हितम्’ ।

^९ का० । ‘अपात्रवर्षणात् किं स्यादन्यत्’ ।

^{१०} (ग) । का० । अपात्र० । ^{११} का । ५ । ६६ । ६७ । ६९ ।

^{१२} अ० का० । ‘संलक्ष्य’ । मै० का० । ‘संप्रेक्ष्य’ ।

^{१३} का० । ‘स्वाद्वियेत महात्मनाः’ ।

^१मुशीलान्नावमन्येत सम्यग् वृत्तान्मनस्विनः ।

त्यजन्ति तेऽवमन्तारं^२ घ्नन्ति वा मानहेतवे ॥

उत्तमाभिजनोपेतं^३ न नीचैस्सह वर्धयेत् ।

कृशोपि हि विवेकज्ञो याति^४ संश्रयणीयताम् ॥

उत्तमं नीचवत्सत्कारेण न वर्धयेदित्यर्थः । हि यतः विवेकज्ञ उत्तमाधम-
विचारवित् संश्रयणीयतां सेव्यत्वम्

^५लक्ष्म्या लक्ष्मीवतां लोके विकाशिन्यापि किं तथा ।

बन्धुभिश्च मुहूर्द्भिश्च विश्वासं^६ या न भुज्यते ।

विकाशिन्या विख्यातया सम्पदा किं यदुपभोगो नास्ति बन्धुमुहृदादेः ।

^७आयद्वारेषु सर्वेषु कुर्यादाप्तान् परीक्षितान् ।

आददीत फलं तेभ्यो^८ भास्वा^९नुस्रैरिवोदकम् ॥

अभ्यस्तकर्मणस्तज्ज्ञान् शुचींस्तत्त्वार्थकोविदान्^{१०} ।

कुर्यादुद्योगसंपन्नानध्यक्षान् सर्वकर्मसु ॥

यो यद्वस्त्वभिजानाति^{११} तत्र तं विनियोजयेत् ।

^{१२}विशेषविषयप्राप्ताविन्द्रियार्थेष्विवेन्द्रियम् ॥

कोषागारे^{१३} भियुक्तः स्यात्तदायत्तं हि जीवितम् ।

आयद्वारेषु धनागमद्वारेषु, आददीत गृह्णीयात् । उस्रैः^{१४} किरणैः । सर्व-
कर्मसु कथितलक्षणान्नियोज्य कोषागारेऽतियत्नशीलो भवेत् । तदाह^{१५} ।

^१ का० । 'कुलीनान्' ।

^२ अ० का० । 'त्यजन्त्येते हि भर्तारं घ्नन्ति वा मानहेतवः' । मै० का०
पाठोऽपि यथा रत्नाकरे ।

^३ का० । '०पेतान्' ।

^४ जाति । इति (क) (ख) (ग) पुस्तकत्रयपाठोऽशुद्धः ।

^५ का० । ५ । ७२ । ^६ का० । 'विश्रब्धम्' । ^७ का० । ५ । ७३-७६ ।

^८ अ० का० । 'आददीत धनं तैस्तु' ॥ मै० का० । 'फलं तैस्तु' ।

^९ भास्वानुस्रैरिति (घ) (ङ) योः ।

^{१०} अ० का० । 'शुद्धार्थसङ्गतान्' । मै० का० । 'शुद्धार्थसम्मतान्' ।

^{११} का० । विजानाति ।

^{१२} का० । अशेष० ।

^{१३} कोषागारेति युक्तः । (घ) (ङ) योः ।

^{१४} उस्रैः । (ङ) ।

^{१५} का० । ५ । ७६ ।

नान्यायं च^१ व्ययं कुर्यात्प्रत्यवेक्षेत चान्वहम् ।

इति यत्नरूपम् ।

^२अल्पमप्यपकुर्वन्ति ये पापाः पृथिवीपतेः^३ ॥

अग्नौ पतङ्गा इव ते^४ दह्यन्ते मूढचेतसः ॥

इत्यादि नीतिशास्त्रेषु बहुवित्तम् । तत्सर्वसारमाह
कामन्दकः^५ ।

संक्षेपो नीतिशास्त्राणामविश्वासः परो मतः ।

राज्ञस्तस्मादविश्वासः केवलं हितमात्मनः ॥

^६बृहस्पतेरविश्वासः इति शास्त्रस्य^७ निश्चयः ।

इदं वाचस्पत्यादि । याज्ञवल्क्यः^८ ।

चाटतस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः ।

पीड्यमानाः प्रजा रक्षेत्कायस्थैस्तु विशेषतः ॥

चाटः प्रतारकः, तस्करा अत्र विश्वासेन धनहारिणः । दुर्वृत्ता कितवः^९
महासाहसिकाः स्वार्थमध्य^{१०}कारिणः । कायस्था लेखकाः, गणकाश्च । विशेषतः
इति । तेषां राजवल्लभतया सायावितया दुर्निवारत्वात् । नन्वनुजीव्याद्यविश्वास
एव तदा सन्दिग्धार्थनिश्चयो न स्यात्तन्नाति^{११}विश्वसेदित्यादि वाक्यात्तस्याति-
विश्वासाभावपरत्वात् ॥ तथा च राजा परविश्वासेन न समो भवेदित्यर्थः ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतो दूतादितरङ्गः ॥

^१ का० । 'नान्यायं च' ^२ का० । ५ । ८५ ।

^३ का० । 'स्वल्प पृथिवीपतौ ते वह्नाविव दह्यन्ते पतङ्गा मूढचेतसः' ॥

^४ हि । (ङ) ।

^५ अनन्तशयन (Trivandrum) संस्कृतग्रन्थावलेः कामन्दकीयनीतिसारे
नोपलभ्यत एष श्लोकः । मै० हस्तलिखतपुस्तके तु प्राप्यत एव ।

^६ का० । ५ । ८८ ।

^७ अ० का० । शास्त्रार्थनिश्चयः । मै० का० । 'शास्त्रविनिश्चयः' ।

^८ या० । १ । ३३६ ।

^९ कितवादयः । (घ) (ङ)योः । मि० ।

^{१०} मि० । प्रसह्यापहारिणः ।

^{११} का० । ५ । ९८ ।

अथ साधारणपालनादिराजकृत्यम् ॥ (C. XII.)

मनुः^१ ।

संग्रामेष्वनिर्वर्तित्वं प्रजानां चैव पालनम् ।
 शुश्रूषा ब्राह्मणानां च राज्ञां श्रेयस्करं परम् ॥
 क्षत्रियस्य परो धर्मः प्रजानामेव पालनम् ।
 निर्दिष्टफलभोक्ता हि राजा धर्मेण युज्यते ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः^२ ।

पुण्यात्पण्डभागमादत्ते न्यायेन परिपालयन् ।
 सर्वदानाधिकं यस्मात्प्रजानां परिपालनम् ॥

मनुः^३ ।

आत्मानं सततं रक्षेद्दरैरपि धनैरपीति ।
 प्रसङ्गात्प्रागुक्तम् । यथार्थशास्त्रेऽपि^४ ।
 प्रजां संरक्षति नृपः सा वर्धयति^५ तं नृपम् ।
 वर्धनाद्रक्षणं श्रेयस्तन्नाशे हि^६ तदप्यसत् ॥
 न्यायप्रवृत्तो नृपतिरात्मानमथ च प्रजाः^७ ।
 त्रिवर्गोणाभिः^८ सन्धत्ते निहन्ति ध्रुवमन्यथा ॥

पण्डभागमुपलक्षणं, यावता प्रजानां पीडा न स्यात्तावदेव प्रजापालनस्या-
 वश्यकत्वात् । यद्यप्यर्थशास्त्रे 'त्रिवर्गोणाभिसन्धत्ते' इत्यनेन पुरुषार्थेषु प्रथमो-
 पात्तत्वात् 'आत्मानं सततं रक्षेदित्यादिना च याव^९दायुःपरिपालनं तावदिति

^१ म० । ७ । ८८ । १४४ ।^२ या० । १ । ३३५ ।^३ म० । ७ । २१३ ।^४ का० । १ । १४-१५ ।^५ का० । पार्थिवम् ।^६ मं० का० 'तु' । अ० का० । '०ऽन्यत्' सदप्यसत् ।^७ का० । प्रजाम् ।^८ का० । उप० ।^९ यावताऽयुः परिपालनं । (घ) (ङ)योः ।

वक्तुमुचितम् । तथापि प्रजापालनस्योभयलोकेष्ट^१साधनत्वात् प्रजापालनमेव प्रथमतः कार्यमत एव नारदः^२ ।

यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः ।

अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्सृज्य धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥

यान्नवल्क्यः^३ ।

स्मृत्योर्विरोधे न्यायस्तु बलवान् व्यवहारतः ।

अर्थशास्त्रात् बलवद्धर्मशास्त्रमिति स्थितिः ॥

विप्रतिपत्तिर्विरोधः । इदमुभयोर्निर्वकाशत्वेऽन्यथासिद्धमेव तस्यैवोक्तत्वात् । तथा च प्रजापालनं स्वरक्षणं रणा^४निर्वर्तित्वं ब्राह्मणशुश्रूषेति राज्ञामसाधारणो धर्म इति प्राञ्चः । नव्यास्तु प्रथमत आत्मरक्षणं दृष्टमुख्यफलकत्वात् । 'सर्वत आत्मानं गोपायित' इति श्रुतेश्चात एव स्पष्टमाह मनुः^५ ।

एवं सर्वं विधायेदमिति कर्तव्यमात्मनः ।

युक्तश्चैवाप्रमत्तश्च परिरक्षेदिमाः प्रजाः ॥

एवमुक्तप्रकारेण सर्वमात्मनः कार्यं जातं संपाद्य^६ युक्तः प्रमादरहित आत्मीयाः प्रजा रक्षेदिति मन्वर्थ इति [?] मनुः^७ ।

तान् सर्वानभिसन्दध्यात्सामादिभिरुपक्रमैः ।

व्यस्तैश्चैव समस्तैश्च पौरुषेण नयेन च ॥

तान् वक्ष्यमाणनृपतीन् उपक्रमैरुपायैः, पौरुषेण प्रतापादिना नयेन नीति-शास्त्रोक्तेन ।

सन्धिं च विग्रहं चैव यानमासनमेव च ।

द्वैधीभावं संश्रयं च षड्गुणं^८ चिन्तयेत्सदा ॥

सन्धिमेकीभवननिबन्धं, विग्रहमपकारं, शत्रुं प्रति गमनं यानम्, उपेक्षणमासनं, बलस्य द्विधाकरणं द्वैधीभावं, प्रबलनृपाश्रयं संश्रयः, शत्रुतः प्रधानैरेतैरुपायैः गुणैश्चात्म-रक्षेत्यर्थः । अत एव सदा चिन्तयेदिति । उपायानाह यान्नवल्क्यः^९ ।

^१ उभयलोकेषु साधनत्वादिति (क) (ख) (ग) (घ) पुस्तकेष्वपपाठः ।

^२ ना० । १ । ३९ ।

^३ या० । २ । २१ ।

^४ बलानिर्वर्तित्वमिति (ङ) पुस्तकपाठः प्रामादिकः ।

^५ म० । ७ । १४२ ।

^६ कु० । ७ । १४२ । संपाद्योद्युक्तः ।

^७ म० । ७ । १५९ ।

^८ म० । १ । १६० ।

^९ म० । षड्गुणान् ।

^{१०} या० । १ । ३४६ ।

१ उपायाः साम दानं च भेदो दण्डस्तथैव च ।

सम्यक् प्रयुक्ताः सिध्येयुर्दण्डस्त्वगतिका गतिः ॥

साम प्रियभाषणं, दानं सुवर्णदिः, भेदो भेदनं, वधपर्यन्तोऽपकारो दण्डः ।

पुनः स एवाह ३ ।

सन्धिं च विग्रहं यानमासनं संश्रयं तथा ।

द्वैधीभावं गुणानेतान्यथावत्परिपालयेत् ४ ॥

अमीषां कालानाह मनुः ५ ।

यदावगच्छेदायत्यामाधिक्यं ध्रुवमात्मनः ।

तदात्वे चाल्पिकां पीडां तदा सन्धिं समाश्रयेत् ॥

यदा प्रकृष्टा ६ मन्येत सर्वास्तु प्रकृतीर्भृशम् ।

अत्युच्छ्रितं तथात्मानं तदा कुर्वीत विग्रहम् ॥

यदा मन्येत भावेन हृष्टं पुष्टं बलं स्वकम् ।

परस्य विपरीतं च तदा यायाद्रिपुं प्रति ॥

यदा तु स्यात्परिक्षीणो वाहनेन बलेन च ।

तदासीत प्रयत्नेन शनैः सान्त्वयन्नरीन् ७ ॥

मन्येतारि यदा राजा सर्वथा बलवत्तरम् ।

तदा द्विधा बलं कृत्वा साधयेत्कार्यमात्मनः ॥

यदा परबलानां तु ८ गमनीयतमो भवेत् ।

तदा तु संश्रयेत्क्षिप्रं धार्मिकं बलिनं नृपम् ॥

आयत्यामुत्तरकाले, तदात्वे तत्काले, गमनीयतमोऽतिशयेन ग्राह्यो, निज-
प्रकृतिदोषादिना राजेति शेषः ॥

तत्सेवनप्रकारमाह ९ ।

निग्रहं ९ प्रकृतीनां च कुर्याद्योऽरिवलस्य च ।

उपसेवेत तन्नित्यं सर्वयत्नैर्गुरुर्यथा १० ।

१ उपवाह्य । (घ) (ङ)योः । २ सिद्धेयुः । (ङ) । ३ या० । १ । ३४७ ।

४ या० । 'परिकल्पयेत्' । ५ म० । ७ । १६९-१७४ ।

६ म० । प्रकृष्टा । ७ म० । 'अरिम्' ।

८ गमनीयतमो भवेदित्यादि तदात्वे तत्काले इत्यन्तः पाठो लेखकप्रभादात्
(ङ) पुस्तके त्रुटितः । ९ म० । ७ । १७५ । (घ) (ङ)योः । विग्रहं ।

१० म० । ० गहं यथा ।

संश्रयतो वैगुण्ये ।

^१यदि तत्रापि संपश्येद्दोषं संश्रयकारितम् ।

सुयुद्धमपि तत्रापि निर्विशङ्कः ^२समाचरेत् ।

यद्येवं केनाप्युपायेनात्मरक्षा न स्यात्तदा क्षत्रियाणां युद्धमेवाश्रय इति निर्विशङ्कः । ननु सेवा श्ववृत्तिरयशस्करी "धर्माद्धि युद्धाच्छ्रेयोऽन्यत्क्षत्रियस्य न विद्यत" इत्यादिभगवद्वाक्या ^३तपश्चात्कर्तव्यमिति च प्रथममेव कथं नेति, सत्यमेतत्, परन्तु एषा श्ववृत्तिरपि धर्म्यैव ^४वचनात् प्रथमोक्तश्रुतिस्मृतिबलात् स्वरक्षापूर्वकमेव यशः प्रशस्तम् । प्रथमयुद्धे निन्दा चेति तदाह मनुरेव ^५

उपजप्यानुजपेद्बुध्येतैव ^६च तत्कृतम् ।

युक्ते च दैवे ^७युध्येत जयप्रेप्सुरपेतभीः ॥

साम्ना दानेन भेदेन समस्तैरथवा पृथक्

विजेतुं प्रयतेतारीन् न युद्धेन कदाचन ॥

अनित्यो विजयो यस्माद् दृश्यते युध्य ^८मानयोः ।

पराजयश्च संग्रामे तस्माद्युद्धं विवर्जयेत् ॥

तथा । ^९

सर्वोपायैस्तथा कुर्यान्नीतिज्ञः पृथिवीपतिः ।

यथास्याऽभ्यधिका न स्युर्मित्रोदासीनशत्रवः ॥

आयति ^{१०}सर्वकार्याणां तदात्वं च विचारयेत् ।

अतीतानां च सर्वेषां गुणदोषौ च तत्त्वतः ॥

आयत्यां ^{११}गुणदोषज्ञस्तदात्वे क्षिप्रनिश्चयः ।

अतीते कार्य्यशेषज्ञः शत्रुभिर्नाभिभूयते ॥

^१ म० । ७ । १७६ ।

^२ म० । 'स युद्धमेव... निर्वितर्कः' ।

^३ म० गीता । २ । ३१ ॥ पुस्तकेषु 'धर्माद्धि युद्धः' पाठो न समीचीनः ।

^४ धर्म्यैवेति (ङ) पुस्तकपाठो ऽशुद्धः । ^५ म० । ७ । १९७-१९८ ।

^६ पुस्तकेषु ०प्येत बुद्धेर्नचैवेति भ्रष्टः पाठः ।

^७ देवैरिति पुस्तकेषु । ^८ (ङ) । युद्धेत ।

^९ (ङ) । युद्धमानयोः । ^{१०} म० । ७ । १७७-७९ ।

^{११} आयन्तिमिति (क) (ख) (ग) पुस्तकेषु ॥ (घ) (ङ)योः । आयन्ती ।

^{१२} (क) (ख) (ग) पुस्तकेषु अयन्त्यामिति ॥ (घ) (ङ)योः । आयन्त्या ।

मित्रोदासीनशत्रव इति द्वादशराजमण्डलाभिप्रायेण [1] तदाह
यज्ञवल्क्यः ।

अरिर्मित्रमुदासीनोऽन्तरस्तत्परः परः^१ ।
क्रमशो मण्डलं चिन्त्यं सामादिभिरुपक्रमैः ॥

मनुः^२ ।

मध्यमस्य प्रचारं च विजिगीषोश्च चेष्टितम् ।
उदासीनप्रचारं च शत्रोश्चैव प्रयत्नतः ॥
एताः प्रकृतयो मूलं मण्डलस्य समासतः ।
अष्टौ चान्याः समाख्याताः द्वादशैव तु ताः स्मृताः ॥

अस्यार्थः । विजिगीषु^३ नृपस्य चतुर्दिक्षु क्रमशोऽरिमित्रोदासीनास्त्रय एवं
द्वादशराजक^४ मण्डलं विजिगीषुणा त्रयोदशकराजकमिति । अरिमित्रोदासी-
नास्त्रिविधाः सहजकृत्रिमप्राकृतभेदात्, एतद्भिन्नो निग्रहानुग्रहसमर्थो मध्यमः,
पार्ष्णिग्राहाक्रन्दसेवा एषामन्तर्भवन्ति^५ नीतिशास्त्रे^६ समयमैत्रविशालाक्षादि-मनु-
बृहस्पतिशुक्रादिमतभेदेन चतुर्विंशत्यधिकत्रिशतं मण्डलं तद्विस्तरभयान्नोक्तम् ।
चिन्तयेदिति शेषः ।

^७ वकवत् चिन्तयेदर्थान् सिंहवच्च पराक्रमेत् ।
वृकवच्चानुलुम्पेत शशवच्च विनिष्पतेत् ॥

वकवन्मत्स्यग्रहणे यथा वकः, सिंहवत्प्रबलेऽपि हस्तिनि यथा पराक्रमेत्^८ तथा,
विपक्षे^९ वृकवत् यथा वृकः रक्षितमपि पशुं व्यापादयति ^{१०} दुर्गादिरक्षितमप्यरि-
लुम्पेत् व्यापादयेत्, शशवद्यथा शशः प्राणघातका^{११} वृतोऽपि कुटिलगत्या प्रपलाय्य
गच्छति तथा शत्रुपरिवृतो रिपुं प्रतारयन्बलवन्तमन्यमाश्रयेत् ।

^१ या० । १ । ३४५ । “उत्तरन्तरत्परस्परः” इति “उत्तरन्तं परस्परः” इति
च पाठौ रत्नाकरपुस्तकस्थौ प्रामादिकौ ।

^२ म० । ७ । १५५-६ ।

^३ विजिगीषोर्नृपस्य । (ङ) ।

^४ राजकं मण्डलं । (ङ) ।

^५ भवति । (घ) (ङ) योः ।

^६ कामन्दकीये । ८ । २०-३८ । वचनानि द्रष्टव्यानि ।

^७ म० । ७ । १०६ ।

^८ पराक्रमीत । (घ) (ङ) योः ।

^९ तथारिपक्षे । (घ) ।

^{१०} तथा दुर्गादि० । (घ) ।

^{११} प्राणघातको वृतोपीति (घ) (ङ) योरशुद्धः पाठः ।

१एवं विजयमानस्य येऽस्य स्युः परिपन्थिनः ।

तानानयेद्वशं सर्वान् सामादिभिरुपक्रमैः २ ॥

प्रजापालने हेतुमाह ।

३मोहाद्राजा स्वराष्ट्रं यः कर्षयत्यनवेक्षया ।

सोऽचिराद्भ्रश्यते राज्याज्जीविताच्च सबान्धवः ॥

शरीरकर्षणात् प्राणाः क्षीयन्ते प्राणिनां यथा ।

तथा राजामपि प्राणाः क्षीयन्ते राष्ट्रकर्षणात् ॥

तत्प्रकारमाह ४ ।

ययोद्धरति निर्दाता कक्षं धान्यं च रक्षति ।

तथा रक्षेन्नृपो राष्ट्रं हन्याच्च परिपन्थिनः ॥

निर्दातात्र कृपीबलः, कक्षं तृणसमूहं, उद्धरति समुत्पाटयति । अधि-
कारिण आह ५ ।

द्वयोस्त्रयाणां पञ्चानां मध्ये गुल्मप्रतिष्ठितम् ६ ।

तथा ग्रामशतानां च कुर्व्याद्वाष्ट्रस्य संग्रहम् ॥

ग्रामस्याधिपतिं कुर्व्याद्दिशग्रामपतिं तथा ।

विंशतीशं शतेशं च सहस्रपतिमेव च ॥

राष्ट्रस्य संग्रहं राष्ट्ररक्षास्थानम् । एकस्य दशानां विंशतेः शतस्य सहस्रस्य
वा ग्रामाधिपतिमेकं कुर्व्यात् लाघवगौरवापेक्ष उक्तविकल्पः ।

७ग्रामे दोषान् ८समुत्पन्नान् ग्रामिकः शनकैः स्वयम् ।

शंसेद् ग्रामदशेशाय ९ दशेशो विंशतीशने ॥

विंशतीशस्तु तत्सर्वं शतेशाय निवेदयेत् ।

शंसेद् ग्रामशतेशस्तु सहस्रपतये स्वयम् ॥

१ म० । ७ । १०७ ।

२ उपक्रमेदिति (क) (ख) (ग) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु ।

३ म० । ७ । १११-११२ ।

४ म० । ७ । ११० ।

५ म० । ७ । ११४-५ ।

६ म० । 'गुल्ममधिष्ठितम्' ।

७ म० । ७ । ११६-७ ।

८ (क) (घ) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु । 'ग्रामादायान्' ।

९ शतेशाय । इति (क) (ख) (ग) (घ) पुस्तकेषु ।

एते पालने स्वयमसमर्थाः परस्मै निवेदयेयुरिति ।

^१यानि राजप्रदेयानि प्रत्यहं ग्रामवासिभिः ^२ ।

अन्न^३पानेन्धनादीनि ग्रामिकस्तान्यवाप्नुयात् ॥

दशी हलं तु^४ भुञ्जीत विंशी पञ्चहलानि ^५च ।

ग्रामं ग्रामशताध्यक्षः सहस्राधिपतिः पुरम् ॥

तेषां ग्राम्याणि कार्याणि पृथक्कार्याणि चैव हि ।

राज्ञोऽन्यस्सचिवः स्निग्धस्तानि पश्येदतन्त्रितः ^६ ॥

^७नगरे नगरे चैकं कुर्यात्सर्वाथचित्तकम् ।

उच्चैःस्थानं घोररूपं नक्षत्राणामिव ग्रहम् ॥

राजप्रदेयानि राज्ञो देयानि, दशी दशग्रामाधिपः तेषामियं वृत्तिरित्यर्थः ।

^८राज्ञो हि रक्षाधिकृताः परस्वादायिनः शठाः ।

भृत्या भवन्ति प्रायेण तेभ्यो रक्षेदिमाः प्रजाः ॥

ये कार्षिकेभ्यो^९ ऽर्थमेवं गृह्णीयुः पापचेतसः ।

तेषां सर्वस्वमादाय राजा कुर्यात् प्रवासनम् ॥

प्रवासनं^{१०} देशात्तेषां निष्काशनम् । एवं बहुविधप्रजापालनप्रकारं संक्षि-
प्याह याज्ञवल्क्यः^{११} ।

ब्राह्मणेषु क्षमी स्निग्धेष्वजिह्वाः क्रोधनोऽरिषु ।

स्याद्राजाऽऽश्रितवर्गेषु^{१२} प्रजासु च यथा पिता ॥

अथ राज्ञः समरापलायनादयो धम्मशास्त्रे निगदिताः । अत्र तु पराङ्-
मुखस्यार्थहान्यादीति प्रसङ्गः^{१३} ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेस्वरकृतो राजकृत्यतरङ्गः ।

^१ म० । ७ । ११८-१२१ ।

^२ (क) । 'ग्रामराशिभिः' ।

^३ (क) (ख) । अनु० ।

^४ म० । कुलं तु । इति ॥

^५ म० । 'पञ्चकुलानि' । "कुलं ग्रामैकदेशः..... इति कल्पतरुः । अन्ये
तु कुलं हलद्वयकृष्टा भूः । 'कुलं तु द्विगुणं हलम्' इति स्मरणात् । ...
'अष्टागवं धर्म्यहलम्' ... इति हारीतस्मरणात्" । इति मित्रमिश्रः राजनीति-
प्रकाश । पृ० २५१ । ^६ म० । 'अतन्त्रितः' । ^७ नागरे । (घ) ।

^८ म० । ७ । १२३-२४ ।

^९ म० । 'कार्षिकेभ्यः' ।

^{१०} प्रवासनमिति नास्ति । (ङ) ।

^{११} या० । १ । ३३४ ।

^{१२} या० । 'भृत्यवर्गेषु' ।

^{१३} (क) (ख) । ०हान्यादिति० ।

अथ दण्डः । (C. XIII.)

मनुः^१ ।

तस्यार्थं सर्वभूतानां गोप्तां धर्ममात्मजम् ।
 ब्रह्मतेजोमयं दण्डमसृजत्पूर्वमीश्वरः ॥
 तस्य सर्वाणि भूतानि स्थावराणि चराणि च ।
 भयाद्भोगाय कल्प्यन्ते^२ स्वधर्मानि चलन्ति च ॥

तथा ।

दण्डः यास्ति प्रजाः सर्वाः दण्ड एवाभिरक्षति ।
 दण्डः सुप्तेषु जागर्ति दण्डं धर्मं विदुर्वृधाः ॥
 समीक्ष्य मध्यतः^३ सम्यक् सर्वा रञ्जयति प्रजाः ।
 असमीक्ष्य प्रणीतस्तु विनाशयति सर्वतः ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः^४ ।

तदवाप्य नृपो दण्डं दुर्वृत्तेषु निपातयेत् ।
 धर्मो हि दण्डरूपेण ब्रह्मणा निर्मितः पुरा ॥
 तदवाप्य राज्यं प्राप्य, पातयेन्नियोजयेत् ।
^५दण्डो द्विविधः । शारीरोऽयं दण्डश्च । यथाह नारदः^६ ।
 शारीरश्चार्थदण्डश्च दण्डश्च^७ द्विविधः स्मृतः ।
 शारीरस्ताडनादिस्तु मारणान्तः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

^१ म० । ७ । १४-१५ । १८ । १९ ।^२ म० । 'कल्पन्ते' ।^३ म० । (ग) । 'स घृतः' ।^४ या० । १ । ३५४ ।^५ "दण्डो द्विविधः...तथैव च" इत्यानुपूर्विकः पाठो मिताक्षरायामपि दृश्यते । (या० १ । ३६१) ।^६ ना० । परिशिष्टे । ५३-५४ ।^७ दण्डस्तु । (घ) ।

काकिन्यादिस्त्वर्थदण्डः सर्वस्वान्तस्तथैव च ।

शारीरोऽर्थदण्डश्चापि दशधा [1] तत्तु पल्लवे विस्तृतम् । याज्ञवल्क्यः ।^१
 “शारीरो दशधा प्रोक्तो ह्यर्थदण्डस्तथैवचेति मित्ताक्षरा ^२ । शारीरस्ताड-
 नादिरर्थदण्डः काकिन्यादिः, कस्मिन् कियानिति व्यवहारदर्शने नियमितम् ।
 संक्षिप्य दण्डभेदानाह स एव ।

^३धिगदण्डस्त्वथ वाग्दण्डो धनदण्डो वधस्तथा ।

योज्या व्यस्ताः समस्ताश्च ह्यपराधवशादिभे ।

वाग्दण्डश्शापवचनात्मकः ।

ज्ञात्वापराधं कालं च देशं बलमथापि वा ।

वयः कार्यं च वित्तं च दण्डं दण्ड्येषु पातयेत् ॥

अपराधानुसारिणो दण्डा इति । दण्डस्य दृष्टादृष्टार्थफलकत्वं धनदण्डवध-
 दण्डयोस्तत्त्वात् तदाह मनुः^४ ।

सर्वो दण्डजितो लोको दुर्लभो हि शुचिर्नरः^५ ।

दण्डस्य हि भयात्सर्वं जगद् भोगाय कल्प्यते^६ ॥

देवदानवगन्धर्वा रक्षांसि पतंगोरगाः ।

तेऽपि भोगाय ^७कल्पन्ते दण्डेनैव निपीडिताः ॥

दुष्प्रेयुः^८स्सर्ववर्णाश्च भिद्येरन् सर्वमेव तत्^९ [?] ।

सर्वलोकप्रकोपश्च भवेद्दण्डस्य विभ्रमात् ।

यत्र श्यामो लोहिताक्षो दण्डश्चरति पापहा ।

प्रजास्तत्र न मुह्यन्ति नेता चेत्साधु पश्यति ॥

तस्याहुः संप्रणेतारं राजानं सत्यवादिनम् ।

समीक्ष्यकारिणं प्राज्ञं धर्मकामार्थकोविदम् ॥

तं राजा प्रणमे^{१०}त्सम्यक् त्रिवर्गेणाभिवर्धते ।

कामात्मा विषमः क्षुद्रो दण्डेनैव निहन्यते ॥

^१ याज्ञवल्क्यवचनमत्र पतितम् ।

^२ या० । १ । ३६१ ।

^३ या० । १ । ३६७-८ ।

^४ म० । ७ । २२-२८ ।

^५ ‘शुचो नरः’ । इति (क) (ख) (ग) पुस्तकेषु ।

^६ म० । ‘कल्प०’ ।

^७ कल्पन्ते । (घ) (ङ) योः ।

^८ दुःखेयुः । इति (क) (ख) (ग) पुस्तकेषु ।

^९ म० । ‘सर्वसेतवः’ ।

^{१०} म० । ‘प्रणयन्’ ।

दण्डो हि सुमहत्तेजो दुर्धरश्चाकृतात्मभिः ।
धर्माद्विचलितं हन्ति नृपमेव सवान्धवम् ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः^१ ।

अधर्मदण्डनं स्वर्गकीर्तिलोकविनाशनम् ।
सम्यक्त्तु दण्डनं राज्ञां^२ स्वर्गकीर्तियशोवहम्^३ ॥

अत्र दण्डनं काम्यमन्यत्र नित्य^४मतो नित्यकाम्यम् । यत्तु काम्यमेव
नित्यमेव^५ वा तन्न । तदकरणे

“दण्डोत्सर्गो राजैकरात्रमुपवसेत् त्रिरात्रं पुरोहितः कृच्छ्रमदण्ड्यदण्डने
पुरोहित” इति वसिष्ठवचनेन^६ प्रायश्चित्तश्रवणात् ।

^१यो दण्ड्यान् दण्डयेद्राजा सम्यग्वध्यांश्च पातयेत्^१ ।

इष्टं स्यात् क्रतुभिस्तेन समाप्तवरदक्षिणैः ।

^२दण्डस्य हि भयात्सर्वं जगद्भोगाय कल्पते^८ ।

इत्यादिबहुतरफलश्रवणाच्च (।) न च सन्ध्योपासनादिवत् फलश्रवणे नित्यत्व-
मिति वाच्यं साक्षात्सुखादेरेव फलत्वे विवक्षितत्वात्, अन्यथा ^५तयोरेकशेषः
कर्तुमशक्यत्वात् ।

^{१०}इति संचित्त्य नृपतिः क्रतुतुल्यफलं^{१०} पृथक् ।

व्यवहारान् स्वयं पश्येत्सभ्यैः परिवृतोऽन्वहम् ॥

साध्य^{११}मूलविवादो व्यवहारः । स तु प्रजानामेव नृपस्य तदीशत्वादिति
न राजेश्वरेण न्यायपथादुत्पत्तिकस्य धर्मभङ्गभिया व्यवहारो द्रष्टव्य एव
विशेष^{१२}पुरस्कारेणान्यथा ‘स्वतन्त्रः पृथिवीपति’ रित्यस्य कृतनिवृत्त्यप्रसङ्गः
स्यात् ।

^१ या० । १ । ३५७ ।

^२ याः । ० राज्ञः० जयावहम् । इति ।

^३ नित्यमत इति । नित्यमेव वेति च नास्ति (ङ) पुस्तके ।

^४ व० । १९ । ४०-४२ ।

^५ या० । १ । ३५९ ।

^६ या० । ‘घातयेत्’ ।

^७ म० । ७ । २२ ।

^८ (ङ) । कल्प्यते ।

^९ विशेष इत्यर्थः । एकशेषकर्तुमिति (ङ) पुस्तकपाठोऽशुद्धः ।

^{१०} या० । १ । ३५८ । फली इति (ङ) पुस्तके ।

^{११} (ङ) । मध्ये मूलविवाद इति पाठोऽशुद्धः ।

^{१२} “विशेषः” । इति (क) (ख) (ग) (घ) पुस्तकेषु ।

मनुः^१ ।

शुचिना सत्यसन्धेन यथाशास्त्रानुसारिणा ।
 प्रणेतुं शक्यते दण्डः सुसहायेन धीमता ॥
 शुचिनार्थादिशौचयुक्तेन, सत्यसन्धेन दृढप्रतिज्ञेन ।
^२सोऽसहायेन मूढेन लुब्धेनाकृतबुद्धिना ।
 न शक्यो न्यायतो नेतुं सक्तेन विषयेषु च ॥
 इति विधिनिषेधौ ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतो दण्डतरङ्गः ॥

अथ राजकृतराज्यदानम् ॥ (C. XIV)

तत्र मनुः^१ ।

दत्त्वा दानं^२ तु विप्रेभ्यः सर्वदण्डसमु^३च्छिद्यम् ।

पुत्रे राज्यं समासज्य^४ कुर्वीत प्रायणं रणे ।

रणमुपलक्षणं मोक्षसाधनोपाय इत्यर्थः । अयमर्थः राजा राज्या^५ त्रिस्पृहत्वे
ज्येष्ठपुत्राय राज्यं दत्त्वा मोक्षसाधनोपायं कुर्यात् । ननु^६ पुत्रमात्रोपादाने
कथं ज्येष्ठायैवेति चेन्न ।

यदा राजा जरायुक्तो रोगान्तो निस्पृहोऽपि च ।

आसन्नमृत्युं विजाय कुलधर्मं विचारयन् ॥

तदा पौरजनान् सर्वानाहूय मन्त्रयेच्च तैः ।

सप्ताङ्गानि च राज्यानि ज्येष्ठपुत्राय दापयेत् ॥

दापयेत् दद्यात्, 'विधाय वृत्तिं ब्रह्मणां राज्यं ज्येष्ठाय दापयेदिति राजनीतौ'^७
हारीत-नारद-वचनेभ्यः । पुत्र इत्येकवचनेनानेकस्यासम्भवात् । प्राधान्याज्ज्येष्ठ-
स्य न्याय्यत्वाच्च । अत्रार्थे मनुः^८ ।

यस्मिन्नृणं सन्नयति येन चानन्त्यमश्नुते ।

स एव धर्मजः पुत्रः कामजानितरान्विदुः ॥

अत्रैवैतदर्थे व्यासः ।

शाश्वतोऽयं स्मृतो धर्मः पार्थिवानां नरर्षभ ।

न यवीयान् स्थिते ज्येष्ठे राजा भवितुमर्हति ॥

^१ म० । ९ । ३२३ ।

^२ म० । (ख) (ङ) योः । धनमिति ।

^३ म० । 'सर्वदण्डसमुत्थितम्' ।

^४ म० । 'समासूज्य' ।

^५ राज्यात्स्पृहत्वे । (घ) (ङ) योः ।

^६ नन्वित्यारभ्य कुलधर्मं विचारयन्नित्यन्तः पाठो नास्ति (ङ) पुस्तके ।

^७ न हि कामन्दकनीतौ हारीतनारदवचनानि सन्ति । एषा उपरैव राजनीतिः
काचित् ।

^८ म० । ९ । १०७ ।

यवीयान् कनिष्ठः शाश्वतोऽयमिति सनातनोऽनादिपरम्परागतधर्मोऽयं
पार्थिवानामित्यन्वयः । भारते^१ ।

कथं ज्येष्ठानतिक्रम्य कनीयान्राज्यमर्हति ।

एतत्सम्बोधयामस्त्वां धर्मं त्वं परिपालय ॥

ज्येष्ठं तिरस्कृत्य कनीयसे राज्यदानमधर्मं इति वचनाशयः । रामायणे^२ ।

न हि राज्ञः सुताः सर्वे राज्ये तिष्ठन्ति भामिनि^३ ।

^४बहूनामपि पुत्राणामेको राज्येऽभिषिच्यते ॥

स्थाप्यमानेषु सर्वेषु सुमहाननयो भवेत् ।

तस्माज्ज्येष्ठे हि कैकेयि राज्यतन्त्राणि पार्थिवाः ॥

आसञ्जन्त्य^५ नवद्याङ्गि गुणवत्स्वितरेष्वपि ।

^६ते च ज्येष्ठाः सुपुत्रेषु ज्येष्ठेष्वेव न संशयः ।

^७आसञ्जन्त्यखिलं राज्यं न भ्रातृषु कथञ्चन ।

स्थाप्यमानेष्वित्यादियुक्त्या एक एव राजा तत्रापि ज्येष्ठ एवेति दर्शितम् ।

आसञ्जन्ति निःक्षिपन्ति तन्त्राणि कार्याणि । अत्रैव वसिष्ठ-वाक्यम्^८ ।

इक्ष्वाकूणां च सर्वेषां राजा भवति पूर्वजः ।

पूर्वजे नावरः पुत्रो^९ राज्ये समभिषिच्यते ॥

इक्ष्वाकूणामित्युपलक्षणं च शब्दात् । राज्ञामेतत्समं तस्मादिक्ष्वाकूणां
विशेषत इति पुनस्तत्रैव तेनोक्तत्वान्च^{१०} । ननु राज्यदानमेकस्मा^६ इ“त्यर्थ-
शास्त्रात्तु बलवद्धर्मशास्त्रमिति^{१०} स्थिति”रिति वचनाद्धर्मशास्त्रस्य प्राबल्ये
“^{११}पैतामहं च पित्र्यं चे”त्यादिवाक्येन तस्यापि विभाज्यतेति चेन्न, राज्यमवि-

^१ म० भा० । आदि० । ७९ । २२ ।

^२ रा० । अयो० । ८ । २३-२४ ।

^३ भामिनि । (ङ) ।

^४ नोपलभ्यते मुद्रितरामायणे । (ङ) समासन्त्यखिलं राज्यं ।

^५ रा० । स्थापयन्तीति ।

^६ रा० । अयो० । ११० । ३६ ।

^७ रा० । ‘ज्येष्ठो राजाभिषिच्यते ।’

^८ तेनोक्तम् । (ङ) ।

^९ (ख) एकस्मिन्नपी० । एकस्मिन् (ङ) ।

^{१०} या० । २ । २१ ।

^{११} पिता० इति पुस्तकेषु ।

भाज्यमिति वक्ष्यमाणत्वात् । तदुभयान्यथासिद्धौ तद्वचना^१ प्रसक्तेः राज्ञा दत्त-
स्यानिवर्त्यत्वे^२ नापि राज्यस्याविभज्यत्वाच्च^३ । अत्र मनुः^४ ।

तस्माद्धर्मं यमिष्टेपु^५ संव्यवस्येन्नराधिपः ।

अनिष्टं चाप्यनिष्टेपु तद्धर्मं विचालयेत् ॥

न विचालयेन्नोल्लङ्घयेत् ।

नारदः^६ ।

अस्वतन्त्राः प्रजाः सर्वाः स्वतन्त्रः^७ पृथिवीपतिः ।

‘स्वातन्त्र्यमप्रतिहतेच्छत्वं राजा महीपति’रिति कामधेनौ स्पष्टम् । न च
“भूयै”त्यादिवचनेन क्रमागते राज्ये स्वाम्यसाम्यात्स्वाज्जितं राज्यं देयमिति
वाच्यं तेषां मुनिभिरविशेषेणोपादेयत्वात् क्रमागतराज्यदान एव वसिष्ठाद्युक्ते
‘लोकवृत्ताद्राजवृत्तमन्यदाह बृहस्पति’ रितिवचनात्तेषां राज्यातिरिक्तपरत्वाच्च ।
राजकृतं प्रमाणमत्र हेतुमाह ।

मनुः^८ ।

सोग्निर्भवति वायुश्च सोमः सोमः स धर्मराट् ।

स कुबेरस्स वरुणस्स महेन्द्रः प्रभावतः ॥

बालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिपः ।

महती देवता ह्येषा^९ नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥

^१ ०वचनप्रसक्तेः । इति पुस्तकेषु

^२ अनिवर्त्यत्वेन । (घ) (ङ) योः ।

^३ (क) (ख) (घ) (ङ) । अविभाज्य० ।

^४ म० । ७ । १३ ।

^५ (क) (ख) (ग) पुस्तकेषु—‘यमिष्टेषु’ ।

^६ ना० । ऋ० । ३३ । नारद इत्यारभ्य राज्यातिरिक्तपरत्वाच्चेत्यन्तः
पाठो नास्ति (ङ) पुस्तके ।

^७ स्वतन्त्रं च महीपतिः । (घ) ।

^८ या० । २ । १२१ ।

^९ म० । ७ । ७—८ ।

^{१०} ह्येषा । (घ) ।

कात्यायनः ।

क्षयोदयो^१ जीवनं च राजदैववशान्मृणाम् ।
तस्मात् सर्वेषु कार्येषु तत्कृतं न विचालयेदिति^२ ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेस्वरकृतोऽत्र राज्यदानतरङ्गः^३ ॥

^१ क्षयोदयो० इति (क) (ख) (ग) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु ।

^२ नारदः । अस्वतन्त्राः प्रजाः सर्वाः स्वतन्त्रश्च महीपतिः । स्वातन्त्र्यम-
प्रतिहतेच्छत्वं राजा महीपतिरिति कामधेनौ स्पष्टम् । न च भूर्येत्यादि-
वचनबलात्क्रमागतराज्ये स्वाम्यसाम्यात्स्वार्जितं राज्यं देयमिति वाच्यम् ।
तेषां मुनिभिरविशेषेणोपादेयत्वात्क्रमागतराज्यदानतरङ्गः ॥ (ङ) ।

^३ नास्ति । (ङ) ।

अथ पुरोहितादिकृतराज्यदानम् ॥ (C.XV.)

‘राज्यमदत्त्वं राज्ञि मृतं राजपुत्राय पुरोहितमन्त्रिभिरपि राज्यं दातव्यं वैदिकलौकिकधर्मसु’^१ राजप्रातिनिध्यात् । बहुषु ज्येष्ठायेति सम्प्रदायः । नन् राजपरोक्षे राजपुत्रस्यैव राज्यं कथं तैर्दातव्यमिति चेन्न । तैरेव न ग्राह्यमधर्म-श्रवणादित्यभिप्रायात् । ‘अत्र विवादपरिहारार्थं’मिति लक्ष्मीधरः । ‘राज्य-भङ्गभिये’ति पल्लवकारः । राजनीतौ नारदः^२ ।

ज्येष्ठो नरकनिस्तारो लोक^३ पूज्यतमः स्मृतः ।

ज्येष्ठो रत्नाकरः प्रोक्तो राज्याहो ज्येष्ठ एव हि ॥

राजनीतौ शुकः^४ ।

राज्यं पुरो विवाहं च सपिण्डीकरणं पितुः ।

गुणवत्सु कनिष्ठेषु ज्येष्ठ एव समर्हति ॥

इदं बार्हस्पत्यपञ्चयोरपि ।

भागवते^५ ।

‘शुमन्तुर्बाह्यणैरुक्तः परिवेत्ता त्वमग्रमुक् ।

‘राज्यं देह्यग्रजायाशु पुरराष्ट्रविवृद्धये ॥

तथा च राज्ययोग्ये ज्येष्ठे सति स एव राजा तदभावे कनिष्ठः, तदभावे राजवंश्यः । अत्र ज्येष्ठः पिता यस्य प्रथमं मुखं पश्यति स एव तेन वैमात्रेय-स्यापि संग्रहः । न विवाहसाहचर्य्यात्सोदरपरनियमः पितुः सपिण्डीकरण-साहचर्य्यात् अन्यथा रामायणे रामादीनुपलक्ष्य वसिष्ठादिवाक्यस्यालग्नता-

^१ राजमदत्त्वंवेति (ङ) पु० पाठोऽशुद्धः ।

^२ (क) (ग) । ० धर्मसु ।

^३ नास्ति नारदीये धर्मशास्त्रे ।

^४ (ङ) । लोके ।

^५ नास्ति मुद्रितशुक्लीतौ ।

^६ भाग० । ९ । २२ । १५

^७ भाग० । “शन्तनुः” ।

^८ (घ) । राजन् ।

पतिः स्यात् । किञ्च 'स्थाप्यमानेष्वित्यादि'^१ युक्तिः समैव चेति तत्त्वम् ।
अतएव राज्यमविभाज्यमाह मनुः^२ ।

वस्त्रं पत्रमलङ्कारं कृतान्नमुदकं स्त्रियः ।

योगक्षेमं प्रचारं च न विभाज्यं प्रचक्षते ॥

योगक्षेमं मन्त्रिपुरोहितादि^३ । केचित्तु नौकादि तत्र, 'योगक्षेमं स्मृतं
राज्यमिति' कोषात् । राज्यमाह[तुः] मनुविष्णू^४ । स्वाम्यमात्यसुहृत्कोषदण्ड-
दुर्गराष्ट्रप्रकृतयः^५ । एतत्सप्ताङ्गकं राज्यमुच्यते । सुहृत्पुरोहितः^६ । दण्डस्सेना
याज्ञवल्क्यः^७ ।

स्वाम्यमात्यो जनो दुर्गं कोषो दण्डस्तथैव च ।

मित्राण्येताः प्रकृतयो राज्यं सप्ताङ्गमुच्यते ॥

जनः प्रजाः, मनुवचनैकवाक्यतया मित्राणि राष्ट्राणि^८ ।

नारदः^९ ।

स्त्रीधनं च नरेन्द्राणां न कदापि च जीर्यति ।

स्त्रीधनं सौदायिकं, नरेन्द्रधनं राज्यम् । कात्यायनः । "निबन्धो यः
क्रमागतः" । तथा च । धर्मशास्त्रेऽपि राज्यमविभाज्यमित्येवमर्थशास्त्रे ज्येष्ठ
एव राजा भवेदित्युभयोरविरोधः । तर्हि लोकवृत्ताद्वा^{१०} जवृत्तस्य को भेद इति,
नैतत् ।

^१ रा० । अयो० । ८ । २३ ।

^२ म० । ९ । २१९ । अतएव षडङ्गं राज्यमविभाज्यमाह मनुरिति
(ङ)पाठः ।

^३ 'योगक्षेमं यतो योगे क्षेमं भवति मन्त्रिपुरोहितामात्यवृद्धवास्तुचारादिभ्य-
स्ततो रक्षा भवति ।' इति मेधातिथिः । 'योगो राजादिलभ्यो निबन्धादिः
स्वयमुपातः क्षेमः रक्षोपायः प्राकारेष्टकादिः' । इति सर्वज्ञनारायणः ।

^४ म० । ९ । २९४ । वि० । ३ । ३३ । (घ) (ङ)योः । राज्यमाह मनु-
रिति पाठः ।

^५ ०राष्ट्राणि प्रकृतय इति पठनीयम् ।

^६ इत्यसमीचीनम् । सुहृन्मित्रमिति । तादृगर्थस्याभावादर्थशास्त्रे । मित्रलक्षणं
च द्रष्टव्यमर्थशास्त्रे । ^७ या० । १ । ३५३ ।

^८ प्रामादिकमेतत् । जनः राष्ट्रं, पुरं दुर्गमिति मनुवचनैकवाक्यता ।

^९ ना० । व्य० । ८३ । ^{१०} लोकवृत्तात्तस्य को भेद इति (ङ) ।

विकारं याति पुत्रोऽपि राज्यलोभाद्यथा पिता ।

तल्लोकवृत्तानृपतेरन्यद् वृत्तं प्रचक्षते ॥

इति शुक्रवचनेन^१ भेदप्रतीतिः ।

राजधने दीनानायादिसकलप्राणिनामंशित्वं बहुनायकत्वाद्राज्यविनाशश्चेति
युक्तिरिति गोपाल-लक्ष्मीधर-श्रीकरादयः । अर्थप्रदीपे व्यासः ।

पूर्वजन्माज्जितं पापमुपभोक्तुमिह ब्रजेत् ।

राज्ञो द्वितीयकः पुत्रस्तृतीयो^२ यदजामुनः ॥

उत्पत्तिकालादारभ्य सदा तौ दुःखभागिनौ ।

एतन्मूलक एव लोके तदुद्धोष इति । तथा च ज्येष्ठगामित्वमविभाज्यत्वं
राज्यस्येति बुद्ध्वा पुरोहितादिनापि राज्यदानं कर्तव्यमिति प्रकरणार्थः ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतोज्ञ पुरोहितादिकृतराज्यदानतरङ्गः ॥

^१ नोपलभ्यते शुकनीतौ ।

^२ तृतयः कामजः सुत इति (ङ)पुस्तकपाठः ग्रामादिकः ।

अथाभिषेकः^१ ॥ (C. XVI)राजनीतौ^२ ।

यौवराज्येऽथवा राज्ये यदि राजा विमत्सरः ।

अभिषिच्य^३ विधानेन धर्मजं वीक्ष्य लक्षणम् ॥

तत्सुतं तत्कनिष्ठादिक्रमात्कामजमात्मजम् ।

सन्निकृष्टान्वयं चान्यं प्रजाविप्रानुमोदितम् ॥

युवराजेति वृद्ध^४ राजसापेक्षं वृद्धराजपरतन्त्र^५ इत्यर्थः । विमत्सरौ
विगत^६ राज्यमात्सर्यः, धर्मजं ज्येष्ठं कामजं कनिष्ठं, तथा च यदि राज-
लक्षणं ज्येष्ठे तदा ज्येष्ठमेव तदभावे^७ ज्येष्ठपुत्रस्य ज्येष्ठमेव^८ पुत्रत्वम्^९ ।

“तेऽपि ज्येष्ठाः स्वपुत्रेषु ज्येष्ठेष्वेव न संशयः” ।

इति वचनात् तदभावे यथाक्रमं कनिष्ठं तदभावे सन्निकृष्टसन्तानम्
^{१०}सन्निकृष्टान्वयमिति । ‘सन्निहितसम्बन्धिमात्र’मिति पल्लवः । ‘तद्वंश्यमे’ वे
ति लक्ष्मीधरः^{११} । तदभावेऽन्यमप्यभिषिञ्चेत् । न^{१२} च पिण्डदातरि पुत्रे
सति पौत्राभिषेकस्यान्याय्यत्वमतौ नात्र क्रमादरः^{१३} । पुत्रपौत्रादौ पिण्डदातृ-

^१ (ङ) । अथ राज्याभिषेकः ।^२ (ङ) । राजनीतिः ।^३ (ख) (ग) (घ) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु । अभिषिञ्चेत् ।^४ (घ) (ङ) योः । वृद्धसापेक्षं ।^५ (ङ) (घ) योः । वृद्धराजपरतन्त्रराजा ।^६ (घ) (ङ) योः । गतमात्सर्यः ।^७ तदभावे ज्येष्ठपुत्रस्येत्यारभ्य लक्ष्मीधर इत्यन्तः पाठः (ख) (ङ) पुस्तक-
योर्नास्ति ।^८ (घ) । ज्येष्ठमेवेति नास्ति । (घ) । पुत्रम् ।^९ (घ) । तेषु ज्येष्ठा इत्यारभ्य वचनादित्यन्तः पाठो नास्ति ।^{१०} (घ) सन्निकृष्टान्वयमितीत्यारभ्य लक्ष्मीधर इत्यन्तः पाठो
नास्ति ।^{११} (घ) (ङ) योः । “न च” इति नास्ति ।^{१२} (घ) (ङ) योः । ‘क्रमादर इति तत्र’ ।

स्वेनाविशेषात् अतएव पीत्रे समांशिताविधान^१मिति । कि^२ञ्चात्मा
वै जायते पुत्र' इति तत्स्वरूपत्वात्^३ वस्तुतस्तु "राजवृत्तमन्यदि"^४ तियुक्तिरेव
बलवतीति^५ ।

^१कृतनित्यक्रियो राजा स्वयं वास्य पुरोहितः ।
शुक्ले वसानो वसने प्रविशेद्यजमण्डपे ॥
सौवर्णं स्थापयेत्तत्र कलशं दृढमग्रतः ।
पूरयेत्सर्वतीर्थार्द्रिर्गाङ्गेन पयसाऽथवा ॥
वारुणेनाभिमन्त्र्यान्तः क्षिपेत्सर्वौषधीस्ततः ।
पञ्चभिः पल्लवैश्छन्नमुखं वरुणमर्चयेत् ॥
श्रियं विष्णुमुमासीशं गणग्रहदिगीश्वरान् ।
पूजयेज्जुहुयान्मन्त्रैराज्येनैव सकृत्सकृत् ॥
विमृज्य तान् सभामध्ये व्याघ्रचर्मोपरिस्थितम् ।
मुहुद्विप्रवणिर्बोधीमन्त्रिसम्बन्धिसन्निधौ ॥
अभिषिञ्चेच्छान्तिमन्त्रैः पल्लवानीततज्जलैः ।
ततः सिंहासने राजा कुमारमुपवेशयेत् ॥
सक्चन्दनपटोष्णीपमणिमुक्तादिभूषणैः ।
चामरव्यजनच्छत्रपत्र^६द्वीपादुकादिभिः ॥
अलंकृत्य मुदा तस्मै षडङ्गं^७ राज्यमर्पयेत् ।
पादाङ्गुष्ठेन तिलकं त्रिवारमलिके न्यसेत् ॥
मूर्ध्नि दूर्वाक्षतं दद्याद्दधिलाजांश्च दर्शयेत् ।
'अद्यारभ्य त मे राज्यं राजाज्यं रक्षतु प्रजाः' ॥
इति सर्वं^८ प्रजाविष्णुं साक्षिणं^९ श्रावयेन्मुहुः ।

^१ (घ) (ङ)योः । समांशिताविधानात् ।

^२ (घ) (ङ)योः । किञ्चेति पाठो नास्ति ।

^३ (ख) (घ) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु—व्यवहितयोजनापत्तेरित्यधिकः पाठ उपलभ्यते ।

^४ राजदानतरङ्गे (१४) उदाहृतम् । (घ) (ङ)योः । "राजवृत्त-
मन्यदिति प्रागुक्तेः" इत्यधिकः पाठः ।

^५ तथाह । (घ) (ङ)योः । ^६ पनद्धी । (घ) (ङ)योः ।

^७ स्वामिसहितं सप्ताङ्गम् । अत्र षडङ्गं स्वामिव्यतिरिक्तम् ।

^८ 'सर्वान्' इति पुस्तकेषु । ^९ (क) (ग) । 'साक्षिणः' ।

गाङ्गेन गङ्गाजलेन, पयसा गोक्षीरेण, गाङ्गेन पयसा गङ्गाजलेन, वा शब्दोऽत्र व्यवस्थितविभाषेति केचित्; वारुणेन वरुणेन मन्त्रेण, गणो गणपतिः, ग्रहपदेन नवग्रहाः मन्त्रैस्तत्तद्देवतामन्त्रैः, 'सुरास्त्वामभिषिञ्चन्त्वि'त्यादिशान्तिमन्त्रैः, पल्लवानीततज्जलैः कलशमुखक्षिप्तपञ्चपल्लवाहृतजलैः, सिंहासनं (?ने) राजासनं (?ने) कुमारमित्यस्याभिषिञ्चेत् [इति] तात्पर्यं^१, पन्नद्धी^२ उपानत्, षडङ्गं मन्त्रिसुहृत्कोषदुर्गराष्ट्रबलात्मकम्, अलिके ललाटे, न्यसेद्द्यादित्यर्थः, अद्यत्याद्यर्थं^३ श्रावयेत् ।

रामायणे^४ ।

सत्कृत्य द्विजमुख्यानां श्वः प्रभाते प्रदीयताम् ।

धृतं च दधिलाजंश्च^५ दक्षिणाश्चापि पुष्कलाः ॥

सूर्योभ्युदितमात्रे तु भविता पुण्यवाचनम्^६ ।

अत्र ब्राह्मणेभ्यो धृतदधिलाजदानं पुण्यवाचनं चेति विशेषः । ब्राह्मणभोजनमप्यत्रैव "ब्राह्मणाश्च निमन्त्र्यन्ता"मिति^७ । अस्य प्रयोगो मद्गुरूपदधतौ । विस्तरोऽस्य^८ पल्लवे । 'अलंकृत्य मुदा तस्मै षडङ्गं राज्यमर्पयेत् । पादाङ्गुष्ठेन तिलकं त्रिवारमलिके न्यसे'दिति दृष्टार्थमन्यत्त्वदृष्टार्थम् । मनावभिषेकं विनापि राज्यदानविधानात् तथा सम्प्रदायाच्च । कोषकारमते 'राज्यदानोपलक्षकं तिलकदानादि तेन तद्विनापि तदभवत्येव श्वपुच्छन्याया'दिति । गोपालमते त्व'भिषेकादिपर्यन्तमुपलक्षणं यथादेशकुलाचारं सिंहासनदानादि^९ तद्व्यवहारा'दिति । तथा चोक्तविधानेनोत्तमः, तिलकदानमात्रेण मध्यमः । अन्येनाप्यनुक्तप्रकारेणाधमकल्प इति । न चाधमकल्पानादर एव युक्त इति ।

जातिदेशकुलानां च ये धर्माः प्राक् प्रवर्त्तिताः ।

तथैव ते पालनीयाः प्रजा प्रक्षुभ्यतेऽन्यथे-

त्यादिवचनात् व्यवहारस्य सर्वतो बलव^{१०}त्तरत्वाच्चेति ।

^१ अभिषेचे तात्पर्यमिति (ख) (घ) (ङ) पुस्तकेषु पाठः ।

^२ पनद्धी । (घ) (ङ) योः । ^३ अर्थ । (घ) (ङ) योः ।

^४ रा० । अयो० । ३ । १५-१६ ।

^५ (ख) (घ) (ङ) । रा० । ०लाजाश्च ।

^६ रा० । ०श्वो भविता स्वस्तिवाचनम् ।

^७ रा० । अयो० । ३ । १६ । (घ) (ङ) योः । ब्राह्मणाश्चाप्यामन्त्र्यताम् ।

^८ विस्तरोऽस्य । (घ) (ङ) योः । ^९ ०दानादिनापि । (घ) (ङ) योः ।

^{१०} सर्वतो बलवत्त्वाच्चेति । (ङ) ।

अथान्ये राजपुत्रा भर्त्तव्याः । नीतौ^१ ।

प्रजात्मध्येमे राजा कुर्वीतात्मजरक्षणम् ।

लोलुप्य^२मानास्तेऽर्थेषु हन्युरेनमलक्षिताः ॥

मनुः^३ ।

भरणं पीप्यवर्गस्य प्रशस्तं स्वर्गसाधनम् ।

नरकं पीडने चान्य तस्माद्यत्नेन तं भरेत् ॥

इत्युभयत्र भरणम् कारणम् । लोलुप्यमानास्तदुदयमर्थोपभोक्तार इति ।
रक्षणमत्र वशीकरणम् । नीतौ^४ ।

दुष्टं गजमिवोद्वृत्तं कुर्वीत सुखसेवनम्^५ ॥

राजपुत्रः परित्यागं मुदुर्वृत्तोऽपि नार्हति ।

क्लिश्यमानः स्वपितरं परा^६नाश्रित्य हन्ति हि ॥

दुष्टगजं मतगजं^७ सुखसेवनं सुखिनं सुखं तु राजकुलोचितं, परित्यागे
ऽर्थधर्मातिक्रमो लोकनिन्दापि स्यादतो न परित्यागमर्हतीत्यर्थः ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः^८ ।

दत्त्वा निबन्धं भूमिं च^९ कृत्वा लेख्यं च कारयेत् ।

आगामिभद्रनृपतेः^{१०} परिज्ञानाय पार्थिवः ॥

निबन्धं नियतदेयम्, आगामिभद्रनृपतेः भाविभूपतेः, पार्थिव इति भूपति-
स्तस्यैव भूदानाधिकारः, सम्राजादत्तनियतनिबन्धकस्य भोगपतेन भूमिदानाधि-
कारः पारतन्त्र्यात् । अतएव भूपतेरेव भूमिदानाधिकारो न तु भोगपतेरिति
मिताक्षरा^{११} । तथा च तेभ्योऽपि लिखित्वैव राजा दद्यादिति ।

अभिषिक्तः प्रथमं राष्ट्रमेव साधयेत् पश्चादङ्गानि तदाह शुक्रः^{१२} ।

^१ कामन्दके । ७ । १ ।

^२ का० । लोलुभ्य० ।

^३ नोपलभ्यते मानवधर्मशास्त्रे ।

^४ का० । ७ । ६ । ७ ।

^५ का० । 'सुख-बन्धनम्' । सुखसेविनं । (ङ) ।

^६ अ० का० । स पितरं 'परम्' । मै० का० । 'परान्' ।

^७ मतङ्गराजं । (घ) (ङ)योः ।

^८ या० । १ । ३१८ ।

^९ या० । 'दत्त्वा भूमिं निबन्धं वा' ।

^{१०} या० । नृपति० ।

^{११} मि० । या० । १ । ३१८ ।

^{१२} का० । ६ । ३ । नास्ति शुक्लीतौ ।

राज्याङ्गानां च सर्वेषां राष्ट्राद्भवति संभवः ।

तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन राजा राष्ट्रं ^१प्रसाधयेत् ॥

प्रसाधयेद् व्यवहारदर्शनादिभिः, व्यवहारदर्शनं तु धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोर-
विरोधेन तदाह नारदः ^२ ।

धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्राभ्यामविरोधेन मार्गतः ^३ ।

निरीक्ष्यमाणो निपुणो ^४व्यवहारगतिं नयेत् ॥

अतएव कात्यायनः ।

“धर्मशास्त्रार्थकुशलैरर्थशास्त्रविशारदै”-

रिति । तथा च नृपस्यैतावत्यर्थकर्तव्यं ^५तेति निबन्धाभिप्रायः ॥

इति सप्रक्रियमहासान्धिविग्रहिक-ठक्कुरश्रीवीरेश्वरात्मज-

श्रीचण्डेश्वरविरचिते राजनीतिरत्नाकरेऽभिषेकतरङ्गः ॥

श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणो मम वचो निर्मत्सरा ^६ मत्सरं

दूरीकृत्य विचारयन्तु चतुरा निश्चित्य चेतश्चिरम् ।

मीमांसादिषु पद्धतिप्रभृतिषु व्याख्यासु धर्मार्थयो-

र्मन्या मञ्जुमनीषिणो महिभुजःसिद्धान्तं ^७मन्त्राप्तये ॥

मन्वादिस्मृति-राजनीति-जलधेरादाय संक्षेपतो

नानानीतिनिबन्धसम्मतमतं चित्वा चिराय श्रमात् ।

श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा विरचितो रत्नाकरो भूभुजा

भाव्योऽसौ भुवि ^८भूतये भगवता मान्यो वदान्योदयात् ^९ ॥

समाप्तोऽयं राजनीतिरत्नाकरः ॥

धर्मार्थशास्त्रनिष्णातेन जायसवालोपाह्वेन श्रीकाशीप्रसाद-

कृतिना पाटलिपुत्रनगरे चक्रवर्त्तिजयोजं (५) राज-

विजयराज्ये १९७७ विक्रमाब्दे संस्कृतः ॥

तेनैव १९९३ विक्रमाब्दे चक्रवर्त्तिनः षष्ठस्य जयोजस्य प्रथमाब्दे पुनस्संस्कृतः ॥

शुभं भूयात् ॥

^१ अ० । का० ‘समुन्नयेत्’ । मै० का० । ‘प्रसाधयेत्’ । ^२ ना० १ । ३७ ।

^३ ना० । ‘यत्ततः’ । ^४ ना० । ‘निपुणम्’ । ^५ कर्तव्येति । (घ) ।

^६ निर्मत्सरं । (घ) (ङ)योः । ^७ सिद्धान्तु । (ङ) पाठोऽशुद्धः ।

^८ सुविभूतये । (ङ) । ^९ वदान्योदरात् । (घ) (ङ)योः ।